

# Selected Writings of William M. Ramsay

The distinguished archaeologist, geographer, and New Testament scholar, W. M. Ramsay (1851-1939), published these articles in a variety of journals, during the years 1880 and 1929. Compiled and bookmarked by Robert Bedrosian, September, 2016, in 907 searchable pdf pages.

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On Some Pamphylian Inscriptions

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Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 1 (1880), pp. 242-259

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/623623>

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## ON SOME PAMPHYLIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

IN an interesting paper which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1877, Dr. Friedländer has brought together some remarkable inscriptions on coins of some Pamphylian cities; but it cannot be said that he has added anything to their elucidation beyond what had been already done by the late J. Siegismund in Curtius' *Studien*, vol. ix. p. 87. During the last few weeks before I left England, my attention was drawn to these and to the long inscription from Assarkeui, the ancient Sillyon, which is given very inaccurately in Böckh, *C. I. G.*,<sup>1</sup> and more correctly by Hirschfeld in the *Monatsber. d. Berl. Ak.* 1874, p. 714; and the following notes are the result of the conversations and correspondence which I had with Professor Sayce on the subject. Throughout the paper, Professor Sayce's name will often recur, but it must be distinctly understood that even where his name is not mentioned, and where he might not agree with the views expressed, his suggestions have been used, and the whole might have been more justly, as it would doubtless have been better, written by him.

I put forth the paper with much diffidence, as I have been obliged to write it without access to a good library, and am therefore obliged to trust to memory for a great many facts, and to want the additional light which good authorities would supply. Hence throughout the paper few references are given, and these usually in general terms. Several times Ahrens's articles in *Philologus*, xxxv. xxxvi., on the Cyprian Dialect are quoted as Ahrens, *Cypr.*, no clearer reference being possible.

<sup>1</sup> iii. 1160 *sq.* See also Bailie, Ed.), and Lebas, *Voyage archéologique, Fasciculus Inscriptionum*, ii. 229, iii. 1377 (and p. 335). Kirchhoff, *Studien &c.* p. 44 *sq.* (3rd

I. I begin with the inscription found on certain coins  
**ΣΕΛΥΨΙΥΣ**. These coins are thus described<sup>1</sup>—

- (1) Obv. Head of bearded warrior r.  
 Rev. Male figure standing. Inscription.
- (2) Obv. Head of Apollo r. laureate.  
 Rev. Zeus Aetophoros seated. Inscription.
- (3) Obv. Same.  
 Rev. Thunderbolt. Inscription.

They belong to about the third century B.C. According to Friedländer (*l. c.*), they were at one time attributed to the town of Selge in Pisidia, and M. Waddington first rightly assigned them to Sillyon. The coins of this city from a little before the Christian era generally bear the legend **ΣΙΛΛΥΕΩΝ**; but the spelling varied very much in ancient times, as we have the forms **Σίλωνον**, **Σύλλιον**, **Σύλειον**, **Σύλλον**, and **Σύλαιον**. In the Sillyon inscription, line 3 (and probably line 1), we find the same adjective as on the coins in the form **ΣΕΛΥΨΙΙΟΣ**. A third form, **ΣΕΛΥΨΙΙΥΣ**, must have been used, though I do not know that any instance of it has been preserved. Of the legend, the latter part, **ΙΙΥΣ**, is found on the coins of Aspendus treated by Siegismund (*l. c.*), **ΕΣΤΦΕΔΙΙΥΣ**, and has been rightly explained by Friedländer following him. The second **Ι** represents the **Υ** sound developed after **ι** before a vowel. In Lycian also after **Ε**, which denotes the Greek **Ι**, **ι** is inserted before a vowel. The original **Ο** of the termination sometimes becomes **Υ** as in the Latin Second Declension, and thus **ΙΙΥΣ** has been evolved from the regular Greek ending **ιος**.

There remains now only the **Ψ** to be explained. This symbol also occurs several times in the Sillyon inscription; and its value has not as yet, so far as I know, been determined. It seemed to me at first that it must be a sound like the English *u* or *w*; but Professor Sayce suggested more accurately that it had in many cases a syllabic value, which is, I think, quite certain. In the case before us it can represent only the *w* sound evolved after *υ* before a vowel. The termination **-ιο-** has to be added to the stem **Σελου** or **Σελυ**, and in the pronunciation of

<sup>1</sup> For the description of these and other coins I am indebted to Mr. Percy Gardner, on whose authority also I give the period to which they belong.

the country two parasitic sounds were developed after the *u* and after the *ι*. One might expect that the parasitic sound should be indicated by *F*, which symbol also occurs in the Pamphylian inscription, and on this account Friedländer remarks that **Λ** cannot have the value here assigned to it. But it is not so unusual to find more than one symbol in one single alphabet to indicate the *w* sound in different situations. Thus we find in Lycian also that, besides the *F*, there is another symbol, **)(**, to which, when doubled, M. Schmidt assigns with undoubted correctness the value *uw*. If it be argued that Schmidt considers *F* in Lycian to be a surd, like the English *h*, and that therefore another symbol was needed for the sonant in question, we may reply that Savelsberg (*Beitr. z. Entzifferung der Lyk. Sprach-Denkm.* p. 17) advances some strong arguments to show that *F* was in Lycian a sonant letter, and that there were three distinct symbols in Lycian to represent the English *v* or *w*, viz.: *F*, **)(**, which represents it only after itself in the combination *uv*, and **Υ**, which represents it only in the combinations **ΑΥΑ**, **ΕΥΑ**, **ΟΥΑ**, **ΑΥΟ**, *ava*, *iva*, *uva*, and *avi*. This is not the place to inquire whether Schmidt or Savelsberg is right; but on either supposition we have sufficient confirmation of the double symbol in Pamphylian.

I shall try to show that in the Sillyon inscription a rule is followed in the use of **Λ**.

(1) We have the use already indicated, between *υ* and a following vowel; the word **ΣελυΛιΥος** probably occurs twice, lines 1 and 3.

(2) It is often found before *ο*; in lines 14 and 17 it is used probably in the word **Φοῶκον**, Pamphylian **Λοικυ**. The close relationship of *ο* and *ι* makes this very natural. L. Meyer has shown that in Homer the digamma is preserved much more completely before *ο* than before any other letter, which shows that in this situation it had a different and more decided value than in the other cases. It also occurs before *ο* in **ΗΕΜΟΤΑΙΣ** (lines 7 and 9), **Λοικ...** (line 3).

(3) It occurs in the combination **ΑΣΛΤΥ** (line 15); where, if the reading is correct, it must have a syllabic value.

(4) It occurs in the words **αΛταισι** (lines 7 and perhaps 26) and **ἀπ' ἐΛπρα[ξίας]** (line 21). There is abundant evidence

that some peculiarity in the pronunciation of the two diphthongs, *av* and *ev*, was common in the south-western parts of Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> We have in the Lycian bilingual inscription of Lewdisü *αὐτᾶ* and *ἑασιῶν*; on a coin of Cnidus, *Εὐβώλο* for *Εὐβούλου*; in the inscription from Mycale (*C. I. G.* No. 2909), *αὐτοί*; in that from Priene (*C. I. G.* No. 2907), *λεόκοις*; in that from Samos (see G. Curtius, *Wesel. Program.* 1873), *εἰνοϊαν, ταῶτα, αὐτόν, ἑασιῶν, αὐτοῖς, αὐτοῖς*; in the Carian inscription published by Mr. Newton in the appendix to his *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, *αὐτῶ*; and many cases might be quoted from Erythræ and Chios.<sup>2</sup> In this pronunciation the number of syllables remained the same, for in the Priene inscription *λεόκοις* is a spondee. The Ionic form *αὐτός*, usual in Herodotus, is probably closely akin, as I shall try to show. Savelsberg, who gives most of these instances, considers that the *υ* (which must therefore, he argues, have retained its ancient value *u*, and not suffered the modification common in Greek) has passed into the closely akin sound *o*; but long before I imagined that the intermediate step was *aFo*, *εFo*, and I think that the Pamphylian forms confirm this view. These must, according to the ideas here advanced, represent the English value *avutos*, *evu-pa*...; and in the Ionic, Lycian, and Carian forms a very slight change resulting from the tendency to dissimilation produced *aFo*, *εFo*, like the Latin *voltus*, &c., and finally *αὐ*, *εὐ*; while in Herodotus *aF* became by an easy and common transition *ω*.

This parasitic *W* sound has a tendency to come in quite as much before as after the *υ* to separate it from another vowel: and similarly the parasitic *Y* is found both before and after an original *ι*. Thus in modern Greek we have *ὄγιος* for *οἶος*, where of course *γ* is pronounced *Y*. No one will think it difficult that *aFo*, *εFo* should make only a single syllable in pronunciation, if he looks at the way in which modern Greek runs together several vowels and semivowels into one syllable.

While in Sillyon the two symbols seem to have been used side by side according to definite rules, we need not be surprised to find *W* employed in other parts of the country instead of *F*, *i.e.* in cases where the rules observed in the Sillyon inscription would lead us to expect *F*. This seems to be the case on

<sup>1</sup> The forms alluded to occur in other parts of Greece, *e.g.*, Amphipolis, Crete, &c., but not so frequently.

<sup>2</sup> An instance from Delos, *supra*, p. 59.

II. The coins of Perga. On silver and copper coins struck after the time of Alexander we find a remarkable legend, **ΨΑΝΑΨ'ΑΣΠΡΕΙΑΣ**. The silver coins, which are larger and much clearer, bear on the obverse a sphinx seated, and on the reverse Artemis standing, holding wreath and sceptre. They belong to the second century B.C. Friedländer (*l.c.*) showed that the first letter of the legend is not **M** as it was formerly read, but **N** retrograde. The legend is obviously the name or a title of the goddess in the genitive case, just as we have on later coins of the city **ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ**. The second part, **ΠΡΕΙΑΣ**, is certainly the genitive singular feminine of the adjective. The name of the city, Perga, is an adjectival form, which is also found with the superlative termination *-ma-*, as the name of a city or citadel: it is derived from the root *bhargh*, in Sanskrit *bṛih*, to raise or cause to grow great.<sup>1</sup> Hence the present participle is *bharghant*, in Sanskrit *bṛihant*, strong, high, thick. A shorter form of this is *bhargha*, which was at a very early time differentiated into the two forms preserved in modern German *berg* and *burg*. Corresponding to these we have in Greek *πέργα*, *πέργαμα*, and *πύργο*: the sense of high or strong place remaining throughout. When the word *περγα* became a proper name, the adjective was formed from it by the suffix (*ya*, or) *ia*, the latter of which Benfey (*Gött. Abhandl.* 1870) has shown to be the more ancient; the Greek form of the suffix is *-ιο-*; and thus we should have the word *περγιο*. In the local pronunciation *ep* became *pe*, a change which was first discussed by Benfey, *Ueber ri, rī, li, lī im Orient und Occident*, vol. ii., and afterwards by J. Schmidt in *Indog. Vokalismus*. In modern Greek the change is frequent; alongside of *πικρός*, we find *πρικός* and *Πρικοχάροντας* as common epithets of the Angel of Death; *ἀδελφός*, *ἀδερφός*, and *ἀδρεφός*, all occur. So in ancient Greek *Ἀφροδίτη* and *Ἀφορδίτα*. Then the *γ* between the two vowels was softened to *υ*, a change which has become almost the rule in modern Greek. Thus we have the form *περυιο*, on the coin in the genitive singular

<sup>1</sup> In the case of roots containing a double aspirate, the consonants are liable to great alterations: see Kuhn on *Τελχίν* and on *Κένταυρος* in *Zft. f.*

*vgl. Spr.* vol. i. p. 173, and Grassmann in vol. xii. Fick (*Vgl. Wortb.* vol. ii. p. 421) compares *πίλος*, *πιθάκη*, *φιδάκν* *πύνδαξ* for *φύνδαξ*, *πυθμήν*, *βυθμός*.



feminine, ΠΡΕΙΙΑΣ, where the Υ is represented by the symbol Ι, as in ΣΕΛΥΨΙΙΟΣ.

ΨΑΝΑΨΑΣ must therefore be the genitive of the name or epithet of the goddess. Ψ is not unlike the Greek Ψ, but to understand it in this value as Friedländer gives a hopeless word. In the Carian inscriptions the symbol Υ occurs, and Professor Sayce had conjectured that there it has the value σσ. When I saw this among his notes, it at once occurred to me that this was the value required on the coins of Perga: and in the ordinary Greek characters we have then the form *Φανάσας Πρεγίας*, the γ being pronounced as it would be in modern Greek. Ψ and Υ occur as equivalent forms in the Phoenician alphabet. I believe that this symbol Υ or Ψ was used in the alphabets of Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia to denote a sibilant, which is not recognised in the Greek alphabet, though it was probably used by them at least in parts of the country. In Lycian the value of Υ has been variously given. It is certainly near enough to the guttural series to be used in the combination ΥΣΣ or ΥΠ with the value of the Greek ξ. It cannot be the Greek κ, which occurs in Lycian; and Lassen, Sharpe, &c., were certainly wrong in taking it as Γ (see M. Schmidt, *Vorstudien z. Entzifferung der Lyk. Spr.* and *Corpus of Lycian Inscr.*). Schmidt himself assigned it the value kh: but in his *Neue Lykische Studien* he publishes without comment a paper by Pertsch giving it a value between k and s, viz. the palatal sibilant, Sanskrit ण. It is used once to correspond to the Greek ξ in the name of Pixodaros, the Carian prince: on the other hand, the Greeks sometimes spelt this Carian name Πισέδαρος, and a coin perhaps gives Πισώδα[ρος] (see Pertsch, *l. c.* p. 7).<sup>1</sup>

In the Cyprian dialect Ahrens *Cypr.* has shown that a similar sibilant existed. It occurs in the syllabary in conjunction with the vowels a, e, and u: but though this same symbol Υ or Ψ occurs in the syllabary, it is used for the dental sibilant, and other symbols are employed for the palatal sibilant. Ahrens has shown that this sibilant is used especially where in Attic σσ would occur; and it is in regard to the word *Φάνασσα* that he

<sup>1</sup> It may be some confirmation of Pertsch's view that, long before seeing his paper, I expressed the idea here

indicated about the Lycian symbol in a letter to Prof. Sayce, and met with his complete approval.

first has occasion to speak of it. Now it is a well-known fact that  $\sigma$  in Greek has usually taken the place of a guttural or dental surd followed by  $\gamma$ -,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$  for  $\theta\alpha\kappa\text{-}\iota\omega\nu$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$  for  $\kappa\rho\epsilon\tau\text{-}\iota\omega\nu$ . So with the suffix  $\gamma\alpha$ , or  $\iota\alpha$ , we have  $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\gamma\alpha$  becoming  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ . Now, it is certain that this combination  $\kappa + \gamma$  sometimes retained more of its guttural character, and so we have  $\delta\omicron\kappa\text{-}\gamma\alpha$  becoming  $\delta\omicron\xi\alpha$ , and  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\text{-}\gamma\alpha$  for  $\delta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\text{-}\gamma\alpha$ , the Attic  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , becoming  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha$ .<sup>1</sup> Many other cases occur where a similar variation between  $\xi$  and  $\sigma$  points to the difficulty caused to the Greeks by this sibilant.  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\text{Ζ}\acute{\omega}\nu\nu\nu\xi\omicron\varsigma$  both occur;  $\text{Π}\acute{\iota}\xi\acute{\omega}\delta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\text{Π}\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$  have just been mentioned;  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  has the dialectic forms  $\epsilon\varsigma$  or  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma$ , &c. In Attic this sibilant disappeared entirely, and  $\sigma\sigma$  was there a sharp dental; but in the south-west countries of Asia Minor, as in Cyprus, it remained in full power, and when the common Greek alphabet was adopted by them, they required a special symbol for it.

These facts tell strongly in favour of Professor Sayce's ingenious conjecture about the value of the Carian symbol, and constitute a new proof of the common origin of those alphabets of Asia Minor which were replaced by the Greek.

Another form of the same symbol is  $\text{𐌶}$ . It is found in the inscription from Halicarnassos published by Mr. Newton, *Hist. Disc.* No. 1, and on coins of Mesembria in the legends **ΜΕΤΑ**, **ΜΕΤΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ**. In the inscription, a copy of which is not at hand, the symbol is used only in Carian names such as  $\text{᾽ΟθαΤάΤιος}$ ,  $\text{ΠαννάΤιος}$ : and it cannot be  $\tau\alpha\upsilon$ , which occurs in the ordinary form.  $\text{Παννάσσις}$ , and many other names in  $\text{-ασσις}$  gen.  $\text{-άσσιος}$ , are found in the Carian inscription quoted above from Mr. Newton's essays. The  $\text{𐌶}$  of the one inscription corresponds to  $\sigma\sigma$  of the other. The sibilant in the name of the Thracian city had the same palatal value: cp.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .

III. The results hitherto attained help us in some degree with the long inscription from Sillyon. It is on a stone built into a church, and Hirschfeld remarks that, though the letters have

<sup>1</sup> Ahrens, in the passage referred to, has traced the history of this remarkable Epirote form. It is alluded to below, Sillyon inscription, note on line 7.

Fick, in *Bezenberger's Beitr.* vol. i., explains  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha$  as the tense stem of the weak aorist employed as a noun. I prefer Ahrens' explanation as above.

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 ΟΔΥΑΜΑΤΙΡΕΕΜΗΕ////////ΔΑΙ,ΕΜΠΡΑ  
 ΕΣΠΕΡΙΖΕΡΑΣΗΠΑΡΥΖΕ////////ΕΤΑΙΚΑΜΙΘΕΑ  
 ΦΗΕΚΑΙΜΗΕΙΑΛΕΚΑΙΜΙΣΑΜΑΔΙΜΟΣΑΜΑ  
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 ΟΝΙΚΑΙΟΡΟΦΥΚΑΙ////////////ΠΙΕ.ΕΙΕ  
 ΙΚΟΚΕΣΘΑΙΠΕΡΑΜ//////////ΛΑΣΕ////ΛΙ  
 ΙΣΦΕΣΕΚΑΕΑΜΕ////////////Ε+ΕΙ  
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 ΟΙΣΙΠΟΛΙΣΟΜΥΣΥ//////////ΑΜΑ+Α//  
 ΚΑΙΑΠΕΛΟΝΑΠΥΤ//////////ΑΙΥΠΕΡ//  
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been partly obliterated, the stone seems complete. I therefore assume (1) that we have the opening of the inscription in the first line; (2) that most of the lines are complete on the left side; (3) that the long line 24 is nearly complete, and as the addition of two letters makes it run into the following line, the number of letters to the line throughout the inscription is about 45. So far as I know, Kirchhoff (*Gesch. d. Gr. Alph.*) is the only person who has published any detailed account of the inscription, and he has not advanced very far. Of the two symbols explained above, only one, **Λ**, occurs in this inscription.

The alphabet used is as follows:—**Α Β Γ Δ Ε** or <sup>1</sup> **Β Φ Η** as the aspirate, once as *eta*, **Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ** + and **Λ**. Symbols occurring once and probably imperfect are **Χ**, **Ζ** and **Ι**. **β** is perhaps the old form of **Β**, as in Lycian.

Of the explanations proposed in the following notes, I am conscious that many are exceedingly doubtful; but I have offered many suppositions in the hope that some happier wit may either be helped by them to reach the truth, or at least be warned against error.

It is probable that Sillyon was, like Side and Aspendos, a Greek colony, though we do not know what was the mother city. In a barbarous country, where the Greek element was not strong, the speech of the colonists became very corrupt; and Arrian tells us of the neighbouring city of Side that the dialect there spoken was unintelligible.

The similarity to the modern Greek is often striking: but, as my acquaintance with the modern language is slight, I have refrained from mentioning any such analogy except where it was necessary to give support to the explanation proposed. It is interesting to find this advanced post of Hellenic civilisation in the midst of barbarous surroundings passing so early over the same path of change in respect of vocalisation that Greece itself afterwards more slowly traversed. At the same time we might expect to find in the inscription non-Greek words, and certainly there are many which I cannot explain; but till the general character of the inscription is better ascertained, mere ignorance would not justify one in declaring words to be non-Greek.

<sup>1</sup> Unless **ΞΒΑ** in line 3 is a mistake of engraver or copyist.

With regard to the age of the inscription, Kirchhoff remarks (*l. c.*) that this can hardly be fixed. The fixed and regular writing shows that it is not very old. The style of the letters is almost exactly that of the Ionic alphabet used in the inscriptions at Abu Simbel; hence any influence of the Ionic must have been exerted not later than the end of the seventh century B.C. But it is not certain that Sillyon learned the alphabet from Ionia; it may have got it from Argos, as the neighbouring Aspendos was an Argive colony.<sup>1</sup>

Other considerations also, I think, mark the inscription as of no early date. In the first place, though the dialect is clearly Doric, I fancy that occasionally it shows traces of the influence of the Attic language and civilisation. And, secondly, the degeneration of the dialect has proceeded so far in the direction in which modern Greek or Romaic has altered that it is not easy to assign a very early date to the inscription.

On the other hand, after Greek influence and literature had completely triumphed in Asia, it is probable that the public documents of such a city as this would be written in common Greek, or at least that the ordinary Greek language would have influenced it much more than is here the case.

In the inscriptions on the coins of Perga the native dialect is retained till the second century B.C.; but in that century the common Greek seems to have established itself as the official language, and begins to be employed on the coins. In the coins of Sillyon there seems to be a gap between those of the third or second century B.C., with the legend in the native dialect, and those with the Greek legend, which begin not long before the Christian era; so that we are deprived of evidence from this side as to the period when the provincial dialect gave place to the cultivated dialect as the language of the educated class and of public documents. In this inscription the alphabet is probably in a fluctuating condition. Whether learned from Ionia, or from Argos, or perhaps from Corinth, the alphabet used in this state had retained the antique forms long after these had been modified all over Greece. But when this inscription was engraved, the usual Greek forms of the letters

<sup>1</sup> I have only an early edition of Kirchhoff, *Gr. Alph.*, in which he does not mention Pamphylian; and accordingly I quote from memory and a few notes made in the British Museum.

were well known, and had in some cases established themselves almost completely. Thus **E** and **B** occur regularly, except in lines 2 and 3, where the old forms **B** and **b** are used. **H**, on the other hand, usually denotes the *spiritus asper*, but in one case at least it seems to be used as *eta*. It might therefore be safe to assert that the inscription dates between 300 and 150 B.C.

As to the drift of the inscription, one or two passages might very well occur in an honorary decree; but the greater part does not suit well with such an hypothesis. Professor Sayce conjectures "that certain individuals, fifteen years after a plague, have dedicated a statue to Apollo Pythios, who destroys noxious things, and that the community ratifies the deed, and settles the rites and ceremonies, processions, and the like, which have to be connected with the statue."

1. It is probable that the beginning of the inscription is intact, so that we must look for an invocation.  $\Delta\iota\epsilon\iota$  occurs as dative of Zeus, *C. I. G.*, Nos. 1869, 6832, and on the tomb of Midas the dative *Φανακτει* occurs; so perhaps we may read—

$\Sigma\nu(\nu) \Delta\iota\epsilon\iota$  A. (or  $\Lambda$ ) *καὶ*  $\text{Η}\iota\Upsilon\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ . With Zeus A. and the holy (gods).

A. may stand for *αἰγιόχῳ*, *Ἄλφι*, or some other epithet. Zeus was one of the chief gods of Sillyon; for on coins we sometimes find Zeus Aetophoros.

In our inscription the diphthong  $\epsilon\iota$  is represented by **E** simply: but in the dative of the third declension the  $\epsilon\iota$  has a different character and origin from the ordinary Greek diphthong, and hence it appears here in a different spelling.  $\Delta\iota\text{F}\iota$  is also a possible reading. On the loss of the nasal before  $\Delta$  it is sufficient to refer to Deecke, Siegismund, and Ahrens.

Friedländer suggests that **ΜΑΓΕ** may be the beginning of the name of Magydos, a city of Pamphylia; but as  $\angle$  is elsewhere the symbol for gamma, probably we should read **ΜΑΓΕ**...<sup>1</sup> It may possibly begin an accusative case of a proper name, and the rest of the line might be read

$\text{Η}\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon \Sigma\epsilon\lambda\nu\text{V}[\iota\Upsilon]a [\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ .

2. **ΥΠΑΡ**, possibly the Attic *ὑπέρ*. After it the copy in Böckh, *C. I. G.*, reads **ΚΑΙ**·A, &c. Comparing this with

<sup>1</sup> Bezzenberger has **MATE**...

Hirschfeld's reading, we find the word *καί[σ]αριϒας* suggests itself, which would bring the inscription down to a very late date. Comparing the end of this line with line 21, we may read—

*ἀπ' εὐπρα[ξίας.*

3. *ε...τυ* implies such a form as *εἰ[λε]το*. Cp. *ἐβολάσεν*, line 8. With *Μοικ...ις* compare *Μοικύπολις*, line 14. The rest of the line is—

*καὶ ΣελυΜιϒος Παχ...*

4. . . . *απα κεκραμένος ἐξ ἐπιτεφιϒαῖς πόλι ναι* or *πόλιν ἀ[μων. κεκραμένος* from *κραίνω*, ratified or consummated, or perhaps for *κεχρημένος*. *ἐξ* with dative case is known in several Peloponnesian dialects. *αμιϒες* seems to occur, line 19, as nominative plural; here possibly the genitive occurs.

5. *διϒὰ πέν(ν)δε καὶ δέκα Φέτ[ι]ϒ(α) ἀπὺ λιμης (?) σα . . .* A verb from *σαόω* occurs to our mind,—‘has preserved our city for fifteen years from pestilence.’ According to Curtius, *λύμη* and *λοιμός* are connected (though this connection is not favoured by Fick, and another is preferred in Vaniček); and here perhaps we have such a form in the gender of the one with the sense of the other. Or it is possible to take *λιμη* in the sense of *λύμη*. The *ν* had already acquired the sound that it has generally in modern Greek; and the word is spelt according to the sound. The double *α* is expressed only once, as Siegis-mund has shown to happen in the shorter Pamphylian inscriptions. The same rule holds sometimes in Lycian; see Schm. *N. L. St.* p. 9.

*διϒα* with the parasitic sound. In modern Smyrniote Greek *πέντε* is pronounced, as the people of Sillyon evidently pronounced it, with the *τ* made sonant and with a very faint sound of *ν*; and in some mouths the *ν* disappears completely. *Φετ[ι]ϒα*, no doubt *Φέτεα* became *Φετια*, as in severe Doric *τέος* becomes *έτιός*, though the general rule in Doric is that *εα* in this case is either left unchanged or contracted to *η* (Ahr. *Dial. Dor.* §§ 23 and 30): and then the parasitic sound was developed. *ἀπὺ* for *ἀπὸ*.

6. *ὅσα καὶ τιμάφεσα πόσα*. It seems probable that *ὅσα* and *πόσα* are correlative. *τιμάφεσα* seems third plural of the weak



aoist. We should expect the other spirant  $\gamma$  from a verb whose stem was originally  $\tau\mu\alpha\text{-}\gamma\alpha\text{-}$ ; but Ahrens has shown in various places (*e.g.* on Inscriptions from Olympia, in *Philol.* vol. xxxviii.) how  $F$  passes into  $\gamma$  and  $i$ , and the reverse change is quite as easy. We find in modern Greek  $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha$  as first singular imperfect of  $\chi\rho\omega\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$  for  $\chi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , which shows to what changes the spirant in verbs in  $-a\omega$  was liable. Professor Sayce suggests that  $\tau\mu\alpha\text{F}\epsilon\varsigma$  is first person dual.

7.  $\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\rho\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\iota}\ \alpha\text{V}\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\iota\ \text{H}\epsilon\text{V}\omicron\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ . Original  $\nu\tau$  in this inscription is written  $\delta$ ; here for original  $\nu\theta$  we have  $\tau$ . As Siegmund (*l. c.*) and Kirchhoff both point out, this form is quite certain.  $\text{ΠΕΡΤΙΡΕΝΙ}$  perhaps  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu$ . It is in that case doubtful if the second  $\text{E}$  stands for  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ , or  $\epsilon\iota$  (Ahrens, § 37). The  $\eta$  was evidently pronounced as in modern Greek, and the word was spelt according to the sound.  $\pi\epsilon\rho$  for  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$  perhaps also in 26.  $\text{H}\epsilon\text{V}\omicron\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  for the Attic  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ : the genesis of this form is doubtful, just as it is hard to say whether  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$  was formed from  $\pi\omicron\rho\tau\iota$  or from  $\pi\rho\tau\iota$ . Probably the latter is the case, and there has been no loss of quantity; then with the intermediate  $\text{H}\epsilon\text{V}\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}$  we may compare  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}$  of Hesychius. Similarly, in  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha$ , the Epirote form for  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$  or  $\rho$  has been lost. The root is  $\tau\rho\alpha\chi$  or  $\theta\rho\alpha\kappa$ , with the equivalent forms  $\tau\alpha\rho\chi$ ,  $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi$ ,  $\theta\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa$ , or with  $\lambda$  in place of  $\rho$ . Hence the noun  $\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\text{-}\iota\alpha$  and  $\delta\alpha\lambda\kappa\text{-}\iota\alpha$  or  $\delta\lambda\alpha\kappa\text{-}\iota\alpha$ . Here also it is impossible to say what was the exact form that preceded  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha$ , whether  $\delta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha$  or  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\xi\alpha$ . Perhaps it might be better to take the form  $\text{H}\epsilon\text{V}\omicron\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ . The rough breathing is inorganic, as in  $\text{H}\iota\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$ .

8.  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\tau\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}(\nu)\delta\rho\iota\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha[\iota$ . (See note on l. 13.)  $\delta\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is the usual Doric form for  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (Ahr. *Dial. D.* § 19, 9).  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\iota\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$  apparently the Attic  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ .

9.  $\rho\alpha\iota\text{F}\text{H}\iota\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \mu\text{H}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi'\ \text{H}\epsilon\text{V}\omicron\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}[\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ . I suspect that in the first letters is concealed a dative of a noun connected by  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  with  $\mu\text{H}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\iota$ : translate 'for his . . . and magnificence both at the public festivals and . . .'.  $\mu\text{H}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\iota$  and  $\mu\text{H}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$ , line 23, are evidently forms of  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\tau\iota$  and  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ . Professor Sayce, who first observed this, also quoted the lengthening of a final short vowel in Homer before  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$  as illustrative of the initial  $\mu\text{H}$ . In fact, we have here a clear proof

of that rough pronunciation which, as Hartel (*Hom. Stud.*) contends, gives length to the syllable preceding. He maintains that this full and strong sound of  $\mu$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ , was older than Homer, and had so far disappeared in his time as to require the verse-arsis to help it to lengthen the preceding short. With  $\mu\text{H}\epsilon\Upsilon\alpha\lambda\eta\tau\iota$  for  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\iota$ , cf. Latin *saluti* for *salvatati*, derived from *salva*, Sanskrit *sarva*, Greek  $\delta\lambda\phi\omicron\varsigma$ . We have here another instance of the weakness of gamma in Pamphylian; just as in modern Greek it tends to pass into  $\Upsilon$ . [With  $\rho\alpha\iota\text{F}\text{H}\iota$  cf. Cyp.  $\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ , Lat. *rus*.]

10.  $\pi\alpha\varsigma \mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\tau\upsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\text{H}\epsilon\Upsilon\alpha[\lambda \dots ]\tau\upsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \delta[\dots \text{M}\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\tau\upsilon\varsigma$  is perhaps a proper name: it occurs on coins in the legends **MENETYΣEΛYΦA** and **EΛYΦAMENETYΣ**, where Kirchhoff (as quoted by Friedländer, *l. c.*) takes  $\epsilon\lambda\nu\phi\alpha$  for  $\epsilon\gamma\lambda\nu\phi\alpha$ , and understands **MENETYΣ** as the name of the artist. In that case  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  cannot be the Greek adjective, 'all.' In the *Μουσείον* published by the Evangelical School in Smyrna (*περ. Σ'*, page 30) are two short inscriptions found together at Narli-keui. One contains the word  $\text{Μολέσεος}$ , the genitive of a well-known Lycian name. The other has the name  $\text{Ἀππας}$ .

11.  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota \epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron [\dots] \delta\iota[\kappa] \alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ . In the last word I give the form used by Kirchhoff.

12.  $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\iota\varsigma \dots \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{F}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron \kappa\alpha \dots \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\iota$  occurs also lines 14, 17, and 23: see note on 23.

13. The last words evidently correspond to the Attic  $\kappa\alpha\iota \delta \beta\omicron\nu\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . Kirchhoff considers  $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  as the form here used. This would imply a present indicative corresponding to a supposed Attic form  $\beta\omicron\nu\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , future  $\beta\omicron\nu\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ; cp. Lesb.  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\mu\iota$ , Att.  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . Perhaps **EΔY** implies  $-\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron$ , in which case we might possibly have  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ , with  $\gamma$  in  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\nu$  becoming  $\iota$ , i.e.  $\Upsilon$ , as in **ΠΡΕΙΙΑΣ**, and **EIE** =  $\epsilon\iota\Upsilon\eta$ . It is impossible to read **EIE** directly as  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ , since the diphthong  $\epsilon\iota$  is in this alphabet given by the single symbol  $\epsilon$ ; but it is easy to understand  $\iota$  as the parasitic  $\Upsilon$  developed after  $\epsilon\iota$  before a vowel. [Bezenberger makes  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\delta\upsilon$  the first word in the line.]

14.  $[\kappa]\alpha\iota\nu\iota(\nu) \text{V}\omicron\iota\kappa\upsilon \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota(\nu) \text{F}\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega. \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\iota$ , see line 23. The

termination *-on* becomes *-v* also in *ἱαρν*, lines 22, 31. The half obliterated symbol between *πόλι* and *ἐχέτω* is like the relics of a **Σ**, but line 24 seems to require the *F* before *ἐχέτω*. At the same time, it must be remembered that the inscription is capricious in its spelling. In line 4 *πόλιν* occurs, though perhaps *ν* belongs to the following word, or the *ν* is retained before a vowel. Translate 'let him have a *καίνις*, a house, a state,' which seems to give a good sense. With the other reading *πόλις* must be the nominative to *ἐχέτω*, or else **Βοικύπολις** must be a compound and stand as the nominative. Kirchhoff understands at the end of the line *ὁ κα*, in which case it is not easy to see what can be made of *καν*; *και* is given in *C. I. G.* The *o* in *ὁ* is supported by the analogy of **ΣΕΛΥΨΙΟΣ**; and we have then, line 13, *ν*, the article with smooth breathing, and here *ὁ*, the neuter relative with rough. On *καίνις* see note 1. 23.

15. *ἀγλεσθω = ἀγρείσθω = αἰρείσθω* with Kirchhoff seems a certain reading.

16. *δικαστῆρες καὶ ἀργυρῶται μὴ ἐξάγω(ν)τι. ἀργυρόται*, or more probably *ἀργυρῶται* (so Kirchhoff), are possibly public officials like the *ἀργυροταμίαι* under the empire at Athens, &c. *C. I. G.* No. 334, &c.

17. *απρωτας κα(τ)θανέτω καινι(ν) Βοικον πόλι(ν). κα(τ)-θανέτω*, Kirchhoff, and quite independently Professor Sayce; here and line 27. In this line and 27 possibly we have *ἡπειρωτας*.

18. *δικα[στ]ῆρες δὲ καὶ ἀργυρῶται ἀνείαν ε[... ἀνείαν]* third plural analogic aorist of *ἀνίημι*.

19. *δι[κ]αστῆρες* at the end is clear; but several other Greek forms are certainly hidden in the earlier part, which some happier wit may discover. *ἐξ δεφυσελαΥω* may be preposition and noun. *αμΥες* probably *ἡμεῖς*, in which the rough breathing is not original. **ΟΔΥ** perhaps *-οντο*.

20. Kirchhoff corrects **Λ** to **Δ**, and understands *γένωνται*. At the end of the lines come the words of line 16, *μὴ ἐξάγωντι*. Hence **HAİPE** must be one word, though *αἰρεῖ* seems unsuitable here and inconsistent with the form in line 15.

21. -ο(ν)το ἄμα τηρέει μHe . . . . δ' ἀπ' εὐπρα[ξίας]. ἄμα τηρέει Professor Sayce suggests; five letters, or perhaps four, are lost.

22. . . . ]ες περὶ γέρας ΗιΥαρὺ γε[γέν]ηται κανι θα. περὶ, though perhaps περ in line 26. ΗιΥαρυ for ἱερόν. κανι, possibly a preposition; perhaps καν in 14 is connected.

23. καὶ μHeΥάλη καινις ἄμα δῆμος, ἄμα. ΔΙΜΟΣ, δῆμος, seems a certain explanation, given by Professor Sayce. We may perhaps understand, 'let a great καινις, both people and . . . , be held': about twelve letters are lost at the end, which might contain the lost noun followed by ἔστω. In Hesychius Prof. Sayce discovered the forms καίνιτας, ἀδελφούς ἢ ἀδελφάς, and καίνιτα, ἀδελφή. No doubt καίνις is akin. Now just as φράτορες, which must originally have meant brothers, came to denote the members of a (political or) religious brotherhood, and gave rise to φρατρία as the name of that brotherhood, so perhaps it may have happened to κάσις. The rough breathing καίνιτας implies a lost letter, probably sigma. We might suppose a καίνις to be some sort of religious assembly, the members of which were called κάσις; and from καίνις again may have come καίνιτης.

24-5. πόλις ἄγεθλα φεχέτω καὶ ἀπι[ρω]τας βόφα  
καὶ . . . . τῷ Ἀπ[ελ]ωνι καὶ οροφυ καὶ.

ἄγεθλα is clearly ἄφεθλα from root *vadh*, with *F* becoming *γ*; see Curtius, *Gr.*, and compare modern Greek ἄγουρος, unripe, *i.e.* ἄφωρος. We may understand ἄεθλα in the sense of ἀέθλους, games. βόφα perhaps for Attic βοῦν. οροφυ is an accusative of the second declension; cf. ΗΙΙΑΡΥ, lines 22, 31.

26. Professor Sayce suggests ὀχέισθαι: περὶ? αὐ[τὰ?].

27. FEΞ. Professor Sayce and Kirchhoff both understand ἔξ, but καθθανέντω or κατθανέντω, which they also suggest, leaves an E unexplained between the two words. E+EI, Professor Sayce ἔχη.

29. πόλις ωμοσ??

30. καὶ Ἀπέλωνα Πύτ[ιον] . . . . αι ὑπέρ. Kirchhoff takes the form Ἀπέλλωνα; but it is hardly justifiable to double the

consonant, as Ahrens (*Cypr.*) has proved in regard to the Cyprian form of this name, which he takes as Ἀπλωνι in the dative, comparing Ἀπλουν, the Thessalian form. ὑπέρ? ὑπάρ, in line 2?

31. γέρα]ς ΗιΥαρὺν αι[. . .

32. φερο $\Lambda$ οιμε[ν looks like an optative form.

34. κατέχω(ν)τι, Kirchhoff. [κατήχοντο, Bezenberger.]

W. M. RAMSAY.

NOTE.—Since the above was in type an article by Dr. A. Bezenberger entitled *Zur Beurteilung des pamphyliischen Dialekts*, has appeared on the same subject, in Bezenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, v. 4 (1880). Bezenberger, however, adds little to our knowledge of the inscription; the phonetic value of  $\Lambda$  is unknown to him as well as the meaning of **MHEIAΛH**, and he misreads the title of Artemis on the coins of Perga **MANAΨΑΣ**. But the following suggestions of his are worthy of attention. In line 10 he proposes to read [αὐ]τύς καὶ δ(ἄμος). I believe **MANETYΣ** to signify 'priest,' and adopting Bezenberger's proposal would therefore render the whole line: 'every priest, and the nobility itself and people.' In line 11 he reads **ΘΕΦΕΙ**πολυ, and with the compound **ΛΟΙΚΥΠΟΛΙΣ** compares *ἱεραπόλος* in the Akarnanian inscriptions (Cauer, *Delectus*, Nos. 98, 99). In line 12 the word *δικαστήρας* in the Lokrian inscription of Naupaktos (*Rhein. Mus.* 26, 39) seems to settle the doubtful vowel of the corresponding word in the inscription of Sillyon. Bezenberger explains *ἄγεθλα* as 'instruments for the sacrifice,' comparing *θύσθλα* and the glosses *ἄγον* and *ἀγός* in Hesykhios. He further compares *ὄροFυ* (line 25) with *ὄρούα· χορδή* (in Hesykh.) and the Umbrian *arvia* and Latin *aru-spes*, though he allows that *ὄρος* is also possible. In line 27 he suggests *ἰς* (=ἐς) *Ῥέξ ἐκάθεαν*, comparing *ἄνεαν* in line 18, which is certainly a third person plural like the Boeotian *ἀνέθειαν, παρέιαν* (Führer: *De Dialecto Boeotico*, p. 12). We may further compare the Kyprian *κατέθιγαν*, as well as *ἀνέθειαν* (*Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. 589) and the vowel of *ἔχευα* and *εἴπα*. There is little probability in Bezenberger's proposal to read *ἄματι*, akin to Skt. *samā*,

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English *summer*, in line 21, and his rule that *o* does not become *u* when no nasal follows is rendered doubtful by the variable character of the writing to which Mr. Ramsay has drawn attention.

To turn to palaeography, I was led to give the value of  $\sigma\sigma$  to the Karian  $\Upsilon$ , also written  $\Upsilon$ , from its identity with the Kypriote  $\mu$  or  $\Upsilon$  on the one side, and the Kilikian  $\mu$  (final *s*) on the other. I do not think that the Pamphylian  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$  can be compared with the Kypriote  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$ , since the latter character is a late simplification of  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$  or  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$  and has the value of *va*. On the other hand, if we examine the different forms of the Kypriote characters for *ki* and *la*, we shall see that an early form of the character for *u* (or rather *vu*) was  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$ . I may add that I shall in future speak of the Asianic, rather than of the Kypriote, syllabary, since, as I have shown in an Appendix to Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*, the Kypriote syllabary was really a branch of one once used throughout Asia Minor.

*Βολήμενος* in line 13 is an interesting form, similar to the Arcadian *ἀδικήμενος*, Elean *καδαλήμενος*, Lesbian *καλήμενος*, Boeotian *ἀδικείμενος*, and Delphian *καλείμενος*. Compare, too, *ἀλιτήμενος*, *Od.* 4, 807.

The resemblances between the dialect of Sillyon and that of Kypros (such as the change of final *-o* into *-u*, the loss of the nasal before a dental, the use of *yod* and *digamma*, and the employment of *έξ* with the dative) have a bearing upon the language of Homer. The Homeric *ἀδροτής* for *ἀνδροτής* (*Il.* 16, 857, xxii. 363), has already been conjectured to be a Cyprism, and we may now couple with it the lengthening of a final short vowel before *μέγας* and its compounds, noticed above by Mr. Ramsay. At any rate, the other resemblances between the Kyprian and Pamphylian dialects make it not improbable that the same rough pronunciation of the first syllable of *μέγας* characterised the dialect of Kypros as characterised the dialect of Sillyon.

It will be useful to add here the Pamphylian glosses found in Hesykhios and elsewhere, which have been collected by Bezenberger :—

*ἀβελήν· ήλιακόν. Παμφύλιοι* (Hesykh.).

*Ἀβώβας· ὁ Ἀδωνις ὑπὸ Περγαίων* (*Etyim. Mag.* 4, 53, made a Persian word by Hesykh.).

ἄγον· ἐν Πέργῃ τὴν ἱέρειαν οὕτως καλοῦσιν (H.).  
 ἄγος· . . . ἐν Πέργῃ ἱέρεια Ἀρτέμιδος (H.).  
 ἀγρακόμας· ὄρνις τις ὑπὸ Παμφυλίων (H.).  
 ἀδρί· ἀνδρί. Παμφύλιοι (H.).  
 Ἀήδων· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Παμφυλίοις (H.).  
 αἶβετος· αἰετός. Περγαῖοι (H., *Et. M.* 28, 7).  
 ἀμείνασις· ἡδύοσμον ὑπὸ Περγαίων (*Et. M.* 82, 50).  
 ἄρκυμα· ἀκρίς ὑπὸ Περγαίων (H.).  
 βουρικυπάρισσος· ἡ ἄμπελος. Περγαῖοι (H.).  
 ξειγαρά· ὁ τέττιξ παρὰ Σιδήταις (H.).  
 ἰκτίς· ὁ ἰκτίνος. Περγαῖοι (H.).  
 κασύας· ὄρκυνος. Περγαῖοι (H.).  
 κορκόρας· ὄρνις. Περγαῖοι (H.).  
 λάφνη· δάφνη. Περγαῖοι (H.).  
 λάψα· γογγυλῖς. Περγαῖοι (H.).  
 πηρία· Ἀ(σ)πένδιοι τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἀγροῦ (H.).  
 σαραπίους· τὰς μαινίδας (? μαινάδας). Περγαῖοι (H.).  
 σισίλαρος· πέρδιξ. Περγαῖοι (H.).  
 τριμίσκον· ἱμάτιον. Ἀσπένδιοι (H.).  
 ὕλογος· στρατός. Περγαῖοι (H.) ὕ = ὁ (sa); though cf. the  
 Salaminian ὕγγεμος· συλλαβ' (H.).  
 φεννίον· μηδικὴ ὁδός. Παμφύλιοι (H.). Does this denote  
 the great highway from Sardes to the Bay of Antioch?  
 Ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡρακλείδης τοὺς Παμ-  
 φυλίους ἄλλως χαίρειν τῷ Β, προτιθέντας αὐτὸ παντὸς φωνή-  
 εντος. τὸ γοῦν φᾶος φάβος φασί· καὶ τὸ ἀέλιος βαβέλιος·  
 οὕτω δὲ φησι καὶ τὸ ὀρούω ὀρούβω λέγουσι, καὶ περισπωμένως  
 δὲ ὀρουβῶ (*Eustath. ad Hom.* 1654, 20).  
 Ἔθος δὲ ἔχουσι Δωριέων τινές· ὥς γὰρ (οἱ) Ἀργεῖοι καὶ  
 Λάκωνες καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Ἑρετριεῖς καὶ Ὠρώπιοι, ἔνδειαν  
 τοῦ σ ποιοῦντες, δασεῖαν χαράττουσι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις φωνή-  
 σιν, ὥς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ποιῆ'αι· καὶ Βουσῶα Βου'ῶα· καὶ  
 μουσικὰ μω'ικὰ (*Etym. Mag.* 391, 12). Compare καίνις quoted  
 by Mr. Ramsay.

A. H. SAYCE.





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A Romaic Ballad

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 1 (1880), pp. 293-300

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## A ROMAIC BALLAD.

THE following popular song was shown me by M. Fontrier, one of the directors of the museum belonging to the Evangelical School in Smyrna, who had heard it during a visit to Icaria in the year 1874. As the song is interesting from its reference to mediaeval history, I urged M. Fontrier to publish it, but he preferred to put it at my disposal. With his kind help, which is always most generously given in everything that concerns the study of Greek, the following pages have been written. A slight account of the historical circumstances to which the ballad refers would form a fitting commentary; but materials for this are not at hand. The account given by Ross (*Reisen auf den griech. Inseln*, ii. 6, 156 ff.) of his visit to the island forms an excellent geographical commentary. M. Fontrier visited most parts of the island, and from his notes I give some additions and corrections to Ross on points connected with the ballad.

[The event referred to in the ballad seems to belong to the occupation of Icaria by the Genoese in the middle of the fourteenth century, when the island of Chios was conquered by that people, and became the property of a *Maona* or trading company, who held it for 220 years, from 1346—1566. This company soon annexed some of the neighbouring islands, and among them Icaria, as we learn from an agreement made between them and the Byzantine court in 1363, according to which the Genoese were to retain possession of Chios, Samos, Icaria, and some other places, in return for the payment of a yearly tribute. (Finlay, *History of Greece*, v., pp. 70—79 ;

Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens*, ii., p. 294.—ED.]

Ῥῆμα τῆς ἀλώσεως τοῦ ἀρχαίου φρουρίου δῆλον Κάστρου τῆς Ἰκαρίας εἰς τὸν Κοσκινᾶ τοῦ τμήματος Μεσσαρίας.

- Ἀνάθεμα τὸ Γγένεοβα μὲ τότε Κρυφοράφτη,  
 Ποῦ πῆγαν νὰ πατήσουσι τῆς Νικαριάς τὸ Κάστρο,  
 Ὅπουτον κάστρι ξακουστόν, παντοῦ ἐξακουσμένο.  
 Σὰν ἤρτασι, ἐράξασι μπροστὰ εἰς τὸ Φανάρι,  
 5 Ζερβὰ ρίχτουν τῆς ἄγκουρες, πίσω τὰ παλαμάρια,  
 Κι' ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ὥστρια ρίχνουν ταῖς σιγουράνταις.  
 Ἐκ' ἡῦρασι τὸν πόδοτα ὅπου καλὰ γνωρίζει.  
 Τὴν νύκτα τὸ σκοπεύσασι κι' ὀλονυκτῆς ἐξάλα.  
 Καὶ μέσα ταῖς βαθειαῖς αὐγαῖς ἢ Ὑψηλαῖς γεμῶσαν·  
 10 Καὶ σὰν ἐγλυκοχάρασσε, ἐπῆξαν ἢ Ἀτσίδαις·  
 Καὶ ὅταν ἠνεφάνασι στὸν Κάμπο τοῦ Φιλίππου,  
 Ἐκεῖ φωνὴν ἐβγάλασι ν' ἀκούσουν ἀφ' τὸ Κάστρο.  
 Κανένας δὲν εὐρέθηκε ἀπόκρισιν νὰ πέψη,  
 Μόναχα ὁ κακόβουλος ὁ γέρων ὁ Ἀτσίδης :—  
 15 Ὑπᾶς καὶ θαρρεῖς, ὦ Γγένεοβα, καὶ σύ, ὦ Κρυφοράφτη,  
 Πῶς εἶν' τὰ δώδεκα νησὰ ὅπου τ' ἀχμαλωτίζεις,  
 Καὶ ὅλα τὰ κάστρα πολεμᾶς καὶ ὅλας τὰς χώρας πέρνεις ;  
 Ἐδῶναι κάστρο φοβερό, παντοῦ ἐξακουσμένο·  
 Στῆμ Πόλιν καὶ στῆ Βενετιά τῶχουν ζωγραφισμένο,  
 20 Στοῦ βασιλιᾶ τῆς κάμεραις τῶχουν σταμπαρισμένο.  
 Γιὰ νᾶρθουν οἱ ἐννεὶ ἀδελφοί, οἱ καστροπολεμίταις,  
 Τότε νὰ πολεμήσετε νάντιπαρταχτήτε·  
 Καὶ ποῦν' τους, οἱ ἐννεὶ ἀδελφοὶ νάντιπαρταχτούμε ;  
 Μιὰν ἀδελφὴ παντρεύουσι ἀπάνω στὴν Λαγκάδα·  
 25 Τότες κι' αὐτοὶ σιμῶσασι μὲ τόση γληγοράδα,  
 Τυρίζουν, τρυγυρίζουν το· παραδομὸν δὲν ἔχει.  
 Κι' ἓνας μικρὸς ἀπ' ὅλους τὸν παναθεματισμένους  
 Ἦτον περίσσια ἀπ' αὐτοὺς πολλὰ δασκαλεμμένους·  
 Καὶ βγάλλει τὰ μαχαίργια του καὶ κάμνει τα σκαλάκια·  
 30 Καὶ ὅλοι τοῦ κουλουθήσασι νὰ κάμουνσι ρισάλλα.  
 Κι' ἓνα κορίτσι κάθηται ἀπανωδιὸ τοῦ κάστρου,  
 Καὶ στέκει καὶ παρακαλεῖ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδιᾶς του.

- "Ἀγίε μου Γεώργι Δοργανᾶ, μεγάλον τ' ὄνομά σου,  
 'Μεγάλη ποῦν ἡ χάρι σου καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου.  
 35 'Νὰ σύρω τήν πλακίτσα μου καὶ πάρω δέκα κάτω.  
 Καὶ ρίχτει τήν πλακίτσα της καὶ παίρει δέκα κάτω.  
 Καὶ ξαναδευτερόνει την καὶ κάμνει τους τριάντα.  
 Καὶ ξαναδευτερόνει την καὶ 'σκότωσε πενήντα.  
 Καὶ πάλι ξανατρίτωσε καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνεγῆντα.  
 40 "Ενας ἀπὸ τ' ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τοὺς Χαλικιάδαις  
 Αὐτὴν τήν κόρην ἀγαπᾷ, μὰ κείνη δέν του δέχει.  
 Εὐθὺς αὐτὸς ἐπρόβαλλεν ἀπάνω στὸ μπεντένι :—  
 "Ενα κορίτσι κάθεται ἀπανωδιὸ τοῦ κάστρου.  
 'Αὐτὸ νά μου χαρίσητε καὶ ἰγὼ νὰ σᾶς διδάξω.  
 45 Κι' αὐτοὶ του ὑποσχέθησαν πῶς θὰ τοῦ το χαρίσουν  
 Κι' ἄλλα πολλὰ δωρήματα ὥστε νὰ των ἀνοίξῃ  
 Καὶ τὰ κλειδιά των ἔρριξε ὅξω ἀπὲ τὸ μπεντένι.  
 Τότες αὐτοὶ ἐμπήκασι ὅλοι ἀρματωμένοι.  
 Οἱ πέντε γιοὶ τῆς Κώσταινας, οἱ Καστροπολεμίταις,  
 50 'Αρπάξαν τήν μανοῦλάν τως· μέσ' τὸ Πριόνι πᾶσιν.

Anathema on the Genoese and on the Weaver-of-deceits,  
 Who went to surprise the castle of Icaria,  
 Which was a famous castle, everywhere renowned.  
 When they came, they anchored in front of Phanari :  
 On the left they throw the anchors, the cables behind,  
 And up to the South they throw the safest anchors.  
 There they found the guide who well knows.  
 In the night they reconnoitred it, and all night long they  
 marched :

And in the deepest of the dawn Ypselae was full :  
 And when the light was breaking, Atsidæ was crowded.  
 And when they appeared on the Field of Philip  
 There they uttered a shout, to be heard at the castle.  
 No one was found to send back answer,  
 Only the old Atsides, man of dark stratagems :  
 'You surely do not think, O Genoese, and you, O Weaver-of-  
 deceits,  
 'That it is the twelve islands that you subdue,  
 'And capture all the castles, and take all the towns ?  
 'Here is a terrible castle, everywhere renowned,  
 'In Stamboul and in Venice they have it pictured,

'In the chambers of the emperor they have it stamped.  
 'Let the nine brothers once be here, the takers of castles,  
 'Then set yourselves against them to fight.'  
 'And where are they, the nine brothers, that we may set our-  
   selves against them ?'  
 'They are marrying their sister up in Langadha.'  
 Thereupon they approached with such speed,  
 They encircled it and triply encircled it ; it finds no surrender.  
 And one little fellow accused beyond all of them  
 Was very experienced, more than they,  
 And he thrusts in his daggers and makes them into a ladder,  
 And all followed him to make an assault.  
 And a damsel sits on the top of the castle,  
 And she stands and prays with all her heart :  
 'Dear Saint George of Dhorgana, great is thy name,  
 'Great is thy grace and thy sanctuary.  
 'Let me grasp my little slab and strike down ten.'  
 And she throws her little slab and strikes down ten,  
 And once more she throws and makes them thirty,  
 And once more she throws and killed fifty,  
 And again she threw and ninety perish.  
 One of the accused ones of the Chalikadae  
 Loves this girl, but she does not accept him.  
 Forthwith this fellow thrusts his head forth over the rampart,  
 'A girl is sitting on the top of the castle,  
 'Give her to me, and I will be your teacher.'  
 And they promised him to give her to him  
 With many gifts besides, that he might open to them.  
 And he threw them the keys out from the rampart.  
 Then they entered all armed.  
 The five sons of Costas' wife, the takers of castles,  
 Took their mother : into (Mount) Prion they go.

The Island of Icaria, which is simply a mountain ridge stretching from N.E. to S.W. in continuation of Samos, is now divided into three districts (*καρτέρια, τμήματα*). Of these Phanari lies to the east, and Messaria occupies the middle of the island. A chain of mountains which runs transversely across the island separates them. Messaria lies on the northern, and Phanari on the southern slope. Towards the west the

island is a series of ridges and hills, which give name to the third district, *Ῥάχαις*, also called Parameria. The term *δήμος* has of late been revived, and has, according to Ross, spread from Greece to Icaria, so that the districts are called *δήμοι*, and the headmen *δήμαρχοι*. Ross must have been mistaken in thinking that a village Messaria existed. The chief village is now *Ἅγιος Κήρυκος* on the south coast of Messaria. On the mountain of Koskina in the centre of the island is a Hellenic ruin called *παλαιόκαστρο*—the castle referred to in the ballad. Inside it is a church dedicated to St. George; it is an ancient temple, probably the *Ταυροπόλιον* or temple of Diana mentioned by Strabo. Hot springs, still called *τὰ Θερμά*, on the south coast mark the place where dwelt the *Θερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἴκ'ρου* mentioned in the Athenian tribute lists (Franz, *Elem. Epigr. Gr.*, n. 52, p. 130). Oenoe lay on the fertile northern coast of Messaria and its name still survives in the form *Na*: hence came the Pramnian wine, the produce of the 'Sacred' or 'Dionysian' vine. On the north-east promontory called Drakanon or Drepanon stands a tower called *τὸ Ἱερὸν* or *Φανάρι*, the Lighthouse, which has given name to the cape and the whole district along the southern slope. Its ruins were described to Ross as being still forty feet high, and in the neighbourhood are other traces of a Hellenic settlement. This must have been the ancient Drakanon. Along the summit of the central ridge are the ruins of several other small Hellenic towers, *καστράκια*, and near Oenoe are many sepulchral chambers (*θολάρια*) still perfect. There were no harbours in Icaria, but only roadsteads, the best of which was at *Ἰστοί*, the modern Eudelos (*στὸν Εὐδήλον*). During his short visit Ross had no time to see any of these sites except Therma, but gives his account from hearsay. The antiquities of this and of many other of the Turkish islands in the Aegean still present a fresh and most interesting field for exploration: and the accounts given by Mr. Newton and Ross of their travels and discoveries show how much may be expected in the parts to which their researches did not extend.

Icaria, the most barren and wild of all the Aegean islands, was not a tempting spot for settlement, and the popular dialect seems to have retained a more primitive character than any other of the modern forms of Greek. The Genoese occupation has left its traces in a number of Italian words, but Ross in his

visit of twenty-four hours was struck with a number of words peculiar to this island (*l. c.* p. 165). M. Fontrier has also been good enough to give me a list of peculiar words which he noted down during his visit to the island: of these the most interesting are *κάμπτω*, *ίστιά* in the sense of fire, and *δοξόβολο* as a rough measure of distance (apparently *δισκόβολον*). [Unless it means 'bow-shot': *δοξάρι* being modern Greek for *τόξον*.—ED.]

Genovas and Kryphoraphtes had, when this song was composed, become heroic names, the leaders of the invasion. So Atsides, line 14, is also the eponymous hero of the mountain called Atsidae, line 10.

2. *πατώ* is used in Smyrna in a friendly sense, to denote a surprise visit to a friend's house with the intention of having a merrymaking. See Coraes, *ἄτακτα* iii., s.v.

5. Ross, coming with a north wind from the side of Chios and anchoring on the southern coast, likewise had his anchor on the left, and a *παλαμάρι* fastening the stern of his vessel to the shore. The word *ῶστρια*, Latin or Italian, shows that the Genoese also must have landed on this side, having come round or past Cape Phanari with a north wind.

6. *ἄγκουρες* for *ἄγκουραις*, the common Romaic form. *σιγουράντσαις*, the Italian 'sicuranza.'

7. *πόδοτα*, an unknown word, which, as M. Fontrier suggests, may be derived from *πούς*. [Perhaps the Italian 'pedoto' or 'pedotto' = pilot.—ED.]

8. *ἐζάλα*, aorist of a verb *ζάλω*, used in Icaria in the sense of *ὀδοιπορώ*. The imperfect is *ἐζάλα*. The verb is not known in the lexicons. [*ζάλον*, however, is a 'step,' 'footprint'; and *ζαλοπατώ* is to 'tread underfoot.'—ED.]

9. *γεμῶσαν*, cf. 50, *ἀρπάξαν*. There is a constant tendency in Romaic to gain uniformity of accent. *ἀρπάξαμε*, *ἀρπάξατε*, *ἀρπάξανε*, or *ἀρπάξασι*, produce *ἀρπάξαν* also, though *ἄρπαξαν* and similar forms are also heard in the speech of the common people. In line 8, *ἐζάλα* implies a form *ἐζάλανε*. The same holds in the declension of nouns; in almost every case the accent of the accusative obtains throughout.



Ἵψηλαίς is part of the mountain range between Phanari and Messaria. Ἀτσιδαίς is a mountain in the south of Messaria. Κάμπο, a village on the north coast of Messaria, is perhaps alluded to in line 11.

10. ἐγλυκοχάρασσε for ἐγλυκοχάραξε: such forms occur in ancient times, among others, in the Argive dialect.

ἐπήξαν, from πήζω, much stronger than γεμῶσαν.

13. [πέψη = πέμψη. The occurrence of this classical word is interesting, for, though it has been preserved in the Cretan dialect, it is lost in ordinary modern Greek.—ED.]

15. μπάς for μήπως, according to the usual explanation.

16. νησά for νησιά.

20. βασιλιάς is used of the Byzantine emperor in the remarkable semi-historical ballad, Schmidt, *Griech. Märchen*, &c. No. 59, which should be compared with the Icarian song for its mixture of historical names and love romance.

[σταμπαρισμένο = 'printed.' This seems to show that the ballad in its present form is not mediaeval.—ED.]

24. Langadha, the glen, is a place in the south-west of Icaria.

27. (ἐ)παναθεματισμένος.

31. ἀπανωδιό for ἐπάνωθι.

33. She appeals to the saint whose church was in the castle; each saint has his distinct individuality and special name in every place where he is worshipped. Here he is St. George Dhorgana.

30. ρισάλτα, Italian word. [ρίσάλτα is of Italian origin, though no such word as 'risalta' seems to exist in Italian. 'Risalto' means a bastion or redoubt, and Passow thinks the Greek ρισάλτο is used in this sense in the passage *πέρνουνε καὶ κάστρα μὲ ρισάλτο* (v. *Carmina Popularia*, n. 225, l. 18, and the Glossary *s. v.*). But both ρισάλτο there and ρισάλτα here make better meaning in the sense of 'attack' or 'escalade.' Although 'risalto' does not mean this, 'risalire,' from which it is derived, signifies to 'mount again.'—ED.]

34. *προσκύνημα*, name given to the part of the church where the saint's picture is.

35. *πλάκα* is especially a gravestone. The stone which composes the mountain is chiefly a schist, so that plenty of *πλακίτσαις* were at hand.

42. *μπεντένι*, the Turkish word 'beden' = battlement.

49. *Κώσταινας*, a married woman is always named thus : *ἡ κυρία τοῦ δεῖνος* is the polite style.

50. *Πριόνι* for *Πριόνιον*, diminutive of *Prion*, a frequent name for mountains in Greece, *e.g.* at Ephesus.

W. M. RAMSAY.



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Newly Discovered Sites near Smyrna

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 1 (1880), pp. 63-74

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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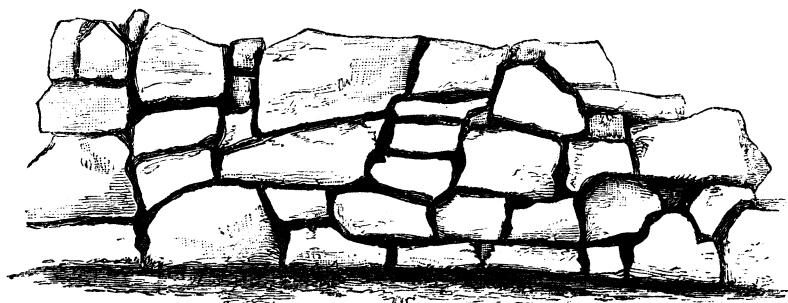
## NEWLY DISCOVERED SITES NEAR SMYRNA.

No part of the Greek world is richer in tradition and in the memories of a prehistoric past than the district that lies within the limit of a day's excursion from Smyrna. In the small but fertile plain that surrounds the head of the gulf, a great power existed long before the Ionians emigrated from Greece to Asia Minor. The names of Niobe, Tantalus, Pelops, are all most intimately connected with Mount Sipylus. The mountain was one of the chief seats of the worship of the goddess called Cybele by the Greeks; and in that worship the connection between Greece and the East is more apparent than in almost any other. Any new traces of this old empire must therefore have some value; and though the following notes are the result only of a first preliminary survey, they may give some new information about a race that is as yet too little known.

A Turk, the trusty and intelligent servant of a very kind English friend, had accompanied us in several excursions; and he told me of some ruins near his village that had hitherto escaped notice. M. Weber, an archaeologist in Smyrna, went with us in our visit to the spot.

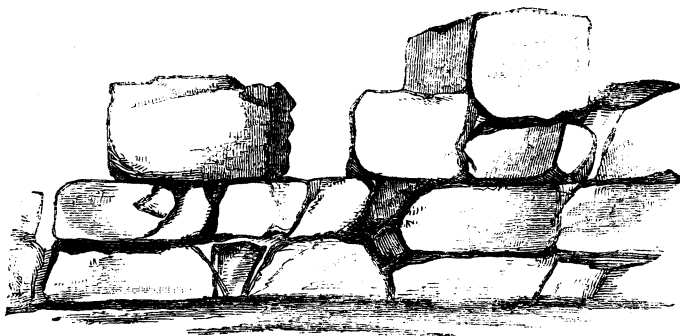
Soon after passing from the level plain of Bournabat on to the rough hilly tract which stretches from north to south, connecting Sipylus with Olympus, the road divides. The southern branch leads through the village of Kavakli-Deré; the northern, which lies much higher and keeps close to the line of the ancient road, passes by a *café* called Belcaivé. In the angle where the roads separate is a Turkish cemetery on the site of a temple. A few columns remain *in situ*, and fragments scattered about show that the building is of the Roman period.

During a hasty survey we observed no inscriptions. Overhanging Belcaivé is a hill of about 1,300 feet in height, of which the summit, from this side, seems to form a long plateau. This hill is a very prominent object in the view seen from Smyrna to the east, and on this account, probably, has been taken as the central point of a sketch attached to the Admiralty charts. On approaching it from the west its appearance is still more striking ; it seems like a broad cone severed, as if by the hand of man, from the range of Sipylus. On the west and south its sides are generally precipitous, much more so than on the east and north, but in one place in the southern face a glen breaks the rocky wall, and running up into the plateau, makes its southern boundary concave towards Belcaivé. After five or ten minutes ascent from the *café* the entrance to this glen is reached, which is closed by a Cyclopean wall of polygonal stones. The



stones are of various sizes ; some are small, others are six feet long. They are so fitted together as to produce a level surface. Its height is generally from six to ten feet, but at some places it has been broken down to a much lower level. Its thickness is about twenty feet, consisting of two similar fronts, with the interval filled, apparently by loose stones and earth. It runs from rock to rock across the entrance to the glen in a curve convex to the approacher ; and no gateway has ever existed in it. Its length must be at least 150 feet. It would attract the eye of every traveller on the road, at certain points of which it would be in view, were it not for the dense thorn-bushes which clothe the

whole slope, except where there are bare rocks. These bushes both conceal the wall and render the ascent difficult, and on this account the remains have escaped the notice of almost every traveller. The summit is an elongated plateau, measuring about 1,800 feet round, and is completely encircled by a very massive wall. The stones are roughly squared and laid in horizontal courses. The thickness of the wall can scarcely be ascertained owing to its peculiar construction and ruinous state.



Among pottery of a plainer character, numerous fragments of Greek ware are scattered over the surface, some of a very early period, others with the well-known black Hellenic glaze. No fragments with figures painted on them were found. At some time after the city was destroyed the surface was cleared for agriculture, and the stones thrown up in heaps. A little digging under one heap made me certain that the ground had not been disturbed since the destruction of the city.

Towards the west end of the plateau there is a rocky hillock, which gives the whole hill the conical appearance that it has from the west, and conceals the plateau from the view of a spectator on that side. On this small hill is built the Acropolis, which is very similar in style to the Acropolis of Old Smyrna.<sup>1</sup> The natural rock is taken advantage of to the utmost, and walls are built where it fails. For example, the south-west

<sup>1</sup> A description of Old Smyrna is given, with a plan, in Curtius' *Beiträge zur Geschichte Klein-Asiens*, Berl. Akad. *Abhandl.* 1872; but a much

more careful and full account will be found in M. Weber's just published work, "*Le Sipylos et ses Ruines.*"

corner is simply bare rock slightly cut and smoothed ; about four feet from the corner the rock fails, and is continued by an artificial wall along the western side. The corner of the rock projects a little beyond the line of the wall. On the Acropolis at Old Smyrna the middle part of the western wall is natural rock, but the two ends are artificial ; and there also the rock projects beyond the line of the wall. In both cases the stones used for building are small, carefully squared and fitted blocks of the common trachyte of the country. This Acropolis is many times larger than that of Old Smyrna. Inside it, in the centre of the hill, there is a large square chasm in the rock, about twelve or fifteen feet deep, which may possibly have been used as a cistern. On the south slope of the hillock the lines of at least four walls can be traced. Abutting on the wall to the east is a small circular ruin which may have been, as M. Weber thought, a ruined tumulus like those near Old Smyrna. It is not more than eight feet in diameter. Further to the east, where the hillock rises above the level of the plateau, several flat shelves have been cut in the rock near one another at the same level, but not in one line. In these shelves small oblong sinkings have been made to a depth of about two inches. I counted ten of them. They are evidently made to hold the foundation of the outer wall of the Acropolis. A little to the north-east may be traced the line of several walls, built of squared stones like the Acropolis ; they meet one another always at right angles, and evidently formed one building of considerable size.

The site commands the road which passes at the foot of the hill. In ancient time this was the road from Smyrna to Sardis, and thence into the interior of Asia Minor ; and until the Hermus-valley railway was constructed, all merchandise from the Upper Hermus-valley and the country eastward entered Smyrna by this route. On the other side of the pass, at the village of Nymphi, there is another bold hill, isolated from the mountain range to the south. On it, besides the mediaeval castle on the summit, there are remains of early walls, built of much larger blocks of stone than the Acropolis of Old Smyrna. This fortress, like that in the pass, commands the road between Smyrna and Sardis. It must have been a strong place in early time ; in the Hellenic period it seems to have sunk into decay, and again

under Byzantine and Genoese rule to have become a town of importance.

On another extensive plateau six hundred feet beneath the hill over Belcaivé, towards the east, Mr. Dennis and myself found, during a subsequent visit, clear traces of a Hellenic city. Scraps of pottery and tiles were scattered about in profusion, in character exactly like the pottery of the upper city. Most of the fragments are plain red ware, but distinctively Greek ware is quite well represented. We saw some rough holes recently dug, and were told that three large jars had been found, but no bones. This lower plateau adjoins the hill on which the upper city stands, and on it evidently the majority of the inhabitants lived.

Looking at the character of all these remains one sees that a Greek city of considerable size once stood here. The contrast between the utter ruin of the fortifications on the summit and the good preservation of the wall at the foot of the hill is very striking. Now, as Mr. Dennis pointed out, the wall at the foot is an outwork to defend the entrance to a glen that runs deep into the side of the hill; an enemy attacking the city would gain an advantage by finding an entrance to the glen. On the other hand, the outwork is of no value in itself, and we might argue that a victorious enemy had destroyed the upper fortifications and left the wall at the foot as not of any consequence. The pottery found is, in the majority of cases, of a primitive kind; on such a site as Erythrae, the great mass of the pottery is late.

On these grounds I venture an hypothesis.

The Greek immigrants occupied the Lydian city of Old Smyrna, with the small Acropolis that is still standing. The Greek Smyrna rapidly grew into an important city. It seems not to have been a great colonising and sea-faring state, like Miletus or Phocaea, but rather to have depended on the inland trade of which it is the natural coast terminus. The little Lydian Acropolis, which might be placed inside a respectable English dining-room, ceased to be a suitable centre for a city which doubtless ruled a wide country round about. The Greeks therefore founded a colony on the magnificent site which I have just described. Here they commanded the road and the two valleys of Smyrna and Nymphi. The colony, if we may judge from the



remains, was of far greater importance than the mother city; and this colony was the city destroyed by Alyattes. Here the Greek life centred, and here the Greek remains are found. The old Acropolis remained overhanging the harbour, but Alyattes did not take the trouble to destroy it with the same completeness with which he destroyed the more dangerous city. It still remains to find the Necropolis of the colony and thus prove or disprove the conjecture I have advanced.

The other site of which I propose to give a short account lies on a hill at the extreme northern limit of the level ground surrounding the Gulf of Smyrna. It is perhaps the most interesting relic of antiquity in the valley, as it gives the impression of greater antiquity than either of the two fortresses that we have just been describing.

Looking northward, from the quay of Smyrna across the gulf, we see the western part of Mount Sipylus sloping upward from a valley that opens on the sea at Cordelio. The effect is as if the spectator stood on the *λογεῖον* of a gigantic Greek theatre, of which the valley and the gulf formed the *ὄρχήστρα* and *πάροδοι*. Then straight opposite in the central wedge of the *κοῖλον* formed by the gradual ascent of Sipylus,<sup>1</sup> the eye is caught a little way up the slope by a bold hill whose summit looks like a cubical rock rising clear over the surrounding hills to about half the height of the highest point of Sipylus. The hill is now called Ada, "the island." Old Smyrna stands on the extreme right-hand point of the *κοῖλον*.

M. Weber, who was convinced that some ruins ought to be found in this part of Sipylus, between Old Smyrna and the ancient Temnos, corresponding to the Hieron of Cybele, noticed by Pausanias, was so impressed by this remarkable-looking hill that he started from Smyrna expressly to examine it. He was not disappointed, but discovered on the summit remains of considerable extent, and of the highest interest, which he found no difficulty in identifying as the Hieron. M. Weber published an account of this discovery, identifying the Hieron of Cybele with

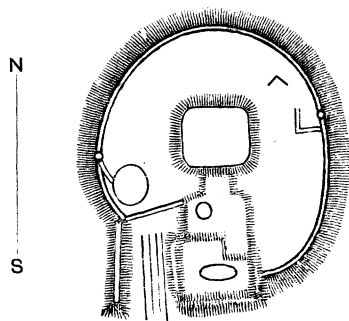
<sup>1</sup> The modern name of this part of Sipylus is Yamanlar Dag, from the village of Yamanlar. It has been suggested by M. Fontrier that *σπήλαιον*, the name of a landing-place below the mountain, is simply *Σιπύλιον*.

The name ceased to have meaning to the popular mind, and was changed to a word that gave a distinct sense. The sound is almost the same in modern pronunciation. No caves occur at the place.

these ruins, and the throne of Pelops with a point on the highest summit of Sipylus ; but the description was buried in a local paper and never met with the recognition that its interest undoubtedly deserved. It was only from a chance allusion in the *Σμυρναικά* of Κυρ. Τσακύρογλος, that I learned of the proposed identification ; and the next day the brief description published by M. Weber this year in the *Μουσείου* of the Evangelical School in Smyrna, came into my hands. It was a point of much interest to see the place, and examine on the spot the arguments in favour of the proposed identification. There remained also the summit of Sipylus still unexamined, where the throne of Pelops was conjecturally placed ; and, though it is probable that this name was applied to the summit of a hill commanding a fine view, without any artificial addition, still there was always the possibility of finding some natural appearance, perhaps aided by the hand of man, to suggest the name. We therefore lost no time in visiting the place. On the first expedition almost all our time was spent in finding the way. Though visible from Smyrna, the hill is not in sight from the northern side of the gulf, nor from Bournabat, the side from which we started ; and the process of examining all the remarkable-looking hills in Sipylus is a slow one. On reaching the summit we had time only to take a hasty view of the ruins, collect some of the fragments of pottery that were scattered about, and make some sketches of the styles of building. A second visit gave us more time to examine the hill, though an unlucky accident made it impossible to take measurements for a plan. But it is easy to see that M. Weber's hypothesis as to the purpose of the ruins is at least inadequate ; he was probably so much absorbed in the ruins on the summit of the hill, that, like us on our first visit, he failed to notice the much more extensive traces of walls on the west and north sides of the hill. A brief account of the whole is necessary to make any criticism of his view intelligible.

From the highest point of Western Sipylus (Yamanlar Dagħ), extend two lofty ridges, the one towards the mouth of the Hermus, the other towards the eastern extremity of the gulf near Bournabat. These ridges form the upper tier of the *κοίλον* in the natural theatre that we have described. Between them a number of lower ridges radiate from the central point and sink

gradually into the plain. Midway in one of these ridges, but far above them all rises the hill we speak of, like a cone, to the height of about 1,600 feet. Near the top, a wall extends almost completely round the hill, and at this point the cone is truncated. Inside the wall is a plateau, more or less level, about 200 feet in diameter, in the centre of which rises a square mass of rock with perpendicular sides about thirty feet high. A similar rock projects over the southern brow of the hill, making a wall unnecessary at this side, as one might drop a stone over the southern face, nearly 150 feet to the slope of the hill. These two 'gigantic altars,' as M. Weber calls them, are connected by a lower ridge, with flat surface and perpendicular sides about fifteen feet high, so that the whole forms an oblong mass



stretching across the plateau from north to south. West of this, and parallel to it, a lower ridge projects from the plateau towards the south. Between the perpendicular walls of these two ridges lies a narrow steep valley. It is closed at the top by the wall surrounding the plateau. In general this wall runs nearly in a circle round the hill; but it goes across the top of this valley in a straight line about eighty feet long. This part of the wall is Cyclopean; the stones are of various shapes and sizes, but none are larger than two feet by two and a half. They are roughly fitted together, and often open spaces are left between them; but on the whole the surface looks smooth and regular and the effect is good. The wall, which is several feet thick and about ten feet high, seems never to have risen above the level of the plateau, but rather to have been a support for it.

On the Acropolis of Erythrae near the summit I have seen a wall similar in style, and obviously built for the same purpose.

After crossing the lower ridge which projects to the south at this point, the wall goes along the western side of the hill. It is here built of carefully squared stones, about twenty-seven inches long by fifteen inches high. Few of them are left; there are never more than two courses in position, with some scattered about. In the middle of the western side is a gateway, about four feet wide. The road entered at a very oblique angle. It evidently passed round the north side of the hill. Down the northern slope, at the level where the hill parts from the chain, of which it is a member, there are again traces of a roadway cut through a small eminence. This is exactly the path by which the ascent is easiest for one coming from the Gulf of Smyrna.

Along the north side of the hill, the wall that surrounds the plateau is very rude and slight. After the careful building on the west we have first stones slightly cut, and placed with a rude appearance of tiers, and afterwards mere round fragments loosely piled up. The natural rock however makes a wall less necessary in this part. The stones are piled on the top of a rock, which is from three to ten feet in height. On the north-east, where this rock is highest, and where the wall is no longer required, a curious niche, like a sentry-box, is seen. It is in part at least artificial, its sides are three flat stones while another forms a roof overhead. Inside this it is possible to stand and look out over the natural battlement. This niche was in the front of a square tower, two of the side walls of which still can be traced. They are built of the same squared stones as the west wall and are more than three feet thick.

Before reaching this tower we passed a hole in the plateau. It is now almost filled up; but was once built regularly, and two of the walls built of stones placed so as to give a rude appearance of tiers can still be seen to a depth of about four feet. These two walls meet at a right angle.

Immediately beyond this tower there may have been a gate, as M. Weber states; but the wall can hardly be traced beyond this point, though it evidently extended round to the base of the lofty rock.

If we now ascend the oblong ridge we find that the rock in the centre of the plateau has been left in its natural state. Only

in one place is there a hole shaped like a grave and full of earth ; it may possibly be artificial. Graves like it are scooped out of the limestone rock on a promontory south of Erythrae, which is known to have been a city before the Greek immigration ; they probably did not belong to a Greek race, as bones only were found in them. It is in the other rock that M. Weber discovered the most interesting remains. At its north-east corner there is an entrance from the lower part of the ridge into an oblong chamber, fourteen feet broad, which penetrates into the rock till it attains a total length of twenty-one feet. At one time, apparently, there were walls of the natural rock on the north and east, only a narrow doorway having been made at the corner ; but these rock walls seem afterwards to have been destroyed and replaced by artificial walls. These walls differ from all the others described, thin layers of lime being used between the stones. In the floor of this chamber, but not exactly in the centre, is sunk an inner chamber. The accumulated rubbish, and an enormous boulder dislodged from the rock above make it impossible, at present, to see the depth of this chamber or its shape at the back. From east to west it is about six feet and a half broad. The north end is semicircular ; but as the south end is covered, it can only be asserted that the length was not less than twelve feet. The walls of this inner chamber are most beautifully built in courses about a foot high, six courses are visible at one end.

On the top of this southern rock, beyond the chamber, there is an oval depression now filled with earth. In the central part of the rocky ridge there is a similar depression but round ; and again on the plateau, the road entering by the gate on the west appears to lead direct into another depression very much larger than the other two.

On the northern and western slopes of the hill, walls can still be traced on a far greater scale than at any other place I have seen in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. They are all built exactly in the same style as the western wall surrounding the plateau ; on one stone there seemed to be small oblong sinkings as if for metal clamps. Several times one could trace the outline of square chambers of various sizes. Time, however, failed us, and we could not examine half of the slope.

Various as are the styles of building, they seem all to have

been employed (with perhaps the exception of the wall where lime is used) by the same race, each for a distinct purpose. Where a very massive wall is needed the Cyclopean style is suitable. Where the rock forms a natural wall, a still ruder style of building is put above it. Where a wall of no great thickness is required in a more level place, or where a house is to be built, carefully squared stones are used. Judging from the adaptation of the style to the purpose in view, we should therefore be led to the conclusion that the inner chamber in the rock was something peculiarly important or sacred, a tomb or a sanctuary.

Considering the dimensions of the ruins on the slope of the hill, we can hardly agree with M. Weber in finding on the summit simply the sacred precinct of the Mother Goddess. I should be more inclined to see here the Acropolis of an ancient city. The analogy of the Acropolis of Erythrae impressed me very much. There, also, there is Cyclopean building near the summit supporting a small plateau, and lower down is a wall of squared stones (different, however, in style from the building on this hill) which possibly may have surrounded the Acropolis completely.

It does not, however, follow that M. Weber is wrong in his hypothesis. It may well be that after the city had decayed, the sanctity of an ancient worship was still attached to the place, and the Greeks still came to the Hieron of the Mother Goddess on the old Acropolis. It may be some confirmation of this theory that, whereas no pottery undoubtedly Greek was found on the hill at Kavakli - Deré two fragments of Hellenic ware of the fifth or fourth century were picked up on Ada. At each place hundreds of fragments were examined.

As to the throne of Pelops, it may well be that the summit of Ada was known by this name. Though the view to the north is cut off by the higher range, a very wide prospect remains east, south, and west. Moreover the hill is far the most suitable point for a survey of the plain in which the Bay of Smyrna lies, and which might be regarded as a little kingdom, defended by mountain chains on every side. Then whether the shrine were in the rock chamber or in some building lower down the hill we should still have the throne of Pelops *ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους*

ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν (Paus. v. 13, 7). It must however be confessed that the words of Pausanias in which the definite article is used before ὄρους are more naturally interpreted as referring to the highest point of Sipylus itself; but it is in general not safe to press the words of a Greek description so close.

But it would be premature to speculate on the character of the ruins till a more thorough investigation has been made. If this could be accompanied with some slight excavation, which might be very easily done, as the steep slope leaves no possibility for great accumulation of earth, much would probably be learned about the character of the race which built these walls. I have reason also to believe that in the six or eight miles between Old Smyrna and the ruins on Ada, discoveries may yet be made. Again on the other side of Old Smyrna M. Weber has found, on the hill near Bournabat, an ancient fortification, which can be distinctly traced below the rude walls of a modern *mandra*, or fold; but the description of it I must leave for his forthcoming publication, *Le Sipylos et ses Ruines*. Since all these ruins, close to and within easy reach of Smyrna, have remained almost unknown till lately, there is great hope that a careful examination of Mount Sipylus might show many remains of the Lydian Empire that have escaped the ravages of time and the notice of travellers.

W. M. RAMSAY.



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Notes and Rectifications, Pamphylian Inscription

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 2 (1881), pp. 222-224

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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# NOTES AND RECTIFICATIONS, PAMPHYLIAN INSCRIPTION.

IN a paper 'On some Pamphylian Inscriptions,' published in the first volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, p. 242, my principal object was to establish the value of the symbols Υ and Ƶ in those inscriptions. I was able to bring many analogies for the value assigned to Υ, viz. that of a palatal sibilant; but I could find no analogy outside of the Pamphylian inscriptions for the interpretation of Ƶ as being in some cases equivalent to the English *wu*. At the time I did not notice that the Pamphylian **AWTO**, explained as was suggested in my paper, afforded an exact parallel to a Naxian inscription, the interpretation given of which by Bentley was doubted by Kirchhoff, *Griech. Alph.* p. 73, solely because it was so singular. In the Naxian inscription the form [T]O AFYTO is given by Bentley as equivalent in meaning and scansion to the Attic ταῦτοῦ; in other words ἀφύτοῦ is a dissyllable. The Pamphylian form exactly confirms this interpretation; as I had argued that **AWTO** must be rendered by the English letters awuto and that it was a dissyllable. The two forms, therefore, each in itself somewhat singular and open to suspicion, when taken together make the interpretation quite certain.<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the paper alluded to was devoted to the long inscription from Sillyon. Several of the interpretations proposed for difficult words were only desperate remedies; and especially the explanation of the first line, taking the adjective *ἱερός* in a sense not only unexampled but quite contrary to

<sup>1</sup> The foregoing note was sent to the Editor to be appended to the paper in Vol. I. but reached him too late.

Professor Jebb in the same journal, p. 59, has referred to the Naxian inscription.

analogy, cannot possibly be maintained. Its only justification was that the inscription seemed to begin with the first line of the published copy: but it is quite possible, and I think much more probable, that the inscription is continued on this stone, and that the beginning must be sought either on another stone or on another face of the same stone. I had hoped that an actual examination of the stone might reveal more; but a letter from Colonel Wilson has destroyed that hope. In January Colonel Wilson, during a brief visit to Assarkeui, took the trouble to prove on the stone the reading of several lines, the meaning of which was specially dark. His examination confirmed the accuracy of Hirschfeld's transcript in most cases, but occasionally he gives important corrections. In line 20 occurs the form **ΛΕΝΟΖΑΙ**. Kirchhoff's emendation, **ΛΕΝΟΔΑΙ** *i.e.* *γέγονται*, was given in my paper, and Colonel Wilson informs me that the stone has **Δ** not **Λ**. In line 15, I had to express doubt as to the reading **ΑΣΥΤΥ**, and I was glad to find that Colonel Wilson gives the reading **ΑΣΥΡΥ**. This of itself confirms the proposed interpretation of **Λ**: it is hardly necessary to remark that at the beginning of a word a **Λ** or a **F** before **P** is exactly what one might expect; though I cannot guess a word that would suit the place. In line 6 Colonel Wilson marks the loss of a letter **ΣΑΒΑ·ΤΙ**. In line 3 he puts a mark of interrogation at the **B** in **ΣΒΛΥΛ**. In line 2 he reads **ΙΑ** for **Λ**.

The following extract from Colonel Wilson's letter is also of interest. 'The inscription is on the right jamb of the entrance to a building which was either converted into a church or built as one; I rather think the former, but the brushwood is thick, and I had no time to make a proper examination. The jamb is formed of one stone which appeared to me to be *in situ* and not to have been taken from an older building. The square shown at the foot of your lithograph is a hole cut in the face of the jamb to receive a beam for roughly closing the entrance. The hole has been cut long after the building ceased to be a church. The inscription ran right across the face of the jamb, but on the outer side the surface has scaled off and many of the letters are lost. Some of the letters have disappeared since the copy from which the lithograph is taken was made. The inscription consisted of thirty-six lines, and the letters are  $\frac{1}{2}$ "

high. The letters are well cut, but the stone is not good. The commencement of the lines is given as a rule in the lithograph. There are several Hellenic remains at Assarkeui, and it looks a good site for digging.'

Until more Pamphylian inscriptions have been found at Assarkeui or elsewhere, I fear this one will defy all attempt to translate it. From its situation, however, it is perhaps safe to conclude that it was a religious document, describing the order of rites in the worship of Apollo Pythios; it is not improbable that the stone was one of the doorposts in a building consecrated to the god, and that the inscription began on the other jamb.

W. M. RAMSAY.



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Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 2 (1881), pp. 44-54

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AEOLIS.

### PART I.—ON THE COURSE OF SOME ROADS IN THE PROVINCE OF ASIA.

THE journey which Aelius Aristides made in the year 167 A.D. from Smyrna to Pergamus, and which he relates with much detail in the opening of the fifth book of his *Hieroi Logoi*, is the most valuable evidence left as to the relative situation of Smyrna, Larissa, Cyme, Myrina, and Gryneion: and a careful study of it is the best foundation of a knowledge of Southern Aeolis. The main facts are as follows (Arist. ed. Dind. i. p. 534). On the first day his baggage was sent on in front to Myrina to be ready when he arrived in the evening. When carriages had been got ready and he himself was prepared to start, noon had arrived. In the great heat he did not like to undergo the fatigue of travelling at this hour, and waited at his house in the suburbs of Smyrna till the heat passed. The comfort of his villa was seductive, and some matters of business detained him, so that he lost a great deal of time, and when he reached the khan before the Hermus, the sun was setting. He deliberated whether he should spend the night there, but the discomfort consequent on passing the night in a bad inn without his baggage made him resolve to go on. As he was crossing the Hermus, night had just set in, which shows that it was about one hour after sunset. A cool wind invigorated him, and he was glad on reaching Larissa, ἥδη βαθείας ἐσπέρας, that the baggage was still in front, and that the inn was no better than the previous one. A little after midnight he reached Cyme. Every place was shut up, and he encouraged his followers, who apparently were anxious to stop here, to go on. On the journey

the cold became more severe. About cock-crow he reached Myrina, and found his baggage in the street, as it had reached the town after every place was shut. After in vain trying to get admission to any inn, they at last were received into the house of a friend. As they entered it was still quite dark, but after a fire had been kindled the morning star had arisen, and the light of day began to appear. He resolved, therefore, not to go to sleep by day. His road then lay through Gryneion, where he stayed some time to sacrifice to Apollo, to Elaea, where he spent the night; but in these cases no indication is given of the time required for the journey.

How far can we trace the several stages of this journey? It lies almost exactly along the road which is still used from Smyrna to Pergamus. The path is indeed marked out by nature, and though it looks somewhat roundabout on a map, it is in reality the easiest that can be made. The Roman road from Smyrna to Pergamus was constructed by M'. Aquillius Glabrio, who was sent to Asia in B.C. 129 to regulate the province. He constructed a system of roads from Ephesus as the centre of the province; one led to Magnesia ad Maeandrum and Tralles, another to Smyrna and Pergamus. Some of the milestones on these roads have been discovered, giving the distance from Ephesus. The fifth, on the road to Tralles, was discovered last year in making some alterations in the station at Azizieh, and now stands on the station platform close to its original position.

ΜΑΝΙΟΣ ΑΚΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΜΑΝΙΟΥ  
ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ  
Ε

The Greek part of the inscription is interesting palaeographically, as showing the highly ornate form of letters used at so early a period. Another stone from the same road, found near Tralles, is published, *C. I. G.* No. 2920. The copy is both

faulty and imperfect, so that neither Boeckh, Waddington (*Fastes des Prov. Asiat.*), nor Rayet (*Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, i. p. 72) were able to restore it; but the complete stone shows at once the necessary corrections and additions—

MI. [AQVILLIVS MI. F]  
 C[O S]  
 X[X]VIII[I]  
 MAN[I]OΣ AKTAAIOΣ  
 MANIOT TΠATOC  
 PΩMAION  
 KΘ

Then follow the beginnings of five lines of a Latin inscription; this probably records a repairing of the road, as on a milestone in the Smyrna valley are recorded five successive repairs of the road to Sardis.

Another milestone on the road from Ephesus to Tralles is published by Lebas, No. 1652c., and more correctly in the Smyrna *Μουσείον*, 1876—8, p. 48. The stone has not been understood by Lebas. On one side is given the distance from Ephesus, on the other side the distance from Aidin. Lebas reads the former distance **M A** (*i.e.* M. XXX.) as XLI. and the latter distance **M B** (*i.e.* M. II.) as XLII., and thus introduces utter confusion into the inscription. The former is dated under Valerianus and Gallienus, the latter under Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius; but by a curious error the name of Constantius is given twice, in the first and in the third place. We learn from this inscription that the whole distance from Ephesus to Tralles was XXXII. miles. The distance by railway is XXXIV. English miles. The distance is greater by railway because the station for Ephesus is two miles further north than the ancient city gate, the *Magnesian*. The ancient road crossed from the Cayster valley to the Maeander by the same pass as the railway, but afterwards it took a different and shorter course through the city of *Magnesia*.

In the end of December, 1880, the Rev. S. S. Lewis of Cambridge, and myself, saw another milestone close to Tralles, about half a mile to the west of the modern town. It was nearly dark when we examined it, and we could not read the whole inscription. We left Aidin the next morning early, and

I have not yet had the opportunity of examining the stone again. It was the thirty-first milestone, the two last lines being—

I M P XXII P P Cos \  
M I Λ A

The whole road from Ephesus to Pergamus was repaired in the sixth consulship of Vespasian, A.D. 75. Two stones recording this event, but not apparently marking the distance, are published in the *Μουσείον* of the Evangelical School at Smyrna, 1875-6, pp. 1, 2. They were found a short distance south of Smyrna.

Observing these two kinds of milestones, we can by their help trace the course of the road from Smyrna to Pergamus. Near the probable site of Elaea the inscription on one of Vespasian's stones has been discovered and published in the *Μουσείον* 1875-6, p. 14. The distance in the published copy is IIH, 88 miles. This is certainly too short. In line 10 of the published copy it is necessary to read ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ ζ; in copying, the Z of the stone has been mistaken for E. Now according to the Peutinger Table (with a correction, of which I shall speak below), the total distance of Elaea from Ephesus is 98 miles, and a suspicion arises that the symbol for 90 on the stone has been misread. M. Fontrier, to whom the discovery and publication of the stone is due, showed me the copy which he had made in his note-book, and above the II he had placed a mark of interrogation when making the copy, but had omitted it in the published form.

The road went on beyond Pergamus to Adramyttion and the Troad; and one of the original stones found on the road between Pergamus and the Atarneus is published in Curtius' *Beiträge*. In that edition some mistake has been made, for the distance is given as CXXXI., and PΛA in the uncial text, but in the cursive it is given doubtfully ρ(λα?). It is not obvious where the fault lies: the number looks a little more than one would expect. According to the Peutinger Table, Pergamus is 114 miles from Ephesus, and the place where the stone is said to have been found seems on the map not much more than seven miles beyond Pergamus.

These distances show that Lebas (*Voy. Archéol., Inscr. As.*



*Min.* No. 6) has made an error in saying that the road to Pergamus went to Phocaea, and thence along the coast northwards. The distance would in that case be very much greater than the assigned measurements. Moreover, no road would, owing to the character of the country, run along the coast north from Phocaea, as Lebas suggests. The road to Phocaea must have branched off the main road at some point in the Hermus valley. Strabo gives the distance as less than 200 stadia, 25 M.P., but this is too low an estimate; possibly the distance is not meant to be measured along the road.

The same route that has been described is given in the Peutinger Table, but it puts Temnos between Smyrna and Cyme. I shall try afterwards to show that this must be a mistake, and that Temnos could not have lain on the road. It seems, therefore, certain (as might almost in fact be assumed without proof) that Aristides, who had, as his account clearly shows, no wish to diverge from the direct route, travelled by the main Roman road from Smyrna to Pergamus. What inferences can be drawn from his journey with regard to the situation of the towns through which he passed?

It would help much if we knew the exact time<sup>1</sup> when the journey was made. It was in the summer (*θέρους ὥρα*) when the heat had lasted long enough to make Aristides weak and ill. A careful perusal of the history of his thirteen years' illness will, I think, show that the treatment prescribed in his dreams by the gods Asclepios, Serapis, &c., is generally singularly well adapted to his actual circumstances, and that in some cases it can be used as evidence of local peculiarities. Hence it is probable that the journey was made about the end of July or beginning of August, when the relief from the heat is still far off. Later than this, the very expectation of cooler weather about September 10 has an invigorating effect. Sunset on

<sup>1</sup> A few pages further on Aristides says that next year in the same month he went to Cyzicus in the hieromenia there; but I have no means in Smyrna of following up this clue to the exact season. Canter, in his introduction, argues that the festival was in honour of Zeus Olympius, and was celebrated in the great Temple of Cyzicus built

by Hadrian; this temple he considers to be the temple of Zeus. If this be so, the festival would probably, like the Olympia at Pisa, be celebrated in the height of summer. The speech which Aristides delivered at this festival is preserved, and may be found in Dindorf's Edition, vol. i.

August 1 takes place at 7 P.M., and sunrise at 5 A.M. Aristides was an invalid, and would not hurry too much; moreover, he had a considerable following with him (*ὀχήματα ἐπορεύετο*). Hence I think it will be very near the truth if we say that he travelled in daylight 4 Roman miles per hour, and in the night  $3\frac{1}{4}$ . He can hardly have started from Smyrna earlier than 3.30 P.M., when the day is still at its hottest. We have then the following times and distances—<sup>1</sup>

Distance on Peutinger Table.	Leaves Smyrna	3.30 P.M.	Distance from Smyrna	14 M.P.
	At the Khan	7 "	" "	18 "
	Crosses the Hermus	8 "	" "	24 "
	At Larissa	9.45 "	" "	33 "
33	Reaches Cyme	12.15 A.M.	" "	42 "
	Leaves Cyme	12.30 "		
42	Reaches Myrina	3.15 "		
	First light	4 "		

Read in this light, the journey is remarkably like what one would tell of a journey at the present day. The stopping-places, the khan and Larissa, are exactly the points where one would find it convenient now to rest the horses. Close to the low hill on which I shall try to show that Larissa was built, there is still a little hut where travellers generally stop. In the Hermus valley one great difference exists. The river is apt to shift its course, and one can hardly reconcile the times assigned if one supposes the river then had the course that it now has, except at the expense of making the road deviate from what seems the best and most natural route. Ten years or so ago the Hermus changed its course in a single night, and now the crossing is at a point about four miles west of its former position. The old course is that given in Kiepert's map, and is, I believe, much the same as it was in the time of Aristides. The present crossing is close to the railway, a mile before Ulujak,<sup>2</sup> and my belief is that the khan stood here, about four miles from the Hermus. It would then serve travellers going either to Temnos and the towns in that part of the

<sup>1</sup> It would be tedious to give the reasons which support each stage given; I have worked out the several steps from actual experience, and I believe that the account given cannot be far wrong. The coincidence of the results with the Peutinger distances was not

observed till the whole calculations had been made.

<sup>2</sup> There are, of course, many other crossings, but according to my conception of the course taken by the road, it would pass not far from this point.

Hermus valley, or to Cyme. The former would naturally follow Aquillius's road to this point, and then go off towards the north.

The present track to Pergamus does not go quite up to Cyme, but turns off to the north across the lower part of the plateau, a short distance before the sea. It does not touch the sea coast till near Gryneion, but keeps a little way inland. Aquillius naturally made the road lead through the important cities of Cyme and Myrina, and at the same time secured for it an easier and more level course. I think engineers would now select nearly the same course.

The distances which we must then assign are as follows :—

Smyrna				XLIV. miles from Ephesus. <sup>1</sup>
Larissa about XXIV. miles from Smyrna				LXVIII. " " "
Cyme XXXIII.	"	"	"	LXXVII. " " "
Myrina XLII.	"	"	"	LXXXVI. " " "
Gryneion XLVII.?	"	"	"	XCI. ? " " "
Elaea LIV.	"	"	"	XCVIII. " " "
Pergamus LXX.	"	"	"	CXIV. " " "

Gryneion is not mentioned on the Peutinger Table, and Strabo's distances are quite different from those of the Table, so that his account cannot be used. I suppose it to lie nearly halfway between Myrina and Elaea.

Strabo (XIII. p. 622) gives two accounts of the distances between Cyme, Myrina, Gryneion, and Elaea. The first is,

Cyme	to	Myrina	40 stadia	5 M.P.
Myrina	"	Gryneion	40 "	5 "
Gryneion	"	Elaea	40 "	5 "
Elaea	"	Pergamos	120 "	15 "

The second he quotes from Artemidorus, who estimates the distances as much greater, but seems to take them along the coast line (*ἐγκολπίζοντι*). Only in one case does he state the full distance, viz. from Gryneion to Elaea 70 stadia. He does not mention the distance from Smyrna to Cyme, but that from Cyme to Elaea is certainly below the truth, while the Peutinger Table seems quite consistent with the map. Artemidorus, on the other hand, is decidedly above the true measurement. So far as my experience goes, the distances given by Strabo are

<sup>1</sup> On this distance see below.

generally a little short of the truth. This is the case with the XL stadia that he places between Sardis and the tombs of the Lydian kings, and, I believe, with the XX stadia between Smyrna and the Παλαιὰ Πόλις. He places CCCXX. between Ephesus and Smyrna, and as he mentions that the distance is measured across by Metropolis, which is quite out of the direct line and on the course of the road, it is evident that he ought to agree with the measurement of the road. The question arises whether that measurement can be determined.

A milestone is published by Lebas, *l.c.* No. 6; it was found at Bournabat. The distance is some number between forty and fifty. In discussing the inscription Lebas makes a curious error. He thinks that the road from Ephesus passed Bournabat before reaching Smyrna, and that the distance between the places is about two miles. The road came straight north, passed on the west side of Mt. Pagus, not on the east side like the modern road and railway; the reason being that the ancient city lay more on the west side of Pagus than the modern. Bournabat is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  English miles in a straight line from Smyrna, and does not even lie on the road from Smyrna to Pergamus. It must have had a separate road, and the milestone in question has no relation to those which certainly belong to the great road. It mentions only the sixth consulship of Claudius (A.D. 37); and perhaps we may conclude that the Roman road was first made in that year. A bad country road must of course always have existed. Now as Bournabat is about five Roman miles from Smyrna, the distance of Smyrna from Ephesus cannot be more than 44 miles. Strabo twice gives it as 40 miles, and the Peutinger Table gives it as 34. The distance by railway to the city of Ephesus (as distinguished from the railway station) is 50 English miles. The railway certainly traversed the same pass into the Cayster valley that was followed by the Roman road. That road passed through Metropolis according to both Strabo and the Peutinger Table; and Metropolis has been proved conclusively by M. Fontrier (*Μουσείον*, 1876-8) to lie in this very pass, and not far from the railway. The railway makes a considerable circuit between Metropolis and Smyrna; but it is not possible that the road could have been more than seven or eight miles shorter than the railway. This would make it about 44 Roman miles. We must then, as Lebas (*l.c.*)

suggested, correct the Peutinger Table to XXXXIII. The reading on the milestone must therefore be restored as forty-nine.

The main road constructed by Aquillius must be carefully distinguished from the road between Smyrna and Sardis, on which three milestones in the Smyrna valley are known. On the sixth it is recorded that the road was made in the proconsulship of Lollianus Gentianus, which Lebas places before the time of Aurelius, and successively repaired in the reigns of Septimius Severus, Aurelian, Diocletian, Constantine and Valentinian I. (Lebas, No. 8). The distances were measured from Smyrna. The second and eighth milestones are also published by Lebas, Nos. 7 and 9. The second records only the repairs under Constantine, the eighth only the original construction.

Lebas (No. 1724 f.) has published another milestone, said to have been found at Menemen in the Hermus valley. It is also published by M. Fontrier in the *Μουσείον*, 1875-6, p. 31, with a difference of reading. I have examined the stone, and find that M. Fontrier's reading represents its present state. Under the Greek text are the symbols

Μ Μ

The end of the Latin text, in very indistinct symbols, is

NOBILICΛI SS  
M VII

The writing throughout is very rude and irregular. Lebas reads,

NOBILI[SSI]MIS  
A[S]MIP

M. Fontrier reads

nobi(lissimis) n(ostris) Caes(ar-  
ibus), S(myrna) M. VII.

The Greek text gives in full ἀπὸ Σμύρνης. There is no trace on the stone to give the reading VIII. corresponding to the Greek H; but the surface is worn, and now covered with a coating of white paint.

Menemen is 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles from Smyrna by the railway; hence the only explanation of the number on the stone seems to be that the road which it marked led from Temnos and the middle Hermus valley to the sea coast, and thence crossed to Smyrna by water. Till the railway was made goods from the district took this route, embarking at Menemen Scala. Eight miles is not far from the actual distance to the sea.

The stone is dated between 292 and 305 A.D., when Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius and Galerius were emperors. The road must of course be older, and probably crossed the main road near Ulujak, and about the spot where the Khan (καταγώγιον πρὸ τοῦ Ἑρμου) was placed conjecturally; it may have served travellers on both roads.

Another road whose course is of much interest is one that led from Ephesus to Sardis. This road crossed the mountains by the pass of Karabel, in which are the two figures known as the Sesostres. It is probable that the Roman road of the empire took another course, but this pass is still used, and was in use in the time of Herodotus. But it is certain that neither the road from Smyrna to Sardis, nor that from Ephesus to Phocaea could have gone through this pass, which is very far from the proper track. Hence if these figures of Sesostres are referred to by Herodotus (II. 106) in the well-known passage, the only resource I can see is to alter the reading by transposing the names Phocaea and Sardis. In that case it would be necessary to look for another figure in the mountainous country towards Phocaea. The Sesostres figure described by Herodotus is the one near the ground in the Karabel Pass; his words do not suit the other figure high up on the rock. Moreover the two figures are so close to one another that it is impossible any one could say they were on different roads, especially when they are in a single mountain pass. If some such correction of the text is not admitted, and if the two Karabel figures are considered to be the two described by Herodotus, it seems necessary to accuse the historian of a serious error in describing what he had actually seen.

P.S.—M. Fontrier has published, in the paper above quoted on Metropolis, a milestone found near the site of the city. It belongs to the road from Pergamus to Smyrna, but the distance recorded was illegible. The distance was measured ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου, and the stone belongs to the repair executed under Diocletian and the three other emperors. This discovery confirms the evidence of the Peutinger Table and of Strabo, that the road passed through Metropolis.

The difference of number on the two sides of the milestone from Menemen may be explained, as in the case of the thirtieth from Ephesus towards Tralles, by understanding the one side to be according to the text ἀπὸ Σμύρνης **M Θ**, and the other side to be the distance from Temnos. On the latter side, there is no statement of the point whence the measurement. If, according to the hypothesis proposed above, the road be understood as that from Temnos to the quay opposite Smyrna, the measurements would suit very well. The milestone near Tralles gives in similar style on one side

ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου **M Λ A**

and on the other side simply **M B**.

W. M. RAMSAY.

(*To be continued*).



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Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 2 (1881), pp. 271-308

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN  
AEOLIS.

*(Continued from page 54).*

PART II.—MYRINA, LARISSA, NEONTEICHOS, TEMNOS, AND  
ÆGÆÆ.

ASIA MINOR, interposed like a bridge between Europe and Asia, has been from time immemorial a battlefield between the Eastern and Western races. Across this bridge the arts, civilisation, and religion of the East had passed into Greece; and back over the same bridge they strove to pass beautified and elevated from Greece into Asia. The progress of the world has had its centre and motive power in the never-ceasing collision of Eastern and Western thought, which was thus produced in Asia Minor. One episode in the long conflict has been chosen by Herodotus as the subject of his prose epic: but the struggle did not stop at the point he thought. It has not yet ended, though it has long ceased to be of central importance in the world's history. For centuries after he wrote Greek influence continued to spread, unhindered, further and further into Asia: but as the Roman empire decayed, the East again became the stronger, and Asia Minor has continued under its undisputed influence almost up to the present day. Now the tide has again turned, and one can trace along the western coast the gradual extinction of the Oriental element. It does not retreat, it is not driven back by war: it simply dies out by a slow yet sure decay. It is the aim of this set of papers to throw some light on one stage in this contest, a stage probably the least known of all, the first attempts of the Greek element to establish itself in the country round the

Hermus. Tradition has preserved to us little information about the first Greek settlements. The customary division into Aeolic, Ionic, and Doric colonists is not a sufficient one. Strabo clearly implies that there was a double Aeolic immigration when he says (p. 622) that Cyme founded thirty cities, and that it was not the first Aeolic settlement; in another passage (p. 582) he makes the northern colonists proceed by land through Thrace, the southern direct by sea to Cyme. I hope by an examination of the country and the situations, never as yet determined, of the minor towns, to add a little to the history of this Southern Aeolic immigration, in its first burst of prosperity, through the time when it was almost overwhelmed in the Lydian and Persian empires and was barely maintained by the strength of the Athenian confederacy, till it was finally merged in the stronger tide of Greek influence that set in with the victory of Alexander. More is known of Myrina, and still more of Cyme, than of any of the other towns: but both are omitted here, because it may be expected that considerable light will be thrown on the history of both by the excavations conducted on their sites by the French School of Athens. Till their results are published, it would be a waste of time to write of either city. The scanty records of the smaller towns will, however, supplement the history of the greater ones. Each furnishes something to a complete knowledge of the Aeolic emigrants: and the following study of their history will, it is hoped, be the precursor of a full account of the two greater cities in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*. Myrina will be touched on here only in so far as a knowledge of its exact site is required to fix those of the other towns of Aeolis.

Colonel Leake (*Asia Minor*, p. 270) says, 'Even the most accessible parts of the valleys of the Hermus and Caicus, and of their interjacent ridges, are still very insufficiently explored . . . . With the exception of Temnus, we have no accurate information on the sites of any of the second-rate towns of this part of Asia Minor.' The list which he gives of these towns comprises Leucæ, Phocæa, Cyme, Aegæ, Myrina, &c., which shows how great a loss is thus caused to the history of the Greek settlements in Asia Minor. In the map of Kiepert, which forms the basis of all our knowledge of this district, a conjectural situation is given to most of these towns, but the

map is far from presenting an accurate representation of the actual state of the country as it now is,<sup>1</sup> and does not do much more than repeat the guesses of previous travellers. The situations of Cyme and Phocaea alone are fixed with certainty. The site of Temnos is given by Kiepert after Leake, but it is quite certain that Menemen, where it is placed, is a purely modern town, and that no ancient city existed there. In these circumstances no apology is needed for proposing a re-distribution of the ancient names, so long as the proposal is grounded on actual observation.

In the following notes my object has not been to record discoveries of my own, but to attempt to embrace in one view the ancient sites of Aeolis which I have visited, to show their position relatively to one another and to the main features of the country in which they lie, and, working on this basis, to exhibit in a clearer light the few facts recorded of their history. A number of the ruined cities that will be mentioned have not as yet been described, but I have no pretensions to have discovered them. Most of them have been known by name, at least to the few persons in the district who take an interest in such matters; the position of some of them was described to me by Greeks, of others by Europeans, and in neither case do I wish that the credit which belongs to the real discoverers should be assigned to me.<sup>2</sup> But the ancient names which I assign to these sites are, in most cases, not those which are currently apportioned to them, where any names at all are as yet given them by the local antiquaries; and the views expressed have been worked out, apart from all modern authorities, solely from a careful study of the character of the country, and the references of the ancients. My object in every journey has been not to look for walls, but to study history. A very slight fact often gains much meaning when taken in connection with the local features, and I have tried to understand better some

<sup>1</sup> Besides errors alluded to in the course of this article, I may mention the course assigned to the Nif Chai, or river of Nymphio, which really runs parallel to the Hermus as far as Magnesia before joining that river. Numberless errors occur in the accounts of Aeolis and of Phocaea in such hand-

books as Forbiger, Smith, &c.; and the only important river between the Hermus and the Caicus is not marked in the maps.

<sup>2</sup> I purposely refrain from ascribing each discovery to any particular person, as the honour is often claimed by more than one.



of the earlier steps in a most important historical fact, the Hellenisation of Western Asia Minor.

A sketch map is given, the object of which is to show the marked features of the country and no others. The lower valley of the Hermus is a wide alluvial plain, which the ancients considered to have been formed by the river and to have been originally covered by the sea (Strab. p. 621 ; Ael. Aristid. *Aegypt.* p. 351 [468]). On the north it is bounded by the Kara Hassán Dagħ and the Dumanlu Dagħ, two higher chains in a mountainous plateau ; the latter or a part of it is called Sardene in a Homeric epigram. On the east the valley is bounded by Mt. Sipylus (Yamanlár Dagħ). The Hermus flows between these two chains by a narrow pass which leads from the middle Hermus valley, that of Magnesia, to the lower valley. For a mile or two after leaving the Magnesian plain, the river has barely room to pass between the mountains : this place is named Bogħaz, 'The Gullet.' After this the river passes through the plain of Temnos (as I shall call it), which is about four miles wide and as many in length, till the mountains open and it enters on the wide lower valley. On the west this lower valley is bounded by the mountainous Phocaean peninsula, between which and the Kara Hassán Dagħ a narrow valley extends from the Hermus plain to the sea at Cyme.

The mountainous plateau which extends between the Hermus, the sea, and the Caicus, is an unknown land. It is broken on the west by one valley, that of the river Kodja, on which I have placed Myrina and Aegae. The only time when I have gone any distance into the mountains was in visiting Namrût Kalessi, at the head of the river. Instead of following the river as we should have done, we went across the mountains over a waste of rocks and boulders, only once interrupted by a glen, green and beautiful, deep down among the hills. But there must be in the plateau many fertile glens in which several of the thirty cities founded from Cyme perhaps are yet to be discovered. The district is counted very unsafe. It is inhabited only by Turks, and is therefore dreaded by the Greek people of the low country ; moreover at present the number of soldiers that have refused to serve and have taken to the mountains justifies to some extent its bad name. These mountains do not extend to the sea. Along the coast there is a strip of level

country, behind which gradual slopes of broken ground lead up to the higher mountainous plateau. South of the Kodja there is no river, only a few water-courses full after rain.

The Phocaean peninsula is of the same character, but the mountains are not so high and are more broken by glens. The peninsula would become an island if the sea level were a little higher; and the narrow valley leading from Cyme to the Hermus would be a channel of the sea.

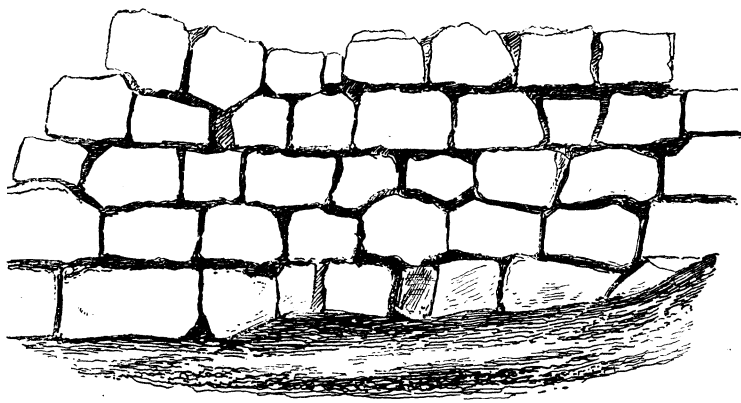
East of the Hermus the main feature is the mass of mountains called by the Greeks Sipylus. It is almost entirely isolated like an island in the plain; only at one point on the south a link of hills connects it with the main range, which extends from the interior through Tmolus and Olympus to the sea. West of this connecting link is the plain of Smyrna, completely shut in between the sea and the mountains. East is the plain of Nymphio, opening to the north on the middle Hermus valley.

In the scanty notices and traditions of the Aeolic settlement little is said of the inhabitants whom the Greeks found in the country. The coast in general was, according to Strabo, peopled by a Pelasgic race, one of whose chief strongholds was Larissa in the lower Hermus valley. Further inland was the empire of the Lydians, ruled by an Oriental dynasty which had brought with it the cultus of the Babylonian Herakles. This dynasty seems to have had no liking for the sea, and to have turned its thoughts wholly to the East; the Greek tradition preserves no record of any collision with Lydia till a new dynasty arose connected both in friendship and in enmity with the Greeks of the coast.

The Greek settlement had its centres in the island of Lesbos, interposed between Greece and Asia, and the city of Cyme. The name of Cyme points to the old Euboean city, which was one of the oldest centres of Hellenic colonisation and commerce, and which had given way to younger rivals almost before history begins. Tradition, however, and the common epithet Phrykonitis point to Mount Phrikion in Locris as the old home of the colonists. But it is well known that colonising centres did not send out only their own inhabitants. Emigrants sent forth by Apollo as a *ver sacrum* or from some other motive, congregated at the great maritime cities and sailed from them in their

fleets. From the Asiatic Cyme and from Lesbos this settlement proceeded, but before trying to trace its course, we must fix the position of the towns which they founded. In doing so I shall assume the points that I have tried to establish about the direction of the Roman road between Smyrna and Pergamus, and the distances of the several stages. It passed through Larissa, 23 or 24 miles, Cyme 33 miles, Myrina 42 miles, Gryneion about 47 miles, and Elaea 54 miles.

I begin with Myrina, which is placed by Kiepert at Ali Agha. There is no sign that a Greek city ever existed there, and it is too near Cyme to suit the distance which has been assigned between Cyme and Myrina, nine Roman miles. Ali Agha is about four miles north of Cyme, and about four miles further



WALL OF MYRINA.

on one reaches a place called Kalabak Serai, 'the Mansion of Kalabak.'<sup>1</sup> Here at the end of the fertile plain of the Kodja Chai, 'Big River,' and on its north bank close to the sea, is a grassy hill about 200 feet high. The sides seem to have been scarped to make it a little steeper, and above are the remains of a Hellenic wall. It is built in a transition style common in this country, generally in horizontal courses, but sometimes the lines grow irregular and the style becomes almost 'Cyclopean.'

<sup>1</sup> Kalabak is a village some distance inland among the mountains. I give the current explanation of the name, which is pronounced Kalábasseri.



No angle remains, but a number of large square-cut stones lying at one part of the hill show that the corners were more carefully and finely built. In the plain of the Kodja we might expect more than one Aeolic settlement, if it be fully explored.<sup>1</sup> The river is joined near its mouth by the Kondúz Chai, 'Otter River,' a watercourse dry except after rain; it seems to be the river marked in Kiepert's map at Ali Agha and called Kundura Chai.

On the slope beneath the city and on the neighbouring hills are thousands of graves. Irregular excavations had long been made here, and objects thus obtained were common in Smyrna shops; but fortunately the work was undertaken in a systematic fashion by the French School of Athens last summer, and still continues with valuable results. The full account, when published in the *Bulletin*, will doubtless throw much light on the history of the city. The coins which have been found on this spot are, I believe, always of Myrina, a fact noticed by Mr. Pullan (*Ruins of Asia Minor*, p. 8) in his account of a visit to this place, which he also recognises as the site of Myrina.

Texier (*Asie Mineure*, p. 223) gives the name of the river that flows by Myrina as Xanthus, but his only authority is that the name is given on coins of Cyme to a river-god. But a passage in the historian Agathias leaves no doubt on the point. In his preface, p. 9, he says that he was born in Myrina of Aeolis, at the mouth of the river Pythicos, which flows out of Lydia (ῥέων ἐκ Λυδίας τῆς χώρας κ.τ.λ.). Between the Hermus and the Caicus there is only one river to which this description can apply, viz., the Kodja Chai. No other watercourse is long enough to be said to rise in Lydia; in fact there is no other river along the coast so far as I have seen it, but merely brooks from the hill-sides and winter torrents. Myrina therefore was situated at the mouth of the Kodja Chai. The Xanthus of Cymæan coins is either some brook beside the city, or the torrent which runs in a broad deep channel close to Larissa on the western side of the lower Hermus valley.<sup>2</sup> During great part of the year it is dry, and its channel is only a deep chasm; but after rain it is an impassable torrent, and as

<sup>1</sup> I shall have occasion to speak of it later in connection with the site of Aegae.

<sup>2</sup> Marked on Kiepert's large map, but not in the sketch map here given.



the bridge which once spanned it is now lying in ruins at the bottom, the traveller who attempts to cross the valley, two feet or more deep in mud at such a time, has to make a circuit of several miles to get round it. In the Roman period Larissa was a mere village, and Cyme possessed the country up to the Hermus: it is therefore natural that it should on its coins boast of Xanthus and Hermus as its rivers.

Three ways were open to the Aeolic inhabitants of Cyme to spread their colonies, along the coast to the south and north, and straight inland to the Hermus valley: and they seem to have used all three. The whole Phocaean peninsula originally belonged to them, till the settlers who came to Phocaea obtained it from them by agreement (Paus. vii. 3). The boundary between Cyme and Phocaea was fixed at an intermediate point on the coast (Stra. p. 647). On the fertile strip of country between New Phocaea (a town founded in the thirteenth century by the Genoese for the sake of the rich alum mines) and Cyme we might look for Cymaeon settlements. The antiquities found at New Phocaea are all Cymaeon. Here probably lay the Kyllene of Xenophon (*Cyr.* vii.), or the Ascanius portus, which Pliny (v. 32) names between Phocaea and Cyme. But the rest of the mountainous peninsula had little to tempt them, and they resigned it to the Phocaeans.

The north road was more tempting, and probably Myrina at the mouth of its fertile valley was one of their earliest settlements.<sup>1</sup> Between Cyme and Myrina lay Adae (Stra. 622). From Myrina the settlement proceeded up the Pythicos valley to Aegae, to which I shall return later, as well as farther along the coast. But I have not gone further north than this point. Fatigue and a snowstorm prevented me, when at Ali Agha in January, from visiting the site ascribed to Gryneion by Mr. Pullan (*l.c.*). It lies a few miles to the north. Elaea also was on the coast, a little distance south of the Caicus; Strabo says it was twelve stadia from the river. I turn now to the Hermus valley.

The exact site of Larissa cannot well be considered apart from that of Neonteichos. The pseudo-Herodotus (*Vit. Hom.*

<sup>1</sup> It is almost certain that both Cyme and Myrina were cities before the Greeks came. They are Amazon cities (Str. p. 623), that is, places of

the Oriental religion of Artemis-Cybele; Myrina is the same word as Smyrna, the old name of Ephesos.

9) makes Homer emigrate from Smyrna to Cyme. He comes to Neonteichos and lives there some time; and the city is described as at the foot of Mount Sardene, and close to the river Hermus—

Οὐ πόλιν αἰπεινὴν Κύμης ἐριώπιδα κούρην  
 Ναλετε, Σαρδῆνης πόδα νείατον ὑφικόμεοιο,  
 Ἀμβρόσιον πίνοντες ὕδωρ θείου ποταμοῖο  
 Ἑρμου δινέεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς.

Thence he goes by Larissa, through which lay the easiest (but not apparently the shortest) way to Cyme. This testimony is as valuable for the situation of the towns as it is worthless for our knowledge of Homer. Strabo (p. 621) puts Larissa 70 stadia, almost nine Roman miles, from Cyme, and 30, almost four Roman miles, from Neonteichos. It is true that he seems to make the Hermus flow between Cyme and Larissa (*ἀπὸ Λαρίσης διαβάντι τὸν Ἑρμον εἰς Κύμην ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίου*); but this is irreconcilable with the distance he gives, and I think the sentence is only confusedly expressed and not wrong. He has just been speaking of Magnesia, and the words *διαβάντι τὸν Ἑρμον* refer to the relation between that city and Cyme, though he has expressed himself so badly that they refer syntactically to the relation between Larissa and Cyme.<sup>1</sup> He also states that Larissa was in the Hermus valley (*ποταμὸ-χωστόν τὴν χώραν*), which is confirmed by Aristides (*Aegypt.* ii. p. 351). Xenophon twice mentions Larissa (*Cyr.* vii. 1, *Hell.* iii. 1, 7), but little can be learned about its situation from his words. Pliny (v. 32) places it on the sea between Phocaea and Cyme, which is clearly wrong. Scylax does not mention it.

It results from these authorities that Larissa was in the Hermus valley towards Cyme (*περὶ Κύμην*, Steph. Byz. and Xen.), and on the road from Smyrna to Cyme. Nearly four miles from it was Neonteichos, which lay on the side of a mountain near the Hermus. On sites exactly fulfilling all these conditions distinct remains of two Hellenic cities exist. Just where the valley above described as extending from Cyme to the Hermus

<sup>1</sup> I find that a German scholar gets the same meaning by transposing the words: I have lost the reference to the place where this emendation has been published.

opens on the lower Hermus valley, the road passes below the south side of a rocky hill that rises about 200 feet above the plain. Under the hill is the resting place referred to in Part I. The hill is not wholly isolated, a low neck connects it with the mountains to the north; its appearance is exactly described by its Turkish name Bourounjik, 'the Little Point.' On the top of the hill we can trace at intervals a wall  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, made of cut stones, with holes for metal clamps. The ground is strewn with Hellenic pottery; much of it is clearly of an early period, and I did not observe any that was late. The top of the hill was too large for the needs of the inhabitants, and the wall was carried round only the highest part of it. None of the stones in position rise above the surface of the hill, but many are scattered over the ground, one of them showing the peculiar cut corner, which never fails at the angle of a good Hellenic wall. I measured four successive stones, and found them respectively 3 feet 3 inches, 1 foot 10 inches, 2 feet 9 inches, 2 feet 6 inches, in length. This is almost certainly the site of Larissa. Standing on the city hill, one sees between three and four miles, or thereabouts, to the north-east, a curious circular rock on the slope of the hills that form the northern border of the valley, a short distance from the corner where the hills turn to the north beside the Hermus.<sup>1</sup> Going across the valley to this position, which is right above the Turkish village of Yannik Keui, 'Burnt Village,' (not Yeni Keui, 'New Village,' as Kiepert has it), I found as I mounted the gradually sloping hill a series of beautifully built polygonal walls. The stones are carefully selected and hewn to fit one another, so that they produce a perfectly smooth, close, and even surface. These walls seem made to support a series of terraces. In mounting to the massive rock which formed the acropolis, we pass from the polygonal style to regular masonry of squared stones, in the style of the later Hellenic period. The acropolis was occupied in the middle ages, and considerable remains of very bad stone and mortar work mar the beauty of the Greek walls.

Strabo (p. 621) has preserved a fragment of history, which,

<sup>1</sup> The corner would correspond exactly to the description quoted above from the *Life of Homer*. But the hill described in the text is evi-

dently the important point, both from its natural strength and from the remains on it, and it is not far from the corner.

when taken in connection with the position of these cities, throws some light on the character of the Aeolic settlement. His account must, however, be corrected in one point by the authority of the *Vita Homeri*. He makes the foundation of Cyeme later than the conquest of Larissa, whereas it is quite certain that Cyeme was the metropolis of the Aeolic cities, and the centre from which the conquest spread. After the Cymaeans had occupied the sea-coast and had begun to turn their thoughts towards the interior, the path of conquest was clearly marked out for them by nature. To the south lay the mountainous Phocaeen peninsula, to the north the sterile mountains that separate the Hermus from the Caicus and the sea; between them lay the narrow but easy way that led to the fertile Hermus valley. But just at the entrance to the Hermus plain, the old Pelasgic city of Larissa blocked the way. The Cymaeans attacked it indirectly. Passing along the mountains, they built on the northern edge of the valley the stronghold of Neonteichos, whence they could command the whole valley. The struggle ended, here as elsewhere, in the victory of the new race. Larissa became a Greek town, but does not appear to have been a very flourishing settlement. It is mentioned by Herodotus as one of the eleven Aeolic cities and we may therefore conclude that it, with the others, joined the Ionic league against Cyrus (Herod. i. 151). Xenophon (*Cyr.* vii. 1) says that Cyrus settled in it some Egyptian mercenaries, and that it was known as the Egyptian Larissa. It does not appear in the lists of contributions to the Delian confederacy: but in the Athenian decree of the year 425 B.C., when the rate was raised to two and even three times the previous amount, Larissa is mentioned. Many places occur in that decree which are not mentioned in the regular lists. Some of these probably were formerly included in the rating of more important neighbours; but this can hardly have been the case with Larissa, the strongest city of the district (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, 7). Either it was an independent ally like Chios paying no tribute; or else it was included from mere bravado, all states on the Aegean being rated whether or not there were any chance of their paying. It must however be remembered that the interpretation of ΔΕΡ on the record is doubtful. *Λήρισαι* is a form natural in the Ionic of Herodotus, or in an Ionic city like the Larissa near Ephesus;

but an Aeolic city would be more likely to call itself *Λάρισσα*. The neighbouring city is *Τήμνος* in Herodotus, *Tâμνος* on coins.

After the end of the Peloponnesian war, Thimbron led a Spartan army into this district. Other towns surrendered to him, but Larissa, a stronger city, resisted bravely. Thimbron surrounded it, assaulted it both by direct attacks and by a mine, but was finally repulsed and obliged to retire. The description of the siege (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1) affords incidental confirmation of the site assigned to the city. Mining would be an impossible mode of attack on most other cities of the district, but could be well applied from the north against Larissa. On that side a considerable part of the hill is left out of the city wall. When Alexander set the Greek cities free, Larissa began to coin money. Only copper coins are known<sup>1</sup>: the type is on the obverse a female head with a wreath, on the reverse a horseman. The latter emblem is appropriate to a city of the plain. But we do not find here a continuous and growing coinage such as is found at Temnos; and it is clear that the city declined. Strabo and Pliny both say that it was deserted in their time (*ἐρήμῃ δ' ἔσται νῦν*, Str. p. 621). If they refer to the city on the hill, this may probably be true. But it is certain from Aristides that there was at least a village still called by this name, and that it lay on the road, and probably therefore in the plain. On the road to Cyme may still be seen evident proofs in the walls and cemetery near, that the place was inhabited in late Roman time. The reason of its decline must be sought at Neonteichos.

Of the history of Neonteichos hardly anything is known. It is clear from the remains that it continued to be a fortress through the Greek and Roman periods down to a very late date. Some copper coins of the periods of the Diadochi exist, which were struck at this town. They bear a head of Pallas on the obverse, and an owl on the reverse with the monogram NE. The fortifications of the city also belong to this period. The reason for the decline of Larissa, and the prosperity of Neonteichos, must lie in their political relations. Now, whereas the coins of Larissa are native in type, and of so fine a style that

<sup>1</sup> The references to the coins have profited by the criticisms of Professor Percy Gardner, whose invariable readi-

ness to give assistance has done a great deal to make my work less defective than it would otherwise be.

they cannot be later than the middle of the third century, those of Neonteichos are of the type struck under the mild Pergamenian rule in Aegae, Myrina, Erythrae, and perhaps in many other places that have escaped my notice. They bear the head of the Pergamenian Pallas Nikephoros, with the round close-fitting Attic helmet. It can be proved that these coins at Erythrae are later than those where Pallas wears the Corinthian helmet, and the only period open to place them in is B.C. 190-33, when the kings of Pergamus ruled there. It is well known that the coinage of Cistophori was originated over their whole dominions by these kings to promote the unity of their empire; the great cities coined the Cistophori with the city mark on them. But it has not yet been observed that there was also an attempt to promote uniformity in the copper currency: and I think that one who compares the set of coins with this head of Pallas, as struck in Pergamus, Aegae, Myrina, Neonteichos, Erythrae, must acknowledge that they all belong to one period and one influence, viz., the Pergamenian rule from 190 to 133. On the other hand, the head of Pallas with Corinthian helmet in the Ionian and Aeolic cities belongs to the time of Syrian influence, as can be proved with perfect certainty from the coincidence of names on Erythraean coins and inscriptions. Neonteichos therefore flourished under the kings of Pergamus, while Larissa decayed: and it becomes a matter of certainty that the latter chose, like Phocaea, the Syrian side in preference to the Roman and Pergamenian alliance, and was studiously discouraged by Pergamus when victorious. Its walls are so completely levelled with the ground, and yet were so massive, as to suggest the thought that the city stood a new siege with worse fortune than in the time of Thimbron, that it was finally, like Phocaea, captured by the Romans, and that, having no common friend like Massilia to intercede with the conquerors, it suffered the fate from which Phocaea barely escaped, and had its fortifications completely destroyed.

It is possible to attain comparative certainty about the site of Larissa and Neonteichos. The case is different with Temnos, and still more with Aegae. Strabo describes these towns together, saying that they lie on the mountains which overlook the country of the Cymaeans and of the Phocaeans and of the Smyrnaeans, and along which flows the Hermus. He is

evidently describing the mountains between the Hermus, the Caicus, and the sea. He adds that the towns are not far distant from Magnesia. Pausanias also (v. 13) declares expressly that Temnos lay across the Hermus looking from Magnesia. We may also gather from Strabo that Aegae was north of Temnos, for he enumerates the cities in order; Aegae and Temnos are on the mountains that border the Hermus, and not far from Magnesia. From Magnesia, crossing the Hermus, the road passes by Larissa to Cyme, Myrina, Gryneion, and Elaea. Scylax (c. 98) mentions Aegae as a Greek city in the interior above Cyme, but does not allude to Temnos. Xenophon mentions them together (*Hell.* iv. 8, 5), implying that they maintained themselves in independence of the Persians. Now as they are not mentioned among the contributors to the Delian Fund, they seem not to have belonged to the confederacy, but to have been mountain cities which maintained themselves between Athenians and Persians. Pliny also (v. 32) mentions Aegae as in the interior. Plutarch (*Vit. Themist.* 26) says that Themistocles, when he reached Cyme in his flight, found that the inhabitants of the sea-coast were anxious to claim the reward offered by the Persian king for his capture, and therefore he fled to Aegae, *Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον*. This account implies that it was an inland town.<sup>1</sup>

While these authorities seem to place Aegae on the eastern side of the mountains, other authors refer it to the western side. Stephanus of Byzantium speaks of the city as *ἡ ἐν Μυρίνῃ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι*. Herodotus in his enumeration of the Aeolic cities gives first Cyme, Larissa, Neonteichos, and Temnos: then a group of unknown places, Killa, Notion, Aigirossa: then Pitane, north of the Caicus: finally *Αἰγαῖαι* (which must be the town called by other authors Aegae), Myrina, and Gryneion. The enumeration is certainly given after some order, though our ignorance about three of the cities makes it difficult to understand the plan<sup>2</sup>; it seems, however, that Aegae is regarded in connexion with Myrina, and apart from Temnos. Probably

<sup>1</sup> I have not the opportunity of consulting Galen, *De Bon. Mal. Succ. Cib.* quoted by Raoul Rochette, *Hist. Col. Graec.* iii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Killa can hardly be the town of

the Troad which Herodotus expressly excludes from the sphere of the Aeolic cities. It and the other three are towns of the mainland that disappeared early.



the solution of the difficulty lies in the fact that Aegae was in the heart of the mountains, and might be grouped in connection with either side according to the fancy of the writer. Temnos was not far from the Hermus, which is frequently represented on its coins. Aegae on the other hand was beside a river, Titnaios,<sup>1</sup> mentioned several times on its coins, whereas the Hermus does not occur on them. It may therefore be inferred with much probability that its territory did not extend to the Hermus, as every city which has the slightest connexion with that river claims it on its coins, Smyrna, Phocaea,<sup>2</sup> Cyme, Temnos, Magnesia, Sardis, &c. On the Peutinger Table, Temnos is mentioned on the road between Smyrna and Cyme. This cannot be reconciled with the authorities above quoted, unless we suppose that the Table does not necessarily suppose the town to be actually on the road but only near it. The Table places Anagome on the road between Smyrna and Ephesus, and Lebas (*Voy. arch.* iii. No. 6) is put to great straits in trying to find a place for it, and does not, I think, finally succeed in showing that it lay on the road. Pliny (v. 32) places Temnos in connexion with the mouth of the Hermus. In Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Geography* the distance from Cyme to Temnos is given as 30 miles, but no authority is quoted, and it would not be easy to find a site agreeing with the other authorities and satisfying this condition of distance.<sup>3</sup>

The situations which would best suit the statements quoted are these: Temnos would lie on the hill-side above the right bank of the Hermus, a little way above the point where the river enters on the lower valley in which lies Larissa. Here it would be only a few miles from the road between Smyrna and Cyme. The passages referred to in Strabo and Aristides show that the ancients thought the plain had once been sea, so that

<sup>1</sup> The readings given in Mionnet are ΤΙΤΗΑΙΟΣ, ΠΙΤΝΑΙΟΣ, ΤΙΤΝΑΙΟΣ. It is obvious that the first two are false readings of the third.

<sup>2</sup> A river god is also common on imperial coins of Phocaea. The name is not given, so far as I know, but it can hardly be any other than the Hermus.

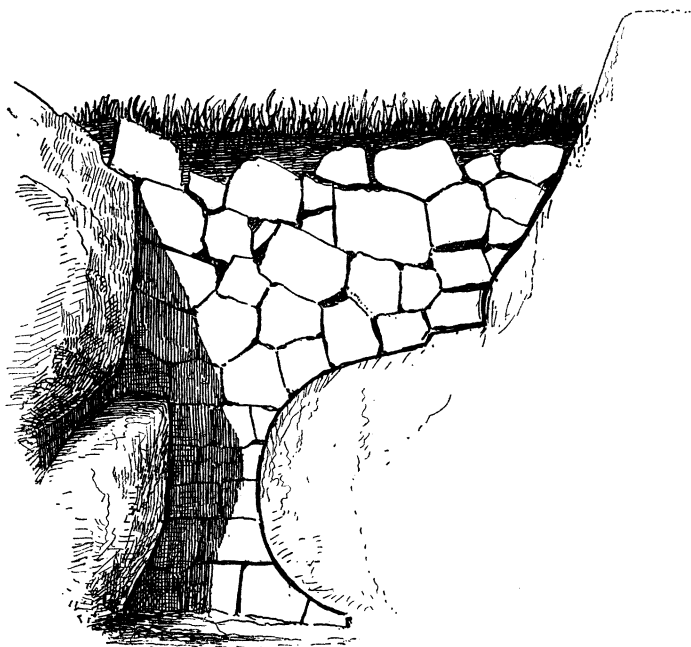
<sup>3</sup> I find that the writer in the

Dictionary has merely followed Forbiger blindly. Forbiger also gives no authority. He probably follows the Peutinger Table, which places XXXIII. between the names of Cyme and Temnos. Now this must certainly be the complete distance between Cyme and Smyrna, and Temnos is not to be counted as a station.



Pliny might well have thought that Temnos originally stood near the sea. Aegae then we should suppose to lie north-west among the mountains and further away from the Hermus.

At the railway station of Emír Aalém,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles beyond Menemen and seventeen miles from Magnesia, one may see on the hill-side across the river a circular mass of rock very similar to that on which Neonteichos is situated. It looks quite close, but unless at a very hurried pace, one requires two hours and a half



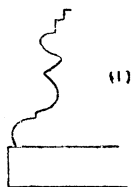
WALL OF TEMNOS.

to reach it. It lies above the Turkish villages Hassán Aghá and Deré Keui, 'Village of the Pass.' We climbed from the east side a grassy hill (which had once been terraced) till we reached the rock, which is of conglomerate, and rises on this side 50 feet perpendicular, though on other sides it is more accessible. Just where we reached the rock is a natural cavity or niche with six or seven little rudely-cut votive niches, square and oblong, on the cliff beside. On the summit of the rock,

which is of considerable extent, was an ancient acropolis, surrounded with walls on the more approachable sides. The walls have been much destroyed, but the style seemed to be like that at Myrina, or that of which a drawing is given in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 65. The acropolis rock supports a grass-grown platform, and in several places where the rock did not afford a continuous basis, walls of fine polygonal work were built as supports.

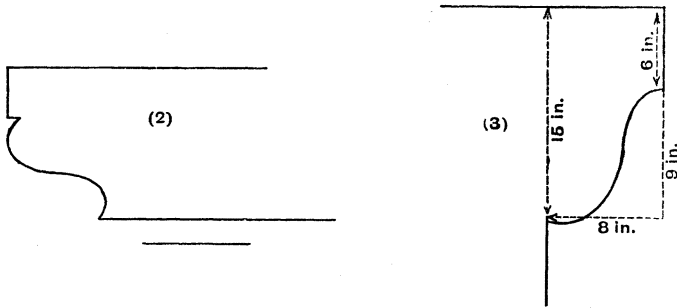
I could distinguish on the highest platform of the hill an outer or city wall and a citadel; the same distinction may be observed on many Aeolic sites, and, as here, the citadel is often little more than natural rock. Everything about this part of the city seemed, like the style of its fortifications, to show that it had been in use only at an early period. It is an inconvenient place, and was certainly not used in the late Hellenic or the Roman period. But the hills behind, and to the east of the acropolis hill, are strewn with remains of buildings. We wandered for two hours among them, and our guide said that they extended without interruption and in the same fashion for three or four miles along the hills till one came opposite to Giaour Keui, 'Infidel Village,' the next station on the line. We did not see any marble, only the stone of which the mountains here are composed, a whitish trachyte.

Among the many ruins, we were struck most of all by the remains of a temple just behind the acropolis hill. We saw one drum of a column, about two feet in diameter, with unfinished flutings, twenty in number, and made careful copies of the mouldings that could be seen. A crowbar might have revealed much more, by enabling us to move the large blocks

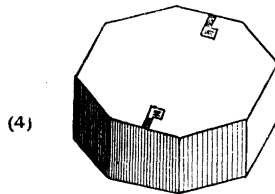


of stone, enormous heaps of which were scattered about. In one place below these heaps we could trace the line of the wall to which they belonged.

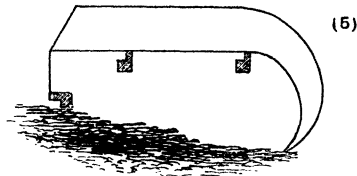
A small semicircular basis *in situ* formed the pedestal of a half-column with twelve flutings. It seemed to form the end of one of the inside walls of the temple. The pedestal moulding is given in Fig. 1. Two mouldings from the entablature are given in Figs 2 and 3. Near the same place were several



octagonal bases, one apparently *in situ*; each had two little holes sunk in the top (See Fig. 4.) Further away were a



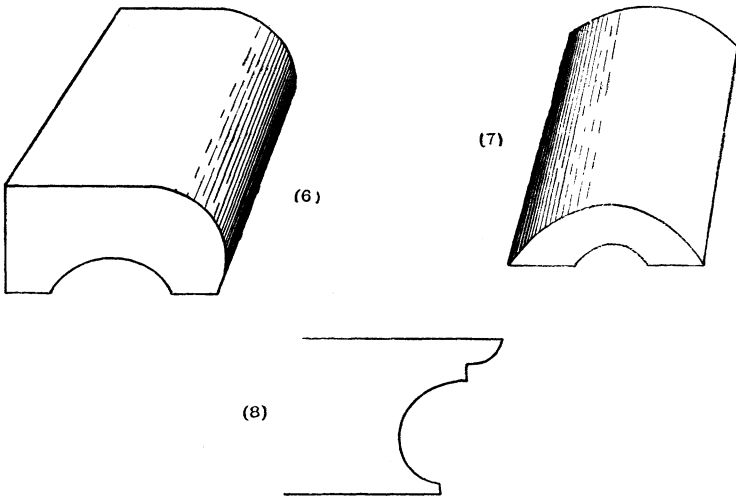
number of large cut stones, varying in size, but all in one or other of the forms in Figs. 5, 6, 7. Their use I could not



conjecture. Some of them seemed pierced as if to form part of a watercourse; others of similar shape were solid. Near them was a fragment with a moulding, Fig. 8.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of these remains seem Byzantine in style; the city certainly continued into that period.

Considering the great extent to which the city extends, it must be identified with some of the cities mentioned in history; and if so, it can be no other than Temnos. The



slopes of the hills around seem well calculated to make it famous for wine, and justify its making the bunch of grapes the chief symbol on its coins. A few years ago there was some prospect that some of the stones would be used for the railway works; but a more suitable quarry was found. Had the site been thus opened up a little, it is probable that much more would now be known about it, and that inscriptions would have been found. Were a school of archaeology established at Smyrna, it might do much at very small expense in clearing up the history of such sites. More famous cities often disappoint their excavators; sometimes they are so deeply covered that excavation is a hopelessly expensive task; at other times their situation has made them a quarry for the buildings of centuries. Thus Clazomenae has disappeared; and Erythrae has been in some degree carried away to build the quay of Smyrna. In the latter case this has been a great gain to archaeology, as many inscriptions, some of the highest interest, have been thereby recovered, and by the care of the Smyrna Museum preserved. But there are many sites where 50% or 100%, used with the

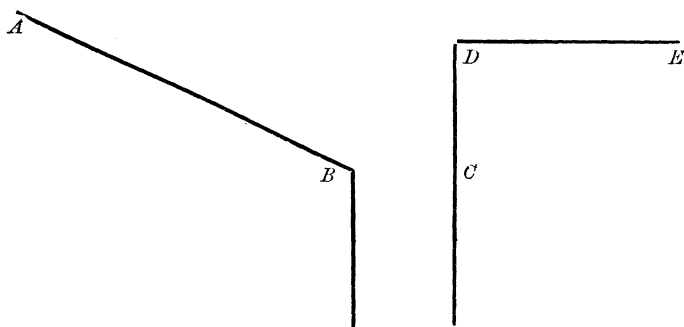
care and tact which only an institution permanently situated in the country can apply, would yield very valuable results. That which is needed is the permanent attention of a small staff, who are able to use the opportunities that from time to time present themselves. The excavations conducted by the French School of Athens, all at a very slight expense, are striking examples of what can be done by a judicious use of opportunities. I have more than once had occasion to admire the style in which their excavations at Myrina are conducted.

Temnos, or, as its inhabitants called it, Tamnos, plays a very small part in history, though its importance is proved both by the size of its ruins and by its considerable coinage. The passage quoted above from Xenophon shows that it maintained its independence from the Persian rule at the opening of the fourth century B.C.; but its name is hardly mentioned afterwards. Müller assigns to it a number of coins of Lysimachus and Alexander. If this be so, it must have been a city of considerable importance early in the third and early in the second century, to which two periods the coins belong. Silver autonomous coins of the city occur belonging to this period; but not in such abundance as to account for the number of regal coins attributed to it. As time goes on the copper coinage increases in consequence. We gather from it the strong influence exercised by the worship of the Mater Sipylene, whose seat, Mount Sipylus, was full in view across the river. We see also that Asclepius had been brought here, probably from Pergamos, as he was to Smyrna. The type of Heracles brings to mind the town of Heraclea, which, as will be proved below, was just across the Hermus. The gods whose worship we should most expect, and who were probably the chief gods that the Aeolian settlers brought with them, appear in various types, especially Zeus as Akraios and with eagle and thunderbolt.

We learn something about the state of Temnos under the Romans from the speech of Cicero pro Flacco. One of the chief witnesses against Flaccus was a certain Heracleides of Temnos, who had purchased a farm in the territory of Cyme, that is in the lower Hermus valley, quite near Temnos. The magistrates of the city mentioned are the five praetors, *στρατηγοί*, the three quaestors, *ταμίαι*, and the four mensarii, *τραπεζῖται*. Strategi

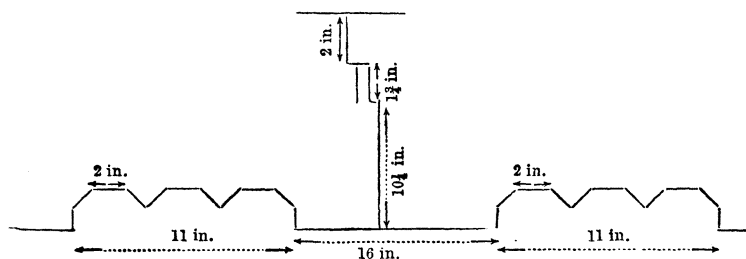
under the Roman rule were not military magistrates, their duties were purely civil, and frequently resembled those of police officers. The difference between trapezitae and tamiae is not known; they were both officers of the finance department. It is worth noticing finally that Temnos is one of those towns whose coins show the portrait of a proconsul ruling the province. Mommsen (*Zeitschr. f. Numism.* ii. p. 69: cf. 295) thinks that these coins all date 6-4 B.C., when Augustus wished to make the share of the Senate in governing the empire a reality. Those of Temnos bear the name and face of Asinius Gallus (see also *Rev. Numism.* 1867, p. 102).

Aegae, as has been said, is probably to be looked for more among the mountains to the north-west. In January I visited, along with M. Baltazzi of Ali Aghá and M. Reinach of the School of Athens, a site of which I had often heard, but of which nothing was known. One English friend, whose love of sport and adventure has given him a very wide knowledge of the country, had visited it, but his account was more calculated to excite than to satisfy curiosity. It was the headquarters of a noted band of brigands, who found in it more comfortable quarters than in a common Turkish house. Last year, however, the chief of this band made his peace with the Government, and became a policeman; he then went into town, though the



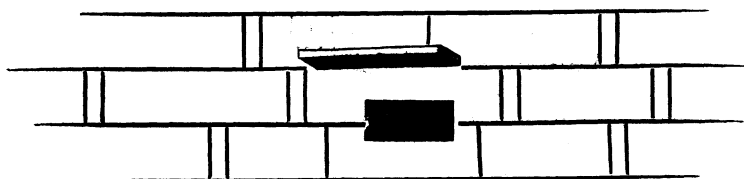
change in his abode was more marked than the change in his occupation. As the place has still a bad reputation, we took with us a few men to display guns. The town lies on a hill near the head of the Kodja Chai, about five hours from its mouth,

where we have placed Myrina. It is surrounded by a wall which runs along the brow of a hill about 500 or 600 feet above the river, and incloses space for a town of fair size. As we ascended the hill we passed a number of sarcophagi of the Roman period, which had been exposed in the occasional efforts of the natives to dig up money. We entered by a gateway, 6 feet 9 inches wide. The plan is given in the accompanying sketch. The walls on each side are of different character. *AB* is like the wall of Myrina above described. *DE* is made of small slabs, not more than two inches thick; the difference is doubtless due to a layer of schist being handy at this point, for the wall *DE* returns some distance on to the style of *AB*. The corner *D* is carefully built with squared stones, showing the usual Hellenic cutting. Soon after entering, we came to a set of vaulted caves very rudely cut in the rocky ground, and of great size. We then found what seemed like a narrow paved street, along which we passed till we reached the ruins of a small Doric temple with not one stone still standing on another. It was built of the same reddish trachyte that is used for most other buildings on the hill. Numbers of slabs of the frieze were scattered about: from one I obtained the following measurements on a vertical line in the middle of the metope and on a horizontal line across from one triglyph to another. The metopes were perfectly plain, except that the top projected a little in two degrees of elevation.



Immediately beyond this we found a very singular building. A very finely-built wall, in some places still 50 feet high, and at least 250 feet in length, stood near the steep slope of the hill. It was 2 feet 11 inches thick. About three or four feet above the ground were a series of doors and windows. Each door led

into a chamber 14 feet square, and each chamber had one of the windows. Some of the chamber walls were still about 12 feet high, but nothing remained to show how high they were originally, or what was above them. At a height of about 30 feet was a series of smaller windows, one to every two doors beneath, and above each was a projecting slab. At a height of about 40 feet were larger windows, only one of which remained. The wall was built in courses, 1 foot 3 inches high, except about the windows, where one course was smaller. Each course consisted of a long and a short stone alternately, the short one being probably laid crosswise. The doors and windows were constructed in the Greek style, converging slightly towards the top. The lower windows measured 3 feet 7 inches high, 3 feet 3 inches broad at top, 3 feet 6 inches broad at bottom. The doors were about 7 feet high, and 3 feet broad in the middle. The doors were raised a little above the ground, and must have been approached by steps. The whole building had thus a look of military regularity. It is not of an early period, and probably belongs to the Pergamenian rule.



At different places we also saw a long gallery, arched and of the Roman period, and a mediaeval tower.

These ruins are about six hours north-east of Ali Aghá, and are said to be about the same distance north-west of the site where we have placed Temnos. They are now called Namrût Kalessí, 'the Castle of Nimrod.' Kiepert puts this name on his map much too far north, and places here the ancient Parthenion. The account given by Xenophon of his marches (*Anab.* vii. 8) seems to show that Parthenion was nearer the Caicus valley than the site of Namrût Kalessí. The latter is in Aeolis rather than in Mysia, and it seems connected rather with the Aeolic cities than with Pergamos, judging from the coins found there. We found on the site an autonomous copper coin of Phocaea,



and the day after we returned to Ali Aghá a native brought seven coins, found, as he said, at Namrût Kalessí. Of these, two belonged to Temnos, four to Aegae, and one was Byzantine.

The only argument, so far as I know, against placing Aegae here is the statement of Scylax (c. 98) that Aegae lay *ὕπὲρ Κύμης*. But it is not unnatural that Scylax should speak rather vaguely about the situation of a town in the interior relative to the coast towns. Though it cannot be considered certain till other sites on the mountains have been examined, yet it is highly probable that a place of such strength, dating from the earliest Greek period, with walls of great circumference considering the period when they were built, and continuing as a city through the Roman period, is Aegae, when it satisfies fairly well all the accounts of ancient writers. Aegae also was an important city in early time, and lasted through the Roman period: it has a silver coinage, and Mr. Head (*Metrolog. Notes*, in *Numism. Chron.* 1875, p. 293) assigns to it doubtfully Electrum coins of the period 600–560 B.C.

Kiepert, following several old travellers, places Aegae at Guzél Hissár, ‘the Beautiful Fortress.’ This town lies on the southern edge of the valley of the Kodja Chai, a very short way from the site of Myrina. In Kiepert’s map it is placed much too far south. It is really an hour north-east from Ali Aghá instead of south-east as he places it. Guzél Hissár does not suit the statements of the ancients. It is not on the mountains, it is not towards Magnesia, there is no reason to mention it along with Temnos.<sup>1</sup> Finally, there is nothing to prove that an ancient city existed there; its few inscriptions have come from Myrina.

Namrût Kalessí is on the same river at whose mouth we have seen that Myrina lies. That river we know to have been called the Pythicos, while the name of the river god on the coins of Aegae is Titnaios. I think that the hill on which Namrût Kalessí is situated is surrounded on two sides by two rivulets which meet beneath, and one of them may have been called the Titnaios and have been the sacred stream of the city. The name Titnaios is perhaps a derivative from Titane or Titanos. Titanos is the name of a hill in Thessaly on or beside which stood the town of Asterion, Ἀστέριον Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα,

<sup>1</sup> M. Baltazzi, who has made a collection of the Aeolic coins, has told me that he could not get any coins of Aegae from Guzél Hissár.

(*Il. β. 735*). Titane is a city in Achaia, on the summit of a hill, and was one of the chief seats of the worship of Asclepios. Coins of Aegae with the type of Asclepios occur as early as Augustus, but we have so little information about the city, that it is hardly possible to determine whether this coincidence is of any value. It is however worthy of note that Pliny (v. 32) speaks of an Aeolic town Titane at the mouth of a river of the same name.

Of the history of Aegae even less is known than of Temnos. Its name occurs in various forms: Herodotus (i. 149) has *Αἰγαῖαι*, *Αἰγαί* is common, Xenophon has *Αἰγέις*.<sup>1</sup> The people seem to have called themselves *Αἰγαιεῖς*, as *ΑΙΓΑΕΩΝ* is common on coins; but *ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ* sometimes occurs, also *ΑΙΓΕΩΝ* (Mionnet, iii. p. 4, No. 15). It was probably a place of great strength, as it maintained its independence from the king of Persia; and the site where it has now been placed fulfils that condition admirably. It suffered in the great earthquake, A.D. 17, when twelve cities of Asia were destroyed (Tac. *An.* ii. 47).

Strabo says that Cyme founded thirty cities on the mainland, most of which were deserted in his time. Though they were then desolate, it is probable that many of them may yet be traced by their ruins. Crossing the river from Temnos, I found about an hour from the river a hill on the top of which is a large boulder. On it are letters, which led the natives to dig for treasure beneath.<sup>2</sup> With some difficulty I discovered that the stone was used as a boundary between two districts. On the side turned towards Mount Sipylus were the words

Ο ΔΙΑΜΕ

ΛΑΜΠΑΓΙΤΩΝ

<sup>1</sup> Corrected by some editors to *Αἰγαί*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mühlhausen, engineer of the Smyrna and Cassaba Railway, told me of this inscribed stone, and gave me a guide to the place as well as to the site

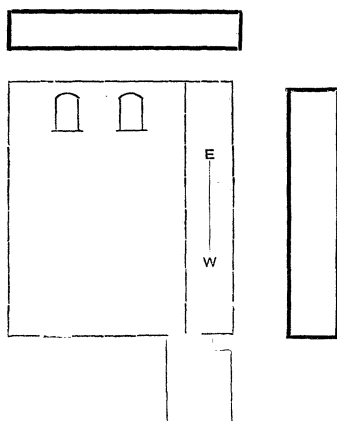
of Temnos. Mr. Barkshire of Smyrna has informed me by letter since the above was printed that he discovered the site of Temnos in 1877.

"Ορια Μελανπαγιτῶν, and on the side towards Temnos the word

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩ  
ΤΩΝ

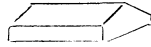
with a few scratches after, which may perhaps be the remains of ὄρια. It was easy to see the Black Rock where the Melampagitæ dwelt. About two hours distant, on the slope of Sipylus, was a remarkable mass of rock whose look showed its name: the natives told me that there were many 'old things' about it. At the time I had not leisure to go so far. On the side of the Heracleotæ towards the river, the valley is full of remains. Among them are Byzantine ruins, a church, and pieces of marble which formed architectural decorations showing crosses among the carving. Not far from the station of Emîr Aalem is a grass-grown tumulus, and a little beyond it is a hill, with remains of a small fortified town. The walls could be traced all round the hill, sometimes appearing above the ground, sometimes showing only a slight elevation in the grassy hill. The style of building was not apparent, but was certainly not the finer kind of Greek work. At each end of the oval-shaped town was a gateway with a winding road distinctly traceable. Half a mile away on another small grassy hill was a mass of rock, in the south side of which was cut a staircase that wound up the side. It was broken in the middle, and part of it was visible in a fallen lump of rock that lay near. It was clear that the staircase once furnished the sole means of access, though now one can easily ascend the broken side. On the top, which was a small level plateau, were traces of cutting apparently made to give grip to the stones of a parapet wall, and a large cistern. An oblong hole in the plateau, 8 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 3 inches, opened into a much larger square cistern, which was not lined with cement like most of those I have seen. The hole was in former times closed by some kind of covering which rested on carefully cut ledges at the sides of the opening. It is now filled at least a

foot deep with the skulls of sheep, for what reason I could not learn. We pushed a long stick down as far as it could be forced among the bones and water, and found that the cistern must have been at least six feet deep. Comparing this rock with the rock-acropolis lately discovered above the 'Niobe' near Magnesia, I had no doubt that it was a stronghold of a pre-Greek race. In the rocks and hills all about the valley are cut numerous graves. In one case a large boulder of conglomerate had been cut into a chamber, in the floor of which was a grave 4 feet 8 inches long by 2 feet 7 inches broad. The grave and the chamber faced due east. In the back wall of the chamber, which was very irregularly cut, were three votive niches. Such niches are very common in this country, but I have not in any other case found them in a sepulchre. At Temnos some have been described: at Phocaea they are very common. I found on a hill-side there, within the walls of the ancient city, an oblong altar cut out of the rock and facing the points of the compass, near which was a large rock full of such niches; the whole place reminded me of the altar of Zeus Hypsistos at Athens. To return to the Hermus valley: another boulder was cut into a large chest 6 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 4 inches, once covered with a lid and entered by a little doorway. Inside was a narrow deep



grave the length of the chamber, and two shallow indentations in the floor. These are the places for the heads of two corpses

laid on this shelf as on a bed. This grave also lay east and west, and close to it outside were two graves parallel to its sides. The whole is remarkably like another rock tomb beside Old Smyrna, (see *Rev. Archéol.* 1876, May, p. 322). The numerous other graves are simply oblong holes cut in the flat rock



and covered with slabs of stone, sometimes in pairs, sometimes broad enough to hold two people, sometimes long and narrow. All that I examined were symmetrically placed—

10 lay N.W. to S.E.

1 „ N. to S.

8 „ E. to W.

This attention to the direction of the tombs is not a Greek characteristic. At Phocaea, Myrina, Tanagra, &c., no rule can be observed. These tombs, then, must belong either to a non-Greek race, or to Greeks strongly affected by an alien religion. I could not hear of anything that had been found in the tombs, some of which had been only recently opened. It is probable that one grassy hill is full of unopened graves, as the few which were visible had been covered by two feet of soil.

We may conclude from the appearance of this valley that Greek inhabitants succeeded an older race, and were strongly influenced by the religion of their predecessors. That religion can be no other than the worship of the Mother Goddess enthroned on Sipylus, the tutelary deity of Smyrna and of Magnesia. Temnos, on the other side of the river, also adopted the same worship, and its coins often bear the two Nemeses, like those of Smyrna. The attributes and character of the Nemeses stamp them as Hellenic developments of figures connected with the same worship.<sup>1</sup> Down even to Phocaea the cultus spread, and the Heracleotai under the shadow of Sipylus must have felt it much more.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Curtius, *Beitr. z. Gesch. Kleinasiens*, p. 18, and Stark, *Niobe*, p. 414.

This Heraclea may be the one mentioned by Stephanus as πόλις πρὸς τῇ Κυμαία τῆς Αἰολίδος. It is however more probable that Stephanus refers to the village on the coast between Atarneus and Adramyttium, the property of the Mitylenaeans, which is apparently the *Heracleotes tractus* of Pliny (v. 32). In that case we may think of the town of Lydia, πόλις Λυδίας (Steph. Byz. and Hesych.), after which the magnet was called Heracleotis. The situation of this town is quite unknown, but it has been conjectured (see Smith, *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, s. v.) to lie under Mount Sipylus near Magnesia. This conjectural position would suit the place whose name is revealed by the boundary-stone: and as this place is east of the Hermus, it might be called a town of Lydia. Otherwise the character and situation of both towns point them out as Aeolic settlements. The inscription is probably not older than 300 B.C.; for though that of the Melampagitae might be referred to an older period, its more archaic forms are probably due to the bad education of a mountain village, while the Heracleotae of the plain wrote much better. The two names must be referred to the same period, when some difficulty about the boundaries was settled by arbitration or by mutual agreement. But the names of the two places have probably descended from the time when the same Aeolians who founded Temnos occupied the whole valley. It is even probable that they were not content with the valley, but went right on across the hills. From Heraclea a road goes over a pass of Sipylus and descends by the modern village of Yamanlár on the plain of Cordelio, which borders on the gulf opposite Smyrna. I feel quite certain that the city on the summit of the hill Adá near Yamanlár, which was described in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 68 ff., is an Aeolic city. It may have been, as I formerly said, a city before the Greek period, but half of the wall round the top of the hill, and the whole chain of wall and towers that defends the most accessible sides of the hill at a lower level, are plainly Greek. These parts of the wall are built like that of Larissa, and show the same peculiar cutting at the angles which everywhere marks the Aeolic cities. The walls are all built of carefully cut stones in horizontal courses, but the ends of the stones are sometimes not cut perpendicularly.

The chief interest of this city is its relation to the Aeolic Smyrna. A glance at the map shows how it lies on the road from Temnos to the Smyrna valley. Two roads were open to the Greeks as they pressed on from the Hermus valley to that of Smyrna. They might go along the shore of the gulf, or they might go across the mountains from Temnos. Now the old city of Smyrna is unassailable except from the north: on all other sides it presents a long and steep ascent; but to the north it is joined to the hills behind by a neck of land. It is clear that if the Greeks met with any resistance they must have occupied the hills to the north, and thence attacked the town. The analogy of the attack on Larissa may help to prove that the attack was made here also from a position on the hills above the town of Smyrna. It seems more probable, therefore, that the attack came by way of Temnos, and that the old town on the hill 'Adá' is really a half-way station to facilitate the conquest of Smyrna.

It is unnecessary to argue that the chronology in the *Life of Homer* has no value: there the foundation of Smyrna is put ten years after that of Neonteichos, and eighteen years after that of Cyme. The little evidence we have combines with *a priori* considerations to show that everywhere the Aeolic conquest was a slow but thorough one, and that they won their way step by step and city by city after a struggle more or less hard with the natives of the coast. They had to conquer before they could colonize. Curtius has emphasized the contrast between the Ionian and Aeolian settlements. The former amalgamated with the natives: the latter dispossessed them. The former founded only cities on the coast: Magnesia, in the Maeander valley above the Ionic Miletus, is expressly called by Strabo πόλις Αἰολίς, and its inhabitants were Thessalians dedicated to Apollo, and sent forth by him. The latter penetrated far inland and founded a land empire: even Cyme, founded from the great maritime Euboean city, deserted the sea and turned its whole efforts inland. A detailed account of the colonization of Southern Aeolis marks clearly the character of this Aeolic settlement.

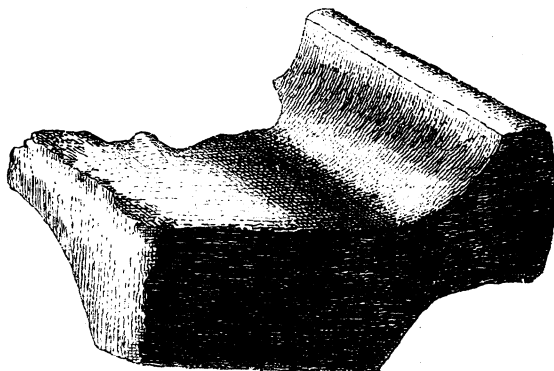
But this character must not be pressed too far. It is clear that the Aeolic conquest did not interrupt the continuity of the

history of the district. The cities in general retain their old names. Cyne and Myrina are Amazon cities; Larissa kept its old Pelasgic name. Neonteichos is a new foundation and has a Hellenic name: Aegae is doubtful. Temnos on the other hand is an old name. Temnos is a mountain in Mysia, and the town of Temenothyrae is 'the pass over Mount Temnos.' With it we may compare Grimenothyrae, the Mysian equivalent of Thermopylae: Germa is a common Phrygian and Mysian town name, 'the Hot Springs,' Sanskrit *gharma*. Têm-no, or Tamno, from root *tam*, to cut, probably means 'steep'; and the Carian town Tymnos, with the personal name Tymnes, are probably of the same family. It is a very common thing for the name of a mountain to be applied to the town beside it. In Cilicia the mountain Anazarbos gave its name to the town beneath, also called Kyinda, and under the empire Caesareia, πρὸς Ἀναζάρβῳ. Assos, for *ak-yo-s*, 'the Peak,' is one of the commonest names, alone or in compounds, for towns in Asia Minor, and occurs in Greece in the name Parnassos, 'the Peak of Parnes': Parnes is found also alone as the name of a mountain. Still the probability is very great that the Aeolic cities were much more purely Greek than the Ionic: and one might attribute to this fact their backwardness as compared with their Ionian rivals. The Hellenic civilisation was the fine union of many elements, and the most mixed cities are those to which the development is chiefly due. The Aeolic cities were never great centres of commerce; they all followed the Ionic cities in the league against Cyrus, but only the cities actually on the coast and fully under the Athenian influence are mentioned in the list of contributors to the Delian Confederacy; and we know that Temnos and Aegae maintained among their mountains a rude sort of Spartan independence of any foreign rule. Perhaps on this very account excavations on some of these sites might be all the more instructive about the earlier stages of Greek life.

No other cities that I have seen are so like in character as those of Adá and Old Smyrna. The position on small and lofty peaks, the mixture of Greek with Cyclopean masonry in the city walls, are singularly like in the two cases, and the pottery found on the sites is almost the same. On both we find a peculiar kind of tile, different in some respects from the tiles that abound on every site in the country from the oldest downwards. These

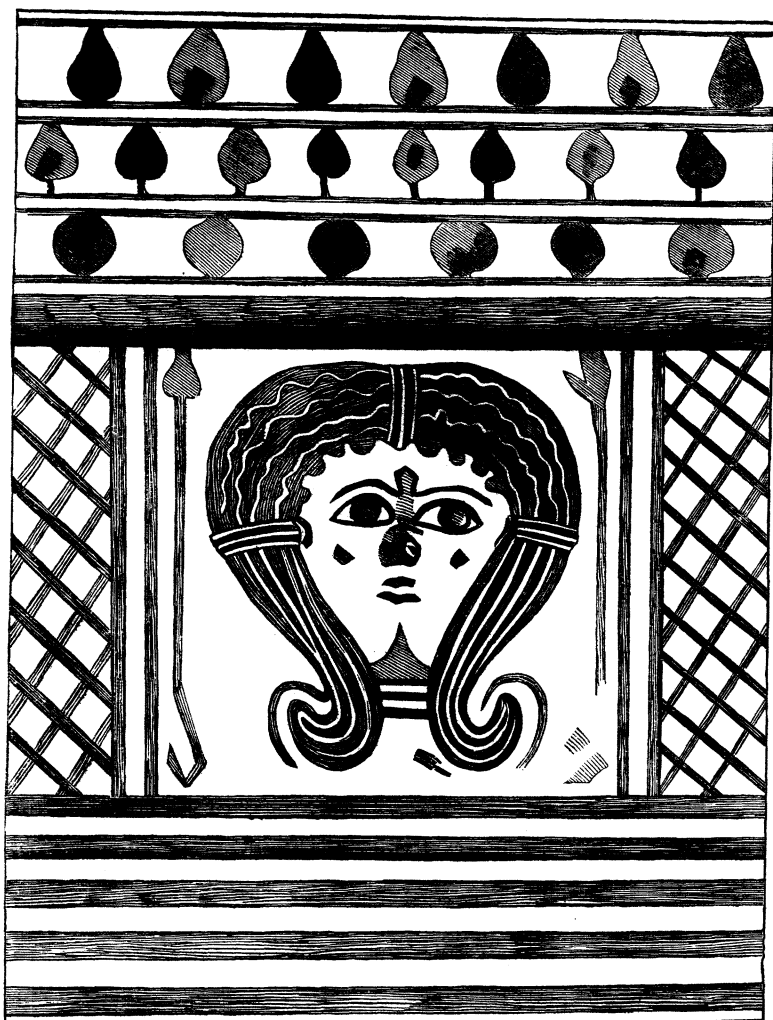


tiles are decorated on one side with a bluish-black glaze of a metallic lustre : all kinds of glaze known in Greece are non-metallic. The other side is plain, and has a projecting flange along the edge. The shape of a corner fragment is here added. These tiles were evidently made in moulds, and are



of exactly the same size and shape in the two cities. Mr. Clarke, of the scientific expedition sent out by the American Archaeological Society, has pointed out to me that these tiles formed the sima of a temple whose ornamental parts were of terra cotta instead of marble. The ground walls of the temple can be traced on the acropolis of Old Smyrna, and it might be worth while to spend a few pounds in digging round them in search of any fragments of a temple so ancient and so interesting.

The early pottery found on the Aeolic sites is usually unglazed, pale yellow in the ground colour with bands generally of a ruddy brown, but occasionally of a very dark hue. The fragments that lie on the surface are too small to show the shape of the vase ; but in excavations on the site described in this *Journal* (vol. i. p. 68 *ff.*), I found many small broken kylikes of a shape which, so far as I can learn, is unexampled elsewhere. Besides these I found fragments similar in colour but much finer, exactly the same as some early vases I have from Telmessos. On the site of Temnos I picked up a fragment of a vase with black figures on a red ground.



*J. C. Rolfe*

DECORATION OF VASE FROM PHOCAEA.

Opposite will be found a drawing of a remarkable vase from Phocaea. It is one of a pair which I bought in Smyrna. As I was at the time hunting for relics of Erythrae, and had expressed much disappointment at finding none, the dealer had nothing to gain by saying that the vases came from Phocaea, and may therefore be believed. Moreover, Mr. Pappadopoulos Kerameus, whose name is familiar to all students of this district of Asia Minor, told me that he had tried to buy them in Phocaea, but had been outbidden. The vases are interesting as perhaps the first published of such an early period from the district. But apart from this, they surprise by their markedly Oriental character. Dr. Furtwängler has told me that the style of the geometrical ornaments is different from anything in his experience. The two heads, of which one is on each side of our



SHAPE OF VASE, *height 6 in.*

vase, recurred to my mind when I saw the two Sphinxes at Eujuk; and, quite independently, Dr. Furtwängler remarked that the arrangement of the hair was paralleled only on these Sphinxes. The slight variation in the two heads, and especially in the neck ornaments, characterises also the Sphinxes, although this is hardly perceptible in M. Perrot's photographs. Two colours besides the ground hue of the clay are used; and in every zone of the ornamentation a studied alternation of the colours is obvious. The top zone consists of a series of objects, probably fir-cones, alternately crimson and yellow.

The other vase, which shows the Oriental influence even more strongly, will be published hereafter.

On these cities of Aeolis we have found three kinds of walls. (1) Polygonal walls occur frequently, but they are in every case used for some purpose where ruder work was sufficient. The most frequent use to which they are put is to support a terrace. It can hardly be doubted that the Greeks who settled in Asia Minor used this style of building in such cases. But where pure Cyclopean work is used in the wall of a city, as in the acropolis of Old Smyrna, one may look on it as most probable that the wall is the work of an older race. The polygonal walls are rarely rude in style and made of undressed stones; the rudest in character is the immense wall which runs across the entrance to the glen in the pass of Kavaklı Deré,<sup>1</sup> but it is as singular in position and purpose as it is in style. Generally the stones are worked enough to make them fit closely, and they present a surface perfectly straight and level. One can often trace courses, distinct enough, but not horizontal, for a little, till the order is disturbed by an unsuitable stone. This forms a transition to class (2), in which the courses are generally distinct and horizontal, but occasionally disappear for a little. Walls of this class generally alter towards angles into class (3), in which the stones are carefully squared and fitted most accurately. The front of the stone is not dressed smooth. It is left rough, and only the sides are cut smooth. At the angles the corner is carefully and deeply cut, and the rough faces of the stone projecting a little in front of the corners produce the well-known form. But the front of the stone is perfectly flat, and does not, as in the work of later days, project in the middle with bevelled edges all round. This kind of building is also common where the wall is exposed and most open to attack.

I hope at some future time to complete this sketch of Southern Aeolis by a study of the Aeolic Smyrna. Before doing so, however, I hope to make some excavations on the site of Old Smyrna, as I have already done at another site in the valley. The money for this purpose is supplied by a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

In conclusion, I may express the hope that Professor Jebb's wish, expressed in the last number of this Journal, may soon be realised by the permanent establishment of an English

<sup>1</sup> See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vol. i. pp. 68 ff.

School of Archaeology. Much, however, might be said in favour of placing it in Smyrna rather than in Athens, and while imitating the older French and German institutions, making a new departure in the style of work. Greece has plenty of highly educated archaeologists already at work there; Asia Minor has only occasional visitors. An English school, established even on a small scale, might in fifteen years do a very great work in Asia Minor. Even at present, when a little more attention is beginning to be paid to its antiquities, not a month passes without some new discovery. But if Asia Minor is to be the special field of a new school, it must be permanently placed there, able to take advantage of every opportunity. The want of a good library is a serious drawback, but much might be done to supply the defect. A library, so selected as to supplement that of the Evangelical Museum,<sup>1</sup> would grow quickly if once established; and a student could always go to Athens for a few weeks when necessary, and have the use of excellent libraries there. Moreover, it might be well to encourage any student to spend a month or two of each year at some of the great museums. With the rapid communication now existing, no long time would be lost in travelling; and in Ionia the months of July and August, though perfectly healthy, are not suited for doing good work. One student would find it too expensive to travel much in the interior, but two together might at less expense go with perfect safety all over the country, with two good Turkish servants. If one or both of the students united a liking for sport to an interest in archaeology, he would find it an immense advantage in exploring. Not merely would he more easily see unfrequented parts, he would also find the shooting a passport to the society of many useful allies.

W. M. RAMSAY.

NOTE.—Since the preceding pages were written, M. Baltazzi has published in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, an inscription on a rock near Ali Agha: it marks the boundary between Pergamus and Cyeme, and must belong to the third century B.C. In the

<sup>1</sup> Without the aid of this library and the courtesy with which it is placed at the disposal of all students, my time

in Asia Minor would have been spent uselessly.

same paper attention is directed to the Pergamenian types on some coins of Aeolis. It was in studying the coinage of Erythrae that I first observed the class of coins which I have described above in connection with Neonteichos. In another number of the *Bulletin* will be found M. Reinach's account of his visit to Namrût Kalessi.

**The Journal**  
"  
**OF**  
**PHILOLOGY.**

*EDITED BY*

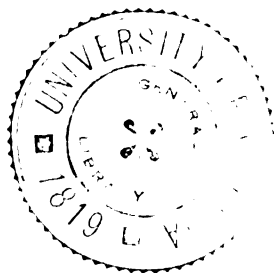
W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.

INGRAM BYWATER, M.A.

AND

HENRY JACKSON, M.A.

VOL. XI.



**London and Cambridge :**  
**MACMILLAN AND CO.**  
**DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO. CAMBRIDGE.**

1882

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## INSCRIPTIONS OF CILICIA, CAPPADOCIA, AND PONTUS.

OUT of a large number of inscriptions, of which Col. Sir Charles Wilson, H.M. Consul General in Anatolia, has sent me copies, I have selected the following, adding two which I transcribed in July 1882 and two others taken from the woodcuts of an Armenian book. The inscriptions sent by Sir C. Wilson have been copied either by himself, by Lieut. Bennet, R.E., or by the Rev. Mr Christy, an American missionary. Those which are here printed have been selected as presenting more or less geographical interest.

### MALLOS.

Mallos was situated on a height at the mouth of the river Pyramos, which has in modern times altered its course. A low range of hills stretched along the coast north-east from the ancient mouth. The river Pyramos, Jaihun Chai, now joins the sea at the opposite end of the range, several miles to the east of its old course, but its former channel with the bridges that cross it can still be traced. The level country inland from Mallos is the famous Aleian plain. The district is represented very accurately in Kiepert's map after the survey of Capt. Beaufort. The coast land south of the range of hills is all a recent formation from the river, which is rapidly filling up the bay of Ayas, i.e. *Alıyalas*, on the east.

The two inscriptions which follow have been copied by Lieut. Bennet, R.E.

### Nos. 1 and 2.

On two sides of the same block of marble at Kara Tash. As the inscriptions have no connection with one another, and

are in different character<sup>1</sup>, it is clear that the same stone has been used at two different periods. Probably No. 1 is the older and belongs to the autonomous period.

(1)

ΑΛΛΩΤΩΝΟΔΗΜΟΣ  
ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΧΧΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ  
ΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΑΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ  
ΤΗΣΠΡΟΣΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ

[M]αλλωτῶν ὁ δῆμος  
Δράκοντ[α] Ἀρτεμιδώρου  
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν [κ]α[λ]ὴ εὐνοίας  
τῆς πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα.

(2) ΤΡΥΦΕΙΣΗΡΟΦΙΛΟΥΔΙΣΗΔΗΜΙΟΥΡ  
ΓΟΣΚΑΙΠΕΡΙΔΗΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣΚΑΙΤΗΣ  
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΗΡΟΦΙΛΟΝΤΡΙΣΤΟΝΑΔΕΛ  
ΡΟΝΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΔΙΑΟΗ  
ΚΗΝΑΙΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ

Τρυφεῖς Ἡροφίλου τοῦ Ἡροφίλου, ἡ δημιουργὸς καὶ ἱέρεια  
τῆς Σεβαστῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως, Ἡρόφιλον Ἡροφίλου τοῦ Ἡρο-  
φίλου τὸν ἀδελ[φ]ὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς δια[θ]ήκην ἀ[ν]έστη-  
σεν.

No. 1 is the first inscription found on this site that actually contains the name Mallos. For some time the city was called Antiocheia, and two inscriptions containing that name are published in Lebas, *Voy. Archéol.* III., No. 1486, 1487. The old name again revived, and on bronze coins of the first century B.C. the inscription is ΜΑΛΛΩΤΩΝ. This inscription is on the pedestal of a statue erected to Dracon son of Artemidoros.

No. 2 is engraved by a woman, Trypheis, in honour of her brother Herophilos according to the terms of their father's will. Trypheis had been chief magistrate, *demiourgos*, of the city. The title was a common one in Doric states; it is found also at Tarsos, and at Anazarbos (see Lebas, No. 1480). Women held public offices not infrequently under the empire: the offices were generally of a more honorary character, where wealth and liberality were the chief requisites, such as *Agonothetes*; but there is no reason to think that under the Empire the *Demiourgos* had the same character and powers as in the autonomous period. The emperor Heliogabalus condescended to become

<sup>1</sup> The difference could not be rendered in printing.

demiourgos of Anazarbos (Lebas, *l.c.*), and it is probable therefore that the office had a religious character. The name Trypheis may be compared with Tryphaina.

## ANAZARBOS.

The following inscription was copied by Lieut. Bennet at a village Sai Gechid on the road between Adana and Sis, and near the site of Caesareia Anazarbos, on a tributary of the Pyramos. It was one of the chief towns of Cilicia, and when Cilicia was divided into three provinces by Diocletian about 297 A.D., it was the capital of Cilicia Secunda. Suidas is certainly wrong when he says that its original name was Kyinda. The town lay beside Mt. Anazarbos.

## No. 3.

ΕΥΘΗΝΙΑΟΕΑ  
ΕΤΟΥΧΙΡΜΗΝΟC  
ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥΚ  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟCΒΙΕΡΑCΑΜΕ  
ΝΟCΔΙΟCΠΟΛΙΕΩCΜΙCΠΛΙ  
ΧΕΙΟΥ.

Εὐθηνία Θεᾶ  
Ἔτους ηῖρ', μηνὸς  
Ἑπέρβερεταίου ιβ'  
Δημήτριος Δημητρίου ἱερασά-  
μενος Διὸς Πολιέως [καὶ] Ἐπαρ-  
χείου.

The goddess Euthenia is of the same class with Euposia at Hierapolis of Phrygia, Eubosia at Acmonia of Phrygia, and many others. The inhabitants claim that Zeus, the patron god of their city, is also god of the whole province (*ἐπαρχία*), though Tarsos was the real capital. The month is Macedonian, as was generally the case in Grecised Asia. The era is 19 B.C., when Augustus showed some favours to the city and doubtless gave it the name Caesareia. The era occurs frequently on coins of the city from Domitian onwards. This inscription therefore belongs to the year 99 A.D. Another era occurs on a coin of the emperor Nero: Eckhel after reading the date on this coin as ΠΕ and reckoning the era from the battle of Actium finally read it as ΜΕ and reckoned the era as 19 A.D., like that in use at the neighbouring town of Augusta. Mr Head has shown me a coin in the British Museum, struck under Tiberius. The date may either be read as Ε agreeing with Eckhel's era 19 A.D., or as a monogram of ΞΕ agreeing

with Eckhel's first theory, the battle of Actium. But this very rare era, whatever it is, cannot be that used in the inscription<sup>1</sup>.

#### COMANA OF CAPPADOCIA.

The site of Comana is not marked in Kiepert's map of Asia Minor, but is given in the map made by him for Tchihatcheff's Travels. It lies, exactly as Strabo describes it, in a deep valley of the Antitaurus, through which flows the river Sarus, now called Seichun Chai. The modern name of Comana is Sheher-dere-si, "the town of the gorge." The situation of the town illustrates and confirms the Antonine Itinerary, which makes the road from Caesareia Mazaca to Comana and the road from Sebasteia to Comana meet at Coduzalaba and coincide for the last twenty-four miles. There is now a direct mountain road Kaisarieh (Caesareia) south-east to Sheher; but the waggon-road goes straight east through Ekrek, traverses an easy pass through the mountains, and joins at Maghara the road running north and south between Sivas (Sebasteia) and Sheher. It is now reckoned three days' easy journey from Kaisarieh to Sheher, which agrees well with both the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table<sup>2</sup>. The former places seventy-two Roman miles, the latter eighty, between Caesareia and Comana.

The following inscriptions are, so far as I am aware, the first that have been published from Comana. They were copied by Sir C. Wilson, who saw also many others which he had not time to transcribe. The ruins were on a very large scale, and at the time of his visit were quite deserted. Now an Armenian village is established there, and is working the usual destruction among the marbles and remains. It is to be hoped that the place may be visited again soon, before too much havoc has been wrought. The Armenians have always a remarkable preference for inscribed stones in building. It is unfortunate that none of the inscriptions refer directly to the great religious establishment at Comana with its powerful priesthood and its six thousand temple slaves or hierodouloi. All show more or less

<sup>1</sup> Two coins given by Miounet, no. 69 and Suppl. no. 93 prove that this rare era is 19 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> For these facts about the modern roads I am indebted to Lieut. Cherm-side, R.E.

the influence of the Romano-Hellenic civilisation, which tended so much to destroy provincial characteristics and produce one uniform state of society throughout the empire. In the great cities this civilisation had more power, and thus it arises that most information about these great religious establishments of Asia Minor is furnished in the inscriptions, not of Comana nor of Pessinus, but of the obscure district of the Katakekaumene on the borders of Lydia and Phrygia.

Strabo says little about the Cappadocian Comana, which is often distinguished as Chryse; but he gives a much fuller account of the Pontic city, and records the important fact that in the two places the cultus-ceremonial was exactly the same. The priesthood was originally the ruling power over the whole country round. Each of these great religious centres in Asia Minor was a genuine theocracy. The temple was also an oracle, where the god declared his will; the priests were his interpreters, and therefore practically the rulers of the whole country. The power of the kings, and in western Asia Minor of the people, established itself only by slow degrees alongside that of the priesthood, backed as it was by the enormous numbers of hierodouloi belonging directly to the temple service and at the disposal of the priests. In each Comana they numbered six thousand. Curtius, *Beitr. z. Gesch. Kleinasiens*, has sketched the early history of Ephesus directly on the model of the eastern temples, and there can be little doubt that he is right in assuming the complete analogy.

## No. 4.

(1) on the side of an altar, (2) on the top of the same altar.

(1) ΚΥΡΙΩΠΟΛ  
ΛΩΝΙ  
ΚΕΑΚΛΗΠΙΩ  
ΩΤΗΡΕΙ  
ΑΥΚΥΡΙΜΩΣ  
ΒΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ

Κυρίω Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ  
Σωτῆρει Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κύριλλος  
β. νεωκόρος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

(2) ΤΟΥΑ  
ΠΟΛ  
ΩΝΟΣ

The two parts are evidently intended to be read continuously. The Apollo whose neokoros here dedicates an altar to him is certainly not the Greek Apollo, but a genuine native deity: otherwise we should not hear of his *neokoros*. The office was an Oriental one, and never attained honour and position in the true Hellenic temple-ritual. Under the empire the great cities of Asia Minor deemed it the highest honour to receive the title of *νεωκόρος* in the state cultus paid to the emperor. This native Apollo is a god of frequent occurrence all over Asia Minor, and he was one of the chief deities of this district of Cappadocia (Strab. p. 537). He is simply the Oriental Sun-god, worshipped over the whole of Asia Minor and identified by the Greeks sometimes with Apollo, sometimes with Zeus, according to slight local diversities of character. Asclepius the Saviour to whom the altar is dedicated in company with Apollo is also doubtless Hellenic only in name. Worshipped in the same temple and on the same altar with the Sun-god, he is simply a form of the same deity individualised in one of his attributes as the Healing God.

## No. 5.

ΜΗΙ  
-ΙΤΕΛ  
ΜΗΝΙΑΖΗΜ  
ΑΤΗΣΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥΘ  
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΚΑΤΑΟΝΙΑ  
ΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΝΑΥΤΩΝΕΠΙΕΙΚ  
ΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙΚΩΣ

μηνια ζημ  
ιερ[ε]α τῆς Νικηφόρου Θε[ε]ας  
στρατηγὸν Καταονία[ς ἐπιμελ-  
η]σάμενον αὐτῶν ἐπιεικ[ῶς τε  
καὶ εὐεργετικῶς.

The Nikephoros Thea is of course Ma or Artemis or Bellona, the great goddess of Comana. She had here much of the war-like character which often attaches to the Artemis of Asia Minor; hence she is the conquering goddess, like the Pallas of Pergamus.

According to Ptolemy, Cappadocia was under the Romans divided into four districts, Cataonia, Aravene Saravene or Abarene, Lavianêsinë, and Muriane. But Strabo says that in his time the Romans retained the old division into ten strategiai, of

which Cataonia is the second in his enumeration. Marquardt (*Alt.* iv. i. 208) says that this division lasted as late as the time of Antoninus Pius. Now after the death of Archelaus the last king, Tiberius placed Cappadocia under the direction of a Roman knight as procurator; and it is possible that each of the ten *strategiai* was governed by a *stratêgos* while this system continued. If so the person honoured in this inscription was *Stratêgos* of Cataonia either under one of the native kings or under the early empire.

## No. 6.

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣΣΠΙΤΟΥΗ  
ΚΑΙΒΑΖΕΙΣΣΠΙΤΗΝ  
ΣΠΙΤΟΥΤΟΥΜΙΘΡΑ  
ΤΩΧΜΟΥΤΟΝΕΑΤΗΣ  
ΑΝΕΨΙΟΝΤΙΜΗΤΙΚΩΣ  
ΠΡΟΣΑΥΤΗΝΔΙΑΤΕ  
ΘΕΝΤΑΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΚΑ  
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΕΝΕ

Ἀθηναῖς Σπίτου ἡ  
καὶ Βάζεις Σπίτην  
Σπίτου τοῦ Μιθρα-  
τώχμου τὸν ἐατῆς  
ἀνέψιον τιμητικῶς  
πρὸς αὐτὴν διατε-  
θέντα εὐνοίας κα[ὶ]  
φιλοστοργίας ἐνε[κεν].

The spelling *ἐατῆς* is characteristic of the Augustan period (*Arch. Ztg.* 1876, p. 54). The most interesting thing in this inscription is the double name of the lady; she has a Greek name and a native. One thinks of the line quoted by Athenæus *αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὄνομα Φρυγιακὸν γυναῖκ' ἔχειν*. Both her father and her cousin's father are called Spites.

## No. 7.

On four sides of a square block of marble in a ruined chapel near Sheher.

(1) ΜΝΗΜΑΚΛΗΠΙΑΔ  
ΠΥΛΑΔΟΥΤΟΔΕ  
ΤΕΥΣΕΝΑΡΕΙΩΝ

(2) ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟCΑΥΘΕΤΑΡΩΝ  
ΠΡΟ + ΕΡΩΝ  
ΑΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟC

ΠΡΩΤΟCΚΑΙΦΙΛΙ  
ΚΑ///ΓΕΝΕΙΕΝΓΥΤ

ΟΙΚΕΙΟCΦΙΛΙΗΝ  
ΙΔΕΠΑΡΩΝΥΜΙΗΝ

(3) ΦΑΙΔΡΟΣΔΑΥΤ  
ΕΠΙΤΟΙΟΙΤΡΙΤΟΣ  
ΦΙΛΙΗΔΑΡΑΠΡΩΤΟΣ

(4) ΤΕΤΡΑΤΟΣΑΥΜΕΜΦΙΟ  
ΟΥΤΟΙΤΑΦΟΝ  
ΕΖΕΤΕΛΕΣΣΑΝ

ΔΕΙΜΑΤΑΕΙΜΝΗCΤΟΝ  
CΗΜΑΦΙΛΩΕΤΑΡΩ

ΤΕCΣΑΡΕCΕΚΠΟΛΛΩΝ  
ΜΝΗΜΟΝΕCΕΥCΕΒΙΗC

Μνήμη Ἀσκληπιάδ[η] Πυλάδου τόδε τεύ[ξ]εν Ἀρείων,

Πρῶτος καὶ φιλή καὶ γένει ἐνγύτ[ατα].

Δεύτερος αὐτ' ἐτάρων προ[τ]έρων Ἀσκληπιόδωρος

Οἰκείος φιλήν [ο]ἶδε παρωνυμίην·

Φαίδρὸς δ' αὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι τρίτος, φιλή δ' ἄρα πρῶτος,

Δείματ' αἰμύνηστον σῆμα φίλῳ ἐτάρῳ·

Τέτρατος αὐ Μέμφις· οὗτοι τάφον ἐξετέλεσσαν,

Τέσσαρες ἐκ πολλῶν μνήμονες εὐσεβίης.

#### No. 8.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ  
ΚΑΙCΑΡΑΜΑΥΡ  
ΕΥCΕΚ  
ΕΥΤΥΧΕΒΜΕ

Αὐτοκράτορα ΚαίCαρα  
Μ. Αὐρήλιον [Ἀντωνεῖνον]  
Εὐσεβ(ῆ) Εὐτυχ(ῆ) Σεβ(αστὸν)  
μέ(γιστον).

Caracalla is sole emperor when the inscription is engraved, so that the date is between 215 and 217 A.D.

#### No. 9.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟC  
ΙΑΕΟΝΟCΚΑΙ  
ΕΡΜ///ΔΩΡ  
ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟ  
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΤΩ  
ΑΕΥΝΚΡΙΤΩ

Ἀν[τ]ίγονος  
Ἰάσονος καὶ  
Ἑρμ[ο]δῶρ[α]  
Φαρνάκο[υ]  
Ὀλυμπίῳ τῷ  
ἀσυνκρίτῳ

At the end of line 3 the beginning of an A could be seen. The inscription is raised by a father and mother to their son. The names are all Greek except that of the mother's father. Pharnaces was a common name among the Pontic kings. It was originally a divine name or epithet: Mên Pharnakou was



one of the chief gods of Pontus, and the most sacred oath of the kings of Pontus was by this deity (Strabo 557). Just as the name and the whole cultus of the Pontic Comana was learned from Cappadocia, so doubtless was all their religion, including *Mên Pharnakou*.

## No. 10.

ΤΦΛ ΟΥΙΟΣΚΟΛΕ  
ΕΦΛΑΟΥΙΩΑΠΟΜΩ  
ΝΙΤΨΙΔΙΩΘΡΕΠΤΩ  
ΜΝΗΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ

Τ. Φλαουιος Κολε-  
ς Φλαουίω Ἀπόλλω-  
νι τῷ ἰδίῳ θρεπτῷ  
μνήμης ἔνεκεν

It is doubtful what is the surname in the first line, *Κολεος* or *Κολες*. Such *θρεπτοί* or *θρέμματα*, poor children brought up in the family, were apparently regarded generally with genuine affection. A place is very often provided for them in the family tomb, and they are mentioned between the children and the freedmen. But they were sometimes brought up as slaves, and are mentioned after the freedmen. In this case they had a right to claim their liberty, as Trajan writes when Pliny consulted him on the subject (*Epp.* x. 71 and 72, ed. Lemaire).

## No. 11.

ΜΙΘΡΕΟΥC  
ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑC  
ΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝ

[ὁ δεῖνα] Μιθρέους  
ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασ[εν  
τὸν τάφον.

Persian influence had been very strong in Cappadocia. The months were called by Persian names. It is therefore natural to find such names as *Mithratochmos* (No. 6), and *Mithres*. *Mithre* is the name of a Cappadocian month (see *Philol.* II. 249: Schmidt, *Neue Lyk. Studien* 142).

## SEBASTEIA.

## No. 12.

An inscription in the Armenian village of Pilkini, one mile or more from Sivas, was copied by Sir C. Wilson formerly, and

seen by me in June, 1881. The letters are much worn: the stone is complete on the left side, broken at the top and the right.

ΙΓΦΟΡΙΟΝ  
 ΗΟΥCΕΤ  
 ΤΟΑΝΤΟΥΟΡΙC  
 ΩΝΕΠΑΝΓΕΛΙΩ  
 ΟΤΕΙΜΗCΑΜΕΝ  
 ΩCΑΝΤΑΔΕΕΠ  
 ΗCΠΕΙΝΟΥΤΗ-  
 ΑΤΗΙΙCΕΒΑC  
 Ο///ΛΗΔΗΜΟC

...]ς τὸ ὄριον  
 το ἂν τοῦ ὀρί[ου τ-  
 ὦν ἐπαγγελιῶ[ν  
 ο τειμηςάμεν[ο  
 ὡσαν τάδε ἐπ[ι.....Κ-  
 [ρ]ισπείνου τη[  
 Σεβασ[τείας ἄρχοντες, β-  
 ο[υ]λή, δῆμος

The interest of the inscription arises from the mention of the name *Sebasteia*. In line 1, [τὸ]ἔ[ν]σόριον suggests itself, but I could not reconcile this with the stone. Instead of N, the letter seemed quite certainly either Γ or Τ. The inscription is probably honorary, to judge both from the end and from the word *ἐπαγγελίων*: it was not uncommon for candidates to seek election to posts of honour by promising to spend great sums in office, and the technical word for this promise throughout Asia Minor is *ἐπαγγέλλειν*. The inscription is dated under the Roman official Crispinus; but I do not see how to supply his title. *Sebasteia* was in Pontus Polemoniacus, which never formed part of the province of Bithynia Pontus, but was united to Galatia throughout the first century and afterwards to Cappadocia (see below, No. 15). The government of Cappadocia (see No. 5) was remodelled by the emperor Vespasian, who stationed legions there, and from this time it was generally united to the province of Galatia. The governors were of consular rank, ruling as *legati Augusti pro praetore Cappadociae Galatiae*. The office was filled by Neratius Pansa, 78—80 A.D., Caesennius Gallus 80—82 A.D., and Julius Candidus Marius Celsus, consul 86 A.D., perhaps held the office, though he cannot be proved except in Galatia. But it seems quite certain that Bellicius Sollers, propraetor of Galatia about 90—5 A.D., did not rule in Cappadocia, and that he was not of consular rank: while Julius Quadratus, consul 93 A.D., was ruler of Cappadocia alone in the year 94 or

95. When the provinces were separated Pontus Polemoniacus went with Galatia (see C. I. L. III. No. 291). It is probable that the severance was for some temporary purpose, as from 95—100 A.D. we find Pomponius Bassus ruling over Cappadocia and Galatia. But he seems to have been the last officer that united under his sway such a vast extent of country. Trajan finally divided the province, and placed a *legatus* of consular rank over Cappadocia, while a *legatus* of praetorian rank ruled Galatia: Pontus Polemoniacus was probably joined to the former<sup>1</sup>. The name Crispinus occurs neither in the list of known governors of Cappadocia given by Marquardt, nor in that compiled for Galatia by M. Perrot (*de Galatia Prov. Rom.*); but both are of course far from complete.

#### COMANA PONTICA.

In an Armenian book of Travels belonging to the priest of Pilkini near Sivas, I saw the following inscriptions along with several others, all equally badly copied and hopeless, from Geumenek near Tokat. I give two of these inscriptions, which contain the name of the town.

#### No. 13.

ΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ  
οΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩ  
ΙΑΝΕΩΝΠΟΛΙΣ  
ΟΥΣ .ΡΓ.

]ν Καίσαρα  
η 'Ιερ]ο-Καίσαρέω[ν Κο-  
μ]ανέων πόλις  
ἔτ]ους ργ'.

The inscription is dated in the year one hundred and three. On the analogy of the local eras used in various parts of Asia Minor in the Imperial period, there can be no doubt that this era is that either of the formation of the country into a Roman province or of the assumption by the town of the name Hiero-Cesareia. This name for the city is common on the coins, which show that the era dates from A.D. 37, when Caligula gave to Polemon the kingdom of Pontus, which had belonged to his

<sup>1</sup> See Marquardt *Röm. Alt.* iv. p. 205; Perrot, *de Gal. Prov. Rom.* p. 98 ff. and below no. 15.

father Polemon. In the year 140 A.D., which corresponds to the year 103 of the inscription, the consuls were the emperor Antoninus Pius and Verus Caesar, afterwards the emperor M. Aurelius. It is probable that this inscription is in honour of the two consuls, and it may be restored as follows, omitting the honorary pedigree and titles which were given with the emperor's name.

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τ. Αἰλίου] [Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον, κ.τ.λ. καὶ] Μ. Αἰλίον Οὐῆρον Καίσαρα ἢ Ἱερ[οκ]αισαρέων Κομ[ανέων πόλις. ἔτ]ους ργ'.

## No. 14.

(1) ΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΩΟΥΗ  
.. ΡΟΚΛΥΤΗΘΑΘΗ

(2) ΕΒCΙΩΚΑΠΗΙΕΙ  
ΟCΚΡΙCΠΕΙΝΟΥC

(3) CΑΡΕΩΝΚΟΜΑΝΕ  
ΡΑ ΑΙΛΙΟΥΠΙΟΚ

(4) ////ΚΑΙΑCΥΑCΩ

[Αὐτοκράτορσιν Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνεῖνῳ Σεβαστῶ Καίσαρι κ]αὶ Αὐρηλῶ Οὐῆ[ρῳ Σ]εβ[α]στῶ Καίσα(ρι) ἢ Ἱερ[οκ]αισαρέων Κομανέ[ων νεωκόρος] καὶ ἄστυλος [πόλις.....ἐπιμεληθέντ]ος? αὐτῆς? Ἀθ[ην]αίωνος Κρισπεῖνου ἐ[πὶ ἀντιστ]ρα[τ ...] Αἰλίου Πρόκλου.

The name Crispinus also occurs at Sebasteia (No. 12). The general drift of the inscription is clear, but it is difficult to connect the separate fragments, some of which need considerable emendation; and the latter part is very uncertain.

## SEBASTOPOLIS (SULU SERAI).

Sir C. Wilson in a visit to this place some time ago copied a number of inscriptions. The most important of them has been edited by Rénier, *Rev. Archéol.* 1877, p. 200, and by Roehl, *Beitr. z. griech. Epigraphik*, with notable differences. Sir C. Wilson's copy confirms M. Rénier's reading in every respect. The inscription is in honour of the emperor Hadrian and of

Aelius Caesar; and I give the concluding lines, in which alone there is any difference between the two published copies. The copy on which Rénier and Roehl had to work is so very bad, that one cannot wonder at the difference between them. Roehl kept far more strictly to the letters transmitted than Rénier: and where the latter made ΕΠΙΦΑΡΜΑΝΟΥ into ἐπὶ Φλ. Ἀρριάνου, the former read ἐπὶ Φαρμάδων, understanding the person referred to as the Pharasmanes who at this period was ruler of Iberia in the Caucasus.

## No. 15.

ΕΠΙΦΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ	ἐπὶ Φλ. Ἀρριάνου
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ	πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρατηγοῦ
ΤΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ	τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΤΟΝΚΑΙ	Σεβαστοπολεϊτῶν τῶν καὶ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΟΝ	Ἡρακλεοπολεϊτῶν
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ·ΒΟΥΛΗ·ΔΗΜΟΣ	ἄρχοντες, βουλὴ, δῆμος.
ΕΤΟΥΣΘΛΡ	ἔτους θλρ.

The inscription belongs to the year 137 A.D., and to the first half of the year; and as it is dated in the year 139, the era employed must begin B.C. 2. In that year we may conclude that the town was honoured with the name of Sebastopolis, having been formerly called Heracleopolis. A small number of coins occur with the double name of the city, and one of them was picked up in the town itself.

There is a difference also between Roehl and Rénier as to the town in question: the former considers that it is the Sebastopolis of Pontus Galaticus, the latter that it is of Pontus Cappadocicus. I have not the opportunity of seeing Roehl's dissertation, which is not to be found either in the British Museum or in the Bodleian. It is quite certain that Sulu Serai is situated in Pontus Galaticus, but Marquardt declares that both Pontus Polemoniacus and Pontus Galaticus went along with Cappadocia and not along with Galatia when these provinces were separated by Trajan (*Röm. Alt.* iv. i. p. 205: see above, No. 12). Perrot (*De Galat. Prov. Rom.* p. 59) thinks they went with Galatia, but the present inscription goes along with

much probable evidence to show that he is wrong. This Sebastopolis is clearly the one which lay on the northern road from Tavium to Sebasteia in the Antonine Itinerary. The inscription is still on the actual Roman bridge over which the road passed. Sulu Serai is not far south of Zela, and a comparison of the Tables shows that the road from Tavium to Zela and Neocaesareia coincided for a considerable part of the way with that to Sebastopolis and Sebasteia. The former road is given in the Peutinger Table, Rogmor xxxvi, Aegonne xxxvi, Ptemari xxviii, Zela xxvi, Stabulum xxxii, Seramisa xxii, Neocaesareia xv. The latter in the Antonine Itinerary is Mogaro xxx, Dorano xxiii, Sebastopolis xl. It is probable that Mogaro is Rogmor, Ptemari is Sebastopolis, and that the roads coincided thus far.

Apart from its geographical importance, the inscription is interesting as a monument of the rule of the historian Arrian in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Armenia Minor. It was the custom to send a consular as legatus to this province, and by a singular fortune the consulate of Arrian, otherwise unknown, is mentioned in the stamp on two bricks found in Rome (see Descemet in *Rev. Archéol.* 1881). Arrian was legatus in the year 131, and continued to be so till the middle of the year 137, when he was succeeded by L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus (on these dates see Rénier, *l. c.*).

### AMASIA.

#### No. 16.

On a stone beside a ruined bridge over the river Iris.

IMPNEPVACAESAVC  
PONTIFMAXTRIBPO  
TEST.COSIII.PPRESTI  
TVITPERPOMPONI  
VMBASSVMLEG  
AVG.PRO.PR

P

Imperator Nerva Caesar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, tribunicia potestate, Consul III., Pater Patriae, restituit per Pomponium Bassum legatum Augusti pro praetore

[M].P.

The inscription, C. I. L., III. No. 309, records a repair of the roads executed under Trajan, A.D. 98—9, by Pomponius Bassus

in the province of Galatia. Here we find the same governor a few months earlier repairing a bridge in Pontus. It is certain that T. Pomponius Bassus governed Galatia, Cappadocia, Pontus, &c., as *legatus pro praetore* during a period that extended at least from 95 to 100 A.D. (Perrot, *de Galat. Prov. Rom.* p. 111). Coins of Caesareia Mazaca show that his rule extended over Cappadocia, coins and an inscription (C. I. L. III. No. 309) that it included Galatia. The interior of Pontus was not included in the province of Bithynia-Pontus, but went at this time with Galatia, so that it is quite natural to find Bassus governor at Amasia. Perrot (*de Gal. Prov. Rom.* p. 103 ff.) well describes the road-building energy that marked the period of Vespasian and Trajan, and its effect in civilising the country as well as strengthening the imperial rule. The great majority of the milestones of Asia Minor belong either to this period or to the reconstruction of the empire, Roman now only in name, in the time of Diocletian and Constantine. For example, the great thoroughfare of the province of Asia, from Ephesus to Smyrna and Pergamus, is marked by the milestones of its first builder Aquilius Glabrio, of Vespasian, and of Diocletian (see a paper on Southern Aeolis in *Journ. Hell. Studies*, 1881, pt. 1).

## No. 17.

In Ahmed Serai about ten hours north of Amasia on the road to Amisus, now Samsun.

IMPCAES	Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)
C VPVA	Caio[A]ur(elio) Va[l(erio)
DIACL	Diocl(etiano)
PFINVICAVG	P(io)F(elici)invic(to)Aug(usto)[et
5 IMPCAES	imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [Marco Aurelio
.....	[Valerio Maximiano]
PFINVICAVG	P(io) F(elici) invic(to)Aug(usto)
ETFLVA	et Fl(avio)Va[l(erio)
CONSTANT	Constant[io]
10 ETC	et G[al(erio) Val(erio)
MAXIMIAN	Maximian[o]
NOBIISS·CA	Nobiliss(imis) Ca[es(aribus)
KΓ	[Millia Passuum] KΓ

The inscription dates between 292 and 305 A.D. The reconstruction of the empire by Diocletian, consummated about 297 A.D., is marked by great activity in road-making (see above, No. 15).

This milestone is of great importance for the geography of Pontus. Ahmed Serai lies east from the hot springs of Kavsa, and the distances given by the natives are, Kavsa four hours, Ladik two, Amasia ten, Samsun twelve. Sir C. Wilson writes; "Ahmed Serai is on the line of a road from Nicopolis (Kara Hissar), Neo-Caesareia (Niksar) to Kavsa: there it forked, one branch going by Mersifun to Tchorum, Aladja, and Nefez keni, or from Aladja direct to Angora. The other branch went by Vezir Keupru, crossed the Halys by a Roman bridge which I am told still exists, and went on.....towards Constantinople. Ahmed Serai is the place where a road would naturally pass over the hills west of the Tash Ova. The distance you found would be either to Mersifun, an old site, or to Sunnisa, a remarkable old site on the Tash Ova."

## No. 18.

At Ak Dam, two miles south of Anazarbus: copied by Lieut. Bennet, R.E.

ΑΠΟΑΝΑΖΑΡΒΟΥ  
 ΗΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ  
 ΤΩΝΓ' ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΩΝΠΡΟ  
 ΚΑΘΕΖΟΜΕΝ-ΕΚΑΙ  
 Β· ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ  
 Α

'Απὸ Ἀναζάρβου [τ]ῇ[ς] μητροπόλεως τῶν γ' ἐπαρχειῶν προκαθεζομένης καὶ β' νεωκόρου, Α. This is the first milestone on the road leading from Anazarbos south, perhaps the road to Mopsuestia from which another milestone is published (Lebas 1495). There was, as M. Waddington remarks (Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* no. 1480), a constant rivalry between Anazarbos and Tarsos, and each city tries to outdo the other in the splendour



of its titles and to appropriate those which the other had assumed: similar contention between Ephesus and Smyrna led at last to imperial interference. In the above-quoted inscription, of which a better text is published by Collignon (*Ann. d. l. Faculté d. Lettr. Bordeaux*, 1881, p. 154), Tarsus boasts itself *μητρόπολις τῶν γ' ἐπαρχειῶν Κιλικίας Ἰσαυρίας Λυκαονίας προκαθεζομένη<sup>1</sup> καὶ β' νεωκόρος*. Cilicia was under the early emperors governed by a *procurator* under the *legatus Augusti* of the province of Syria. Under Vespasian it became a separate province governed by a *legatus pro praetore* (Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* i. p. 229). M. Waddington supposes that it was under Severus that Isauria and Lycaonia were placed under the same administration as Cilicia.

## No. 19.

Anazarbus: copied by Sir C. Wilson.

ΔΡΟ	ΑΙΣΑΡΑ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙ	ΣΤΟΥΥΙ
ΟΝΘΙ	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΥΙ
ΩΝΟΝ	ΕΛΕΝΟΣΒΑΣΙ
ΛΕΩΣΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	
ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ	

Δρο[ύσον κ]αίσαρα, Τιβερί[ου σεβα]στοῦ υἱόν, Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱωνόν, Ἐλενος βασιλέως Φιλοπάτορος ἀπελεύθερος. Philopator was one of the obscure kings of part of Cappadocia and Cilicia, about whom see Eckhel III. p. 82. Tarcondimotos I was on the side of Pompey and afterwards of Antony. His sons Philopator and Tarcondimotos deserted to Augustus after the battle of Actium; the kingdom was taken away from Philopator, but restored to Tarcondimotos in B.C. 20. Philopator II died A.D. 17: nothing is known of his accession or parentage (see Tac. *Ann.* II. 42). The letters Δ Λ on a coin of king Philopator perhaps indicate that his reign reached a thirty-fourth year. Drusus, son of the emperor Tiberius, was

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to modify the text of M. Collignon by reading προ-.

made consul for the first time in A.D. 15, and it is not probable that the inscription is earlier than this date, while it cannot be later than A.D. 17.

No. 20.

Rock-tomb at Anazarbos, fragment of a long inscription now illegible: copied by Sir C. Wilson.

Τ ΦΟΝΗΑΜΗΚΤΟΜΕΓ ΙΡΑ  
...mutilated relief  
ΑΓΟΝΟΝΣΥΝΟΥΧΟΝΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΜ  
ΗΑΝΟΙΓ/ΟΥ ΑΡΘ

τ[ισι]φόνη, 'Αλληκτ[ώ], Μέγ[α]ιρα.....  
ἄγονον, [ε]ύνοῦχον φυλασσομ .....

It is unfortunate that this inscription is so mutilated. Perhaps a comparison with the very bad copy in Langlois *Inscr. de la Cilicie*, p. 12, and Lebas 1513, will help some one to restore it.

No. 21.

Comana: copied by Rev. Mr Christy.

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ  
ΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ  
ΚΑΝΖΑ  
ΠΑΙΛΑΡΟΣ  
ΥΠΕΡΕΙCΙΝ  
ΟΥΤΟΥΥΙ  
ΟΥ

Σωτήρι 'Ασκληπίω Κανζαραίλαρος (?) ὑπὲρ Εἰσινου (?) τοῦ υἱοῦ. The inscription records the gratitude of a father for his son's recovery from sickness: the names are doubtful. The god Asclepios has already occurred on another inscription. His worship grew steadily in popularity throughout the imperial time, and was the last and most difficult cultus for Christianity to abolish. Hence there was a growing tendency to identify the native gods of Cappadocia with Asclepios.

## No. 22.

ΦΛΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ  
 ΚΑΠΠΟΥΛΙΑΑΘΗ  
 ΝΑΙΣΠΑΠΟΥΦΛ  
 ΝΥΧΤΗΓΛΥΚΥ  
 ΤΑΤΗΚΕΜΟΝΗ  
 ΑΣΥΝΚΡΙΤΩΘΥ  
 ΓΑΤΡΙΠΡΟΜΟΙ  
 ΡΩΩ

Φλ. Ἀσιατικὸς καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ Ἀθηναῖς Πάπου Φανυση (?) τη  
 γλυκυτάτῃ καὶ μόνῃ ἀσυνκρίτῳ θυγατρὶ προμολῶ.

Athenais appears to have been a common name at Comana; it is probable that the warlike θεὰ νικηφόρος was sometimes identified with the Greek Ἀθηνᾶ νικηφόρος. Papas, a name of the Phrygian and Bithynian supreme god, is often used as a personal name in Phrygia, and is doubtless also a native name in Cappadocia.

W. M. RAMSAY.

## NOTE ON INSCRIPTION. No. 2, p. 144.

Wesseling thought that Cilicia was divided into two provinces at the redistribution of the Empire under Diocletian about 297 A.D. But in the Verona MS. which gives the resulting arrangement, and in Polemon Silvius (380—5), Cilicia is a single province: and only in the period that elapsed before the *Not. Dign. Or.* appeared (400—5) was it divided. Cilicia I. was governed by a *consularis*, II. by a *praeses*: and this mode of government is given in Hierocles (before 535) and was continued by Justinian, *Nov. VIII.* The undivided Cilicia was probably governed by a *consularis*; though a *praeses* seems to have ruled under Constantine. The officers were under the *Comes Orientis*. (See Wesseling ad Hier.; Böcking ad *Not. Dign. Or.*, p. 141; Mommsen in *Rev. Archéol.* 1866 and 1867.)



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Inscriptions from Nacoleia

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 3 (1882), pp. 119-127

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## INSCRIPTIONS FROM NACOLEIA.

NACOLEIA is situated at the western border of the wide treeless plain which extends over the greater part of northern Phrygia and Galatia. In front of it north and east lies the great valley, which is drained by the river Sangarius or Sagaris : behind it are the Phrygian mountains, in which are the most important remains of the old Phrygian kingdom about six hours' journey away. The ancient city was placed on an isolated hill at the mouth of a glen bordered by higher hills : the modern town of Seid-el-Ghazi lies below this hill in the glen. A very fine old mosque, which would well reward careful examination, is placed far up on one of the higher hills :<sup>1</sup> in it are buried Seid-el-Ghazi, the Arab general of Haroun al Raschid, and his wife the Greek princess. Much interesting information about these personages, and about the later history of Nacoleia, may be found in Mordtmann's paper, *Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1860.<sup>2</sup> It is unnecessary to repeat anything that has been already said by him about the city, which plays a considerable part in later Roman history and was the scene of several important battles.

The name is derived by Stephanus from Nacolos son of Daskylos, or from the nymph Nacole : it is difficult to assimilate it with any class of Asian or Greek names.

Between the decay of the native Phrygian art and the

<sup>1</sup> We reached the place on June 3 just before sunset, and had next day a nine hours' journey before us. My time was occupied in copying nineteen inscriptions, and I could not visit the site of the old city.

<sup>2</sup> Mordtmann is however quite wrong

in thinking that Akroinos was a Byzantine name of Nacoleia. The bishopric of Akroinos is mentioned in *Not. Episc.* iii., x., and xiii. : but in both iii. and x. Nacoleia is also mentioned as a metropolitan see.

Imperial time, there are no monuments or inscriptions to be found in the country; and the history of Phrygia is almost unknown. It can be reconstructed only by observing the change in the great cities of the country, the decay of old and the bloom of new ones, and thence gathering evidence about the policy of the Greek rulers. Of two hundred and fifty Greek inscriptions which I have copied in Phrygia, only one belongs to the Greek period: and it is evident that Greek civilisation and social organisation had hardly affected the country before the Roman period. The relations between Nacoleia and Orcistos, revealed to us by a long inscription at Orcistos (*C. I. L.* III. p. 63), throw some light on this transition time. Orcistos was originally a much more important place than Nacoleia. It lay on the direct road across Asia Minor by Gordium, Pessinus, and the Midas city, *i.e.* it lay on the 'Royal Road' and shared in all the commercial advantages that resulted therefrom. Hence the inhabitants boast of their ancient splendour and of the kings of early time connected with their city: in these kings Mommsen (*C. I. L.* iii. p. 67) rightly understands the old Phrygian dynasty of Gordius. But when the centres of civilisation altered and the 'Royal Road' sank into decay, Orcistos decayed also. The inscription speaks of the four roads which passed through it, but, as Mommsen observes, it is implied that the roads were long abandoned and deserted. Nacoleia, on the other hand, gained just as Orcistos lost; important roads of a later time passed through it, and one of these is still among the chief routes of Asia Minor. The town was thirty Roman miles<sup>1</sup> south of Dorylaion, and the very important road from the north to Apameia, the great trading centre of Phrygia, passed through it and went south by Prynnessos, Docimion with its great marble quarries, Synnada and Euphorbium in the fertile Tchyl Ova. At Nacoleia a second road branched off, went up the valley of a little river to a place named Pontanos, the modern Kirkagha (*i.e.* Forty Aghas), and thence across the Phrygian mountains to Conni: after this it went south by Eucarpia and Eumeneia, carrying to Apameia the produce of a fertile district for transport to the western markets. Nacoleia then became a rich city, while Orcistos, the Midas city, and the other seats of ancient civilisation, sank into insignificance,

<sup>1</sup> The xx. of the Peutinger Table must be corrected to thirty.

οὐδ' ἔχνη σώζοντα πόλεων, ἀλλὰ κῶμαι μικρῷ μείζους τῶν ἄλλων (Str. p. 568).

Nacoleia, the chief city of the district, was the seat of an officer of the imperial household who collected certain dues from the surrounding country. This officer, *exactor rei publicae Nacolensium*, was, like all of his class that are known, a slave of the imperial household (Mommsen, *C. I. L.* iii. p. 68). Orcistos was one of the dependent cities, which paid tribute to Nacoleia. The tribute was not all the property of the city, for the emperor's slave must have been in charge of an imperial interest: moreover, when an order was issued in favour of the inhabitants of Orcistos, *ne amplius Nacolensibus pro cultis penderent*, it was addressed to the administration of the province of Asia. The people of Orcistos seem to have been exposed to much loss and injustice from the Nacoleians in the exaction of the dues, till in the year 331 A.D. the town was raised to the rank of a *civitas*, and made independent of Nacoleia.

We may conclude that any slave of the emperor who is mentioned as resident at Nacoleia, was stationed there as *exactor*, and the names of some of them have been preserved. In the middle of the second century the office was held by a slave named Niger. The tombstone which he erected at his family-grave may still be seen in a Turkish cemetery about an hour to the east of Nacoleia. It is a fine large block of marble with the following inscription engraved on it in letters about two inches high :—

ΝΙΓΕΡΚΛΙΣΑ  
ΡΟΣΔΟΥΛ  
ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟ  
ΖΩΝ  
ΚΑΙ/  
ΚΑΙ.

Νίγερ, Καίσαρος δοῦλ[ος], νεώτερος ζῶν [ἑαυτῷ] καὶ [μητρὶ?] καὶ κ.τ.λ. [τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκευάσεν]. Niger distinguishes himself from his father Niger by the epithet *νεώτερος*: his father must have been known in the district and had probably filled the same office. It is unlikely that a third slave bearing the same name filled the same office, and hence we are justified in referring the following inscription to this second Niger. It is

engraved in large letters on a block of Docimian marble in a court of the mosque of Seid-el-Ghazi.

Τ ΙΛΙΟΣ  
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ  
ΣΕ ΑΣΤΟ  
ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕ  
ΡΟ Ν ΤΤΡ

Τ.[Α]ἰλιος Αὐρήλιος, Σε[β]αστο[ύ] ἀπελεύθερο[ς] Ν[ύγε]ρ.

The traces make the restoration of the name in the last line quite certain. Niger was manumitted by his imperial master, and took the name of T. Aelius Aurelius. His manumission must have taken place during the reign of T. Aelius Antoninus, and the name Aurelius was the family name of the emperor, though it did not form part of his imperial title. A slave born in his household might therefore assume both the official and the family name.<sup>1</sup>

The office of *exactor* was doubtless a lucrative one, and a son or descendant of the freedman, P. Aelius Claudianus Niger, was a man of great note in the district. In the two inscriptions below which mention him, unfortunately the exact nature of the services he rendered to the district is not mentioned. Had he simply performed with magnificence some of those honorary and costly offices of which the rich Greeks were in general so fond, it is probable that the title would have been added to his name. He is styled *ἥρωα ἐνδοξότατον*, *ἥρωα νέον*, and an inscription speaks in general terms of his good deeds to his country. The people of Prymnessos also were benefited by his munificence; and the Nacoleians expressly mentioned that the honorary statue was paid for by the State. The honours granted to rich men were generally paid for by the recipients, but the style of the inscription shows that some unusual service was performed by Claudianus, and was rewarded with unusual honours. Prymnessos was a long way from Nacoleia, fully twelve hours' journey; and it must have been some remarkable deed which induced its inhabitants to place at Nacoleia the immense block of Docimian marble with the inscription published, *C. I. G.* 3818:—

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Rev. W. W. Capes for valuable help on this subject.



ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Πρυμνησέων Π. Αἴλιον Κλαυδιανὸν Νίγερα νέον ἦρωα.

The people of Nacoleia in their inscription published by Mordtmann, *Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1860, expressly claim Claudianus as their own fellow-citizen.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Νακολέων Π. Αἴλιον Κλαυδιανὸν Νίγερα ἦρωα ἐνδοξότατον τῶν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργεσιῶν ἀμοιβῆς ἔνεκα ἐτείμησεν, τῆς πόλεως ἀναστησάσης τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the time of Niger, under the reign of Commodus, the office of exactor was held by a slave Craterus, who is mentioned in a Latin inscription, *C. I. L.* iii. 349.

Pro salute Imperatoris Caesaris M. Aurelii Commodi Antonini Augusti civitati Nacolensium Craterus, Caesaris nostri servus verna, exactor reipublicae Nacolensium, d.d.

The following two inscriptions afford an interesting glance into the religion of the district: the beginning of the first is lost, the end is—

Διὲ βροντῶντι καὶ Πατρὶ Θεῷ.

The second is complete :—

Ῥο[ύφ]ος [ύ]πὲρ τῶν ἰδίων π[ά]ντων [σ]ωτ[η]ρ[ίας] Διὲ βροντῶντι εὐχῇ.<sup>2</sup>

Votive inscriptions to Zeus Brontôn abound in this district of Phrygia. They occur at Nacoleia, at a deserted site one hour west of Nacoleia, at Arab Euren, beside Kumbet on the road to Nacoleia, three on the road from Nacoleia to Dorylaion, at Dorylaion, at Cotaiaion, at Tricomia nine hours west of Nacoleia, at Ancyra of Galatia, and in Rome. It has been considered that Zeus Brontôn belonged to the class of Mithric deities introduced in Rome in the imperial time;<sup>3</sup> but the inscriptions prove that he was a Phrygian god and that his seat was in this district, the peculiar home of the old Phrygian civilisation. In Rome an inscription has been found (*C. I. L.*

<sup>1</sup> I did not see this inscription, but take the copy of Mordtmann.

<sup>2</sup> I have not thought it necessary to take up space with the uncial text, except where the reading is difficult or

the text of importance.

<sup>3</sup> Lajarde (*Annali*, 1841, p. 219) confuses this Zeus Bronton with the Mithric title Bonus Deus Bronton or ἀστρόβροντος δαίμων.

vi. No. 432),—Iovi sancto Brontonti Aur. Poplius: and the editors recognise that it has been set up by a Greek from Asia Minor. Beneath it is a relief representing Apollo Citharoedus sitting with a panther and two choephoroi: Apollo on the coins of Nacoleia always carries the lyre. The worship of Zeus Brontôn is so universal here, and here alone, that it must be the chief and oldest *cultus* of the district, and many of the old Phrygian myths are no doubt connected with it. We must try to gather its character from the few hints that are preserved. The epithets *πατήρ θεός* and *νικητῶρ πατήρ* are expressly applied to him, and it is probable that Papias Zeus Soter, who is named along with Heracles Aniketos in a votive inscription of Nacoleia, is the same god. Papias is the Phrygian epithet translated as the Greek *πατήρ* or *πατήρ θεός*. Papas was according to Arrian the Bithynian name of Zeus, and the Dryopes named the gods *πόποι*: the word means father. Zeus Brontôn was therefore the same conception as the Sky Father of the Rig Veda and the Greek *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*. He hurls the thunder, which in early summer is exceedingly common on the Phrygian uplands.<sup>1</sup> He is also the god of the dark sky, the Greek Zeus Chthonios: an inscription at Nacoleia is dedicated *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ Διὶ Βροντῶντι*. He is also the Victorious, *Νικητῶρ*: evidently the same development took place in Phrygia and in Greece of the naturalistic thundering god, *Καταιβατῆς* or *Βροντῶν*, into the moralised giver of victory. As Soter he is thanked for the preservation of man and beast (*ὑπὲρ βοῶν ἰδίων*, *C. I. G.* 3817): Zeus Soter was the third in the usual Greek formula of libation. On a coin of Nacoleia under Geta, Zeus stands nude hurling the thunderbolt with the right hand and holding the eagle on the left: this is evidently the Nacoleian type of Zeus Brontôn.

The Heracles who is mentioned along with Zeus is an important deity at Nacoleia. He occurs on two coins of the city. Under Caracalla he is represented standing holding in his right hand the club, in his left the lion's skin; at his feet is a bull's head (Mionnet, iv. No. 871). On a coin of Geta, he stands with his right hand behind his back and his left supported on his club which rests on a bull's head placed on a rock (Mionnet,

<sup>1</sup> On the connection between the supreme god, see Mommsen, *Delphica*, weather and the conception of the p. 3.

S. vii. No. 528). The bull's head on both probably denotes the river of Nacoleia, which was perhaps like the Lydian rivers Hyllus and Acheles a son of Heracles. The bull's head reminds us of the Achelous, whose name is a derivative of the simpler form Acheles.

There are hot springs beside Nacoleia, which must of course have been sacred; but nothing sufficiently definite occurs to connect either the Apollo or the Asclepios of coins with them.

Another votive inscription, very much mutilated, was found at Nacoleia:—

CI ΙΑΙΟΕ  
ΝΤΩΝΙΟΕ  
ΥΜ ΙΩ  
ΕΥΧΗΝ.

It is unfortunate that the name of the deity is so mutilated in this inscription: it may end in *νω*, or *ειω*, or *αιω*. The name of the dedicator is equally uncertain, it may be Aelius Antonius, or Aurelius Antonius.

The other gods who occur on coins of Nacoleia are Artemis and Cybele; the latter is one of the commonest types. The caduceus of her companion Hermes also occurs.

The young men of Nacoleia were formed into a society, as we see from the following:—

Ο ΕΟΙΕΦΙΜΗ  
Α ΓΑΙΟΝΑ  
ΤΙCTIONΑΧ  
ΙΚΟΝΙΕΡΕΑ  
ΟΝΕΦΗΒΟΝ  
ΚΑΙΠΡΟΓΗ

This inscription is engraved on a block of the crumbling conglomerate of the district, and is now almost illegible; the first part reads:—

ο[ί Ν]έοι ἐ[τ]ίμνη[σ]α[ν] Γάϊον Ἀ[ν]τίστικον Ἀχ[α]ικὸν ἱερέα.<sup>1</sup>

The members of such societies were older than the *epheboi*, and are sometimes called *ἄνδρες*. They were a regularly

<sup>1</sup> On the associations of the Neoi, see C. Curtius, *Hermes*, vii. p. 43: Collignon, *Les Collèges de Néoi dans les Cités*

*Grecques*, *Annal. d. Facul. d. Lettr. Bordeaux*, 1880: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v. p. 389, iv. p. 240.

constituted body with their own officers, and awarded honours to deserving members.

The following inscriptions are sepulchral:—

Αὐρηλία Βάβου ξῶ[σ]α καὶ φρονοῦ[σ]α ἀνέστησεν ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ  
[Ὁ]νησίμῳ σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις τέκνοις.

The name of Onesimos as archon occurs on a coin of Nacoleia under Caracalla. The date would suit this inscription very well: on the one hand, it is not a very late one, as the letters are too well formed; on the other hand, Aurelia must have been born after the rule of the emperor Marcus Aurelius had popularised his name over the provinces.

Her father bears the genuine Phrygian name Babas, or Ouauas as it is written at Ormelion on the borders of Pisidia (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878, p. 265). The feminine form is Babo at Ancyra (*C. I. G.* 4142); while at Ormelion it is Βάβει in the dative (*Bull. C. H.* 1879, p. 337). The patronymic Babeides is used as a personal name at Baris in Pisidia. Boubôn is used in Lycia. Boubôn is a town in the district of Cibyra; Bubassos a town of Caria. In an inscription which occurs on the tomb of Midas and on another rock in Phrygia, Baba is the first word and probably a proper name. We should expect from the analogy of Asian nomenclature that a class of names so widely spread in the country was derived from the name of a deity. Baubo is the name of a heroine in the *Demeter* legend, sometimes known as Iambe; and we now see that the name was familiar in the original home of this *cultus*. The two forms Babo and Baubo point back to an older form Bambo, and Banba occurs as a feminine name in Phrygia (*Schmidt, Neue Lyk. Stud.* 171). Now the exchange of 'b' and 'm' in Asia Minor has already been observed (above, p. 60), and it is not improbable that this form Banba is connected with that of the goddess who gave name to the ancient city of Βαμβύκη or Mabbog, the Greek Hierapolis, in northern Syria. This town was one of the chief seats of the Dea Syria, whose influence on the religion of Asia Minor is so strong.

High in a wall of the mosque I could with difficulty read—

οἱ δεινὲς Ἄρι[σ]τοκράτη νιώ γλυκυτάτῳ [ζ]ήσαντ[ι] ἔτη δέκα  
ὀκτ[ώ], μνήμης χάριν.

This inscription belongs to a very common class ; it is raised by the parents to their 'sweetest son, aged eighteen.'

The following inscription has been badly published by Mordtmann—

ὁ δεινα τῇ δεινι γλ[υκντάτη σύμβί]ω κὲ Ἄσκα[νί]ω κὲ Γ[?] αλλικῶ κὲ Ἑρμιό[?]νῃ τέκνοις [τὸ μνη-] μῖον ΥΜ[ \* \* μν]ήμης χάριν.

The name of the oldest child is almost certain. Ascanios was a characteristic Phrygian hero, and his *cultus* was widespread (see Waddington on Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* No. 668). Ἀσκαηνός or Ἀσκαίνος was a surname of the Phrygian god Men. The other names are supplied *exempli gratiâ*.

A number of other inscriptions exist in Nacoleia, but they are cut on the soft crumbling conglomerate of the district, and are hopelessly decayed. On one of them I could distinguish the word ἀρχιερ[εύς]: a person of high rank, chief priest of the *cultus* of the emperor in this district, was mentioned on the stone.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions from Nacoleia besides those published here may be found in *C. I. G.*, *C. I. L.*, Mordtmann in *Munch. Gel. Anz.* 1860, and in *Berichte Ver-*

*handl. Munch.* 1861 (a paper which I have not the opportunity of seeing in Athens), Kirchhoff, *Annali*, 1861.

W. M. RAMSAY.



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Some Phrygian Monuments

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Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 3 (1882), pp. 256-263

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## SOME PHRYGIAN MONUMENTS.

[PL. XXVI.—XXIX.]

OF the five Phrygian monuments now published from the drawings of Mr. A. C. Blunt, No. 4 on Pl. XXVIII. may be assigned to an early period of Phrygian history. It has been already published by Steuart, *Anc. Monum.*; but like all his drawings, this is very incorrect and gives an inaccurate idea of the original.<sup>1</sup> The monument is at Yapuldak (see the map in last number of this Journal). There was at this place a town or fortification of some kind on the top of a hill, which rises about 200 feet above the plain. The western side of the hill is a precipice of rock, and on all other sides it is very steep. On the western side an underground staircase cut in the rock leads down to the plain: a similar one at Pishmish Kalessi has already been mentioned above, p. 6. Near this staircase there is a doorway leading into a small rock-chamber, from which another door in the opposite wall leads into a second chamber, larger than the first. At the back of the second chamber a door admits into a third chamber, and in the back of this third chamber there is a door or window which looks out over the precipice to the west. One can step out through this window and stand on a ledge about eighteen inches wide; and this is the only way to get a near view of the carved front which is now given according to Mr. Blunt's drawing and measurements. The architectural work round the door shows the love of ornament characteristic of both Phrygian and Mycenaean art. It does not consist of curved mouldings: the section shows only straight lines. There is a high pediment over the window, the centre of which is occupied by a peculiarly shaped obelisk. This pediment is very

<sup>1</sup> Steuart deserves credit as the discoverer of many of the Phrygian monuments, and for his good copies of several inscriptions. He was however

no draughtsman, and his drawings have apparently been worked up at home.

like one over the door of a tomb in the side of Pishmish Kalessi, engraved by Perrot, *Voy. Archéol.* p. 146;<sup>1</sup> but is much more elaborate. On the two sides of the obelisk, arranged in the usual symmetrical fashion, are two animals, on the right side certainly a bull, on the left side probably a horse. The horse is frequently represented on the outside of Phrygian tombs, but I do not know any other case where the bull appears on them.

In the chambers there is no appearance of any graves: are we therefore to conclude that they were used as an abode for the living, or shall we think that the graves are concealed? The simplicity of design, both sculpturally and architecturally, marks this doorway as very early. The two animals in the pediment are carved in the same low relief as the two lions over the tomb already published (Pl. XVII.); and, so far as it is possible to judge, they seem not to belong to a more developed stage of art than the lions. As was proved in detail in this Journal, p. 1 ff., the oldest class of Phrygian monuments consists of human or animal figures carved in low relief, apparently in imitation of Cappadocian art. At first the process of carving consisted only in tracing an outline on the stone and slightly cutting away the ground around; but in Phrygia the art of sculpture was soon developed to a far higher stage than it ever attained in Cappadocia. It is not easy to say how early the beginnings of Phrygian art must be placed; probably the date is rather before than after 1000 B.C. This early date seems demanded by the close resemblance between Phrygian and Mycenaean art. I have already mentioned several points of analogy between them; but at the time of writing I had never seen the Lion-gate of Mycenae, and could not know how much more advanced<sup>2</sup> an art it shows than the Lion-tomb of Phrygia. In comparing these two monuments it is interesting to remember the prophecy of Prof. E. Curtius, published in 1874, 'Wir dürfen voraussetzen dass bei weiterer Durchforschung Kleinasiens auch monumentale Vorbilder des Löwenthors [of Mycenae] sich finden werden.'<sup>3</sup> It is always interesting to find

<sup>1</sup> Perrot considers the obelisk to be a *phallus*, a rude symbol of immortality: the dead man is a god, worshipped by his descendants, and his death is the birth into a new form of life.

<sup>2</sup> Of course not necessarily later in date, though more advanced in art.

<sup>3</sup> Curt. *Wappengebr. u. Wappenstil*, p. 111.



that the speculations to which scholars have been led are confirmed by further discovery; and few more striking examples of such confirmation have ever been known. Another analogy is suggested by the engraving which Dr. Schliemann has published (*Mycenae*, p. 267) of a gold ornament found at Mycenae.<sup>1</sup> It represents apparently the front of a shrine. The curious geometrical ornament arranged in panels, the side acroteria (omitting the birds perched on them), the quaint ornament of the central acroterion, resemble the general character of some Phrygian tombs.<sup>2</sup>

It appears therefore that the evidence of art confirms in the fullest way the old legends of the connection between Mycenae and Phrygia. But it is a long road over land and sea from the one country to the other: where shall we find the bridge between them? For my own part I cannot believe that a land passage over Thrace and Macedonia explains the phenomena presented to us. We can trace with certainty the passage of certain religious forms<sup>3</sup> from Phrygia by this route into Greece: but they are not presented to us as derived from Phrygia,—tradition ascribes them to Thrace, and only historical inference has traced their previous course from Phrygia. Connection between Mycenae and Phrygia must therefore be due to a maritime intercourse maintained between the eastern and western coasts of the Aegean Sea at a very early time. Several facts of history and of tradition acquire new light when viewed in this connection. Egyptian records show that Dardanian and Maeonian tribes invaded the Nile valley before 1200 B.C. These tribes had therefore ships and maritime skill. The Troad is represented by tradition as in communication with Phrygia on the one hand, with the Peloponnesus on the other. Priam fought for the

<sup>1</sup> Three of the same kind were found. Small shrines, in terracotta or metal, were common in Asia Minor. See Curtius in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* 1877, p. 48; *Acts Apost.* xix. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Milchhöfer has traced in the objects found at Mycenae three different elements: 'ein orientalisches-semitisch, durch die Phoenicier vermittelt; einen bildlosen, hoch entwickelten decorativen Metallstil, als dessen Heimath

Kleinasiens, als dessen Urheber die arische Grundbevölkerung der Halbinsel, die Phryger, anzusehen sind; endlich eine einheimische nationale Kunst, am reinsten in geschnittenen Steinen, mit phrygischem vermischt in gravirtem Goldschmuck und Erabreliefs vertreten' (*Arch. Zug.* 1882, p. 82.)

<sup>3</sup> Especially the Dionysiac worship and the Orphic mysteries.

Phrygians against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius :<sup>1</sup> Phrygian auxiliaries came in return to Priam's aid : when the goddess appeared to her Trojan favourite she represents herself as the daughter of the Phrygian king : she has learned the Trojan language from her nurse, who was a Trojan woman : she bids Anchises send a messenger to ask her in marriage from her father.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the last passage mutual acquaintance and communication between the Troad and Phrygia is implied. Maritime connection between the west Aegean coasts and the Troad is implied as the groundwork of the Trojan legends : the raid of Paris, the Greek expedition, the trade between Lemnos and the Troad (*Il.* vii. 468), the fact that Agamemnon *πολλῶσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν* (*Il.* ii. 108), all show that the sea-path (*πάτος, πόντος* the same word) was familiar when these legends could grow. After the Dorians conquered the Peloponnesus, the dispossessed tribes naturally emigrated to the Ionic and Aeolic coasts ; but tribes to whom the sea was previously impassable could not have suddenly made fleets to carry whole colonies over the Aegean. Thus the close relation between the civilisation of Phrygia and that of the Peloponnesian kingdom as early as 1000 B.C., although it seems at the first glance paradoxical, is in complete accordance with a state of things which is assumed as the groundwork of the most famous legends of early Greece. The conclusion seems probable that, if ever the historical groundwork of the War of Troy is discovered, it will be found to explain the resemblance of Phrygian and Mycenaean art. In this early period the path of intercourse lay by the land-roads from the Sangarius valley to Smyrna and to the Troad, and thence by the ships of this old race which we must suppose to have inhabited the coasts on both sides of the Aegean. In spite of the difference of character between a seafaring and an inland race, this coast race, the 'Old Ionians' of Curtius, was probably closely akin to the Phrygians of the central plateau.

As civilisation advanced, the Phrygians struck out for themselves a new style of art, in which a large surface of rock is sculptured in low relief to imitate the quaint geometric patterns common on the carpets which are still woven in Phrygia. The connection between Phrygia and Cappadocia even in this more

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* iii. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Hymn Aphrod.* 111, ff.

advanced style is proved by the remarkable similarity of the pattern on the dress of the priest carved on the rocks at Ibriz in the south of Cappadocia to the pattern on the tomb of Midas. Probably the Babylonian and Assyrian<sup>1</sup> carpets and robes brought by trade into Asia Minor formed the model. The monument No. 5, Pl. XXIX. may probably be connected with this developed class. Its ornamentation is more architectural in style, but the idea of a sculptured front and a grave concealed behind is common to them all.<sup>2</sup> This monument is given as a specimen of a group of three, all at the village of Ayazeen, very similar in character and design yet varying in every detail. The architectural mouldings of the curious heavy horizontal panel are composed of curves, and belong to a more developed art than those of No. 4.

The period to which the monuments of this class belong is determined with some accuracy by several lines of reasoning, and chiefly by the trade which they imply with the East. I believe that this trade did not stop in Phrygia, but went on by a new road into Greece, and that it was developed by the trading instinct of the great Ionian cities in the eighth century. When the Greeks became familiar with the Black Sea, when the great trading city of Sinope sprang up about 785 B.C., the connection between Greece and Phrygia followed a new path. Phrygian and Cappadocian traders carried their goods down to Sinope to sell to the Milesian merchants;<sup>3</sup> the commercial class of Miletus, the *ἀειναῖται*, grew rich on the Black Sea trade, the Sinopic olives and the Sinopic furniture,<sup>4</sup> the Sinopic red earth (which is found in the centre of Cappadocia),<sup>5</sup> the salt fish of Sinope (called Phrygian by the comic poet Eupolis), the wood for shipbuilding which was so plentiful on the Sinopic coasts,<sup>6</sup> the Phrygian gold embroideries and carpets,<sup>7</sup> the Phrygian

<sup>1</sup> Paus. v. 12, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The shading on the sketch, Pl. XXIX., is too dark, and might convey the impression that there is an entrance to a deep hole in the middle of the sculptured front. It is merely that the ornamentation has been broken away in this part. The grave is a sort of well behind the carved front, accessible only from above.

<sup>3</sup> Just as the Armenian merchants

brought the products of Babylonia and India by the later route over Comana and Amisus to sell to the traders of the coast; Strab. p. 559, Huellmann, *Handelsgesch. d. Gr.* p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. xii. p. 546.

<sup>5</sup> Strab. xii. p. 540.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. xii. p. 546.

<sup>7</sup> I find no direct proof in Greek literature that oriental carpets were made in Phrygia: but both embroid-

slaves,<sup>1</sup> the iron that was shipped at Sinope, in addition to the general Pontic corn trade. This was the easy path of commerce for several centuries, after the rise of the Mermnad dynasty. The Lydian empire, begun about 750, and consummated in 687 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> interposed a warlike and powerful kingdom between the coast-Greeks and the Phrygians. Hence we see that Herodotus knows nothing of the interior of Asia Minor, except the parts near Sinope and the easy natural road between Celaenae and Miletus. To judge from the evidence of literature, we should be obliged to say that the Phrygia of the Sangarius valley was better known at the time implied in the Trojan legends than it was in the time of Herodotus.

Several of the most splendid monuments of this class bear inscriptions in a character resembling archaic Greek. The Phrygian traders learned it from the Greek traders at Sinope, just as the Latins and Etruscans did from the colonists of Cumae: and the same alphabet occurs both in Phrygia and at Pteria in Cappadocia.<sup>3</sup> This alphabet represents a very much older stage of the Ionic character than the earliest examples known elsewhere, and contains a symbol which finally obtained a place in the Greek alphabet with a different value.<sup>4</sup> It must therefore have been learned before the destruction of Sinope about 670 B.C., and not after the city was re-established in 630.

Finally, we cannot date the highest perfection of Phrygian art later than the destruction of the Phrygian power by the Cimmerians about 670 B.C.<sup>5</sup> The Lydians and Greeks resisted the Cimmerians successfully, but the Phrygian power was broken: and when the barbarous invaders were expelled by the Lydians, Phrygia easily passed under the new conquerors. After some wars between Lydia and Media, the frontier between

ering in gold and carpet-making are still characteristic of the Phrygian country. Phrygio is the later Latin term for a gold embroiderer. The common epithets for carpets are *Μηδικά* (Ar. *Ran.* 937, *Vesp.* 1143), *Περσικά* (Athen. v. 197 B., Herod. ix. 80); and I believe that these carpets came at an early period by Sinope, as they came afterwards by Comana and Amisus.

<sup>1</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* viii. 7, 12.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 50 of this Journal and Gelzer on 'Gyges' in *Rhein. Mus.* xxx.

<sup>3</sup> See 'Phrygia and Cappadocia' in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* for Jan. 1883.

<sup>4</sup> It is used in the Lycian alphabet with the same value as in Phrygia, *v.l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> The date is determined with approximate accuracy by the evidence of the Assyrian Inscriptions.

them was fixed at the Halys in 585 B.C. Of course Phrygian art was not destroyed, and some of the monuments of the class we are discussing may be placed later than 670. But with national life there disappeared much of the native spirit and the power of initiative that had hitherto governed the development of Phrygian art. Lydia was penetrated with the Greek spirit, and its troops were armed in the Greek style. The Greek influence, passing over Lydia, affected the Phrygian art. The tombs, always places of worship for the family of the deceased, were modelled on the Greek temple architecture. At first they show a mixture of Greek art with oriental sculpture; but the latter gradually disappears.

To this period we may assign the remaining monuments. Greek influence is almost supreme, though the old Phrygian device, the pair of animals, still persists. All the three monuments are at Ayazeen. No. 1, Pl. XXVI. is a very elaborate one. It has both a sort of prostyle front, still nearly complete, and an inner front, the wall of the tomb proper, with a pair of lions over the doorway (Pl. XXVII.). The appearance of this façade would however be less purely Greek if the two projecting members, supported in some way on columns, at right and left of the front, were still remaining: but they were so much decayed that it was impossible to gather their original character. Entering the sepulchral temple, we find three graves in the side and back walls, each in a deep vaulted niche. Two lions lean on the sides of the upper niche in the back wall. The floor of the temple is full of tombs, and in Pl. XXVII. C., which represents the front wall of the interior, four of these graves are shown in vertical section. On this front wall, on the two sides of the doorway, on the inside, are panels with a human figure carved in each. The Mohammedans have carefully defaced these forbidden representations of the human form, and it was impossible to judge from the almost obliterated figures how far they were done under Greek influence. The large number of graves show that this was a family tomb, used for several generations, like the mound-chambers of Greece.

No. 3, Pl. XXVIII. also represents a family tomb. It is placed high on the rocks far from any other tombs; and just in front of the door, in a rock that projects on the right side, is a rough sepulchral niche, with two rudely carved lions on each side

within the niche. This outer grave perhaps belongs to a favoured servant.<sup>1</sup>

No. 6, Pl. XXIX. is interesting as giving the mutilated remains of the only Ionic capital that I have ever seen in the interior of Asia Minor. In all other monuments known to me the columns are more like Doric. Sometimes indeed they have bases, usually tall rectangular blocks. I regret that space forbids us to publish here any tomb of this kind. It cannot be determined except by accurate drawings whether these monuments are debased Greek, or whether they show the influence of oriental rather than of Greek architecture. On a point of architectural style my opinion is of too little value to make it worth stating; but accurate drawings might be studied by experienced scholars.

There are many other monuments in the two necropoleis, of which Mr. Blunt has brought home drawings. I cannot help urging the great importance of preserving these drawings; even unpublished, they will be available for study, and the relation between Greece and Phrygia can be determined only by a careful study of the whole of them, and not by a sight merely of some few specimens. The Tomb of Midas, the most beautiful of all the Phrygian monuments, is fairly accurate in Texier's engraving; and the corrections made by M. Perrot (*Voyage*, p. 112), enable any one to restore for himself the front quite correctly. But there is another tomb, which was once intended for publication in this number, belonging to the same period as the Midas Tomb, and of great interest from the employment of the lotus-ornament and of rosettes, of which Texier's drawing is very inaccurate. There are also two tombs resembling No. 5, Pl. XXIX., and several others of the latest class, which ought all to be preserved for purposes of study. Even the rough notes and measurements may be hereafter worked up. I may also mention the temple-gateway of Brouzos as being the finest Greek <sup>2</sup> gateway existing in Asia Minor and still in perfect preservation: Mr. Blunt's drawing of this, even if not published, will be carefully treasured for study.

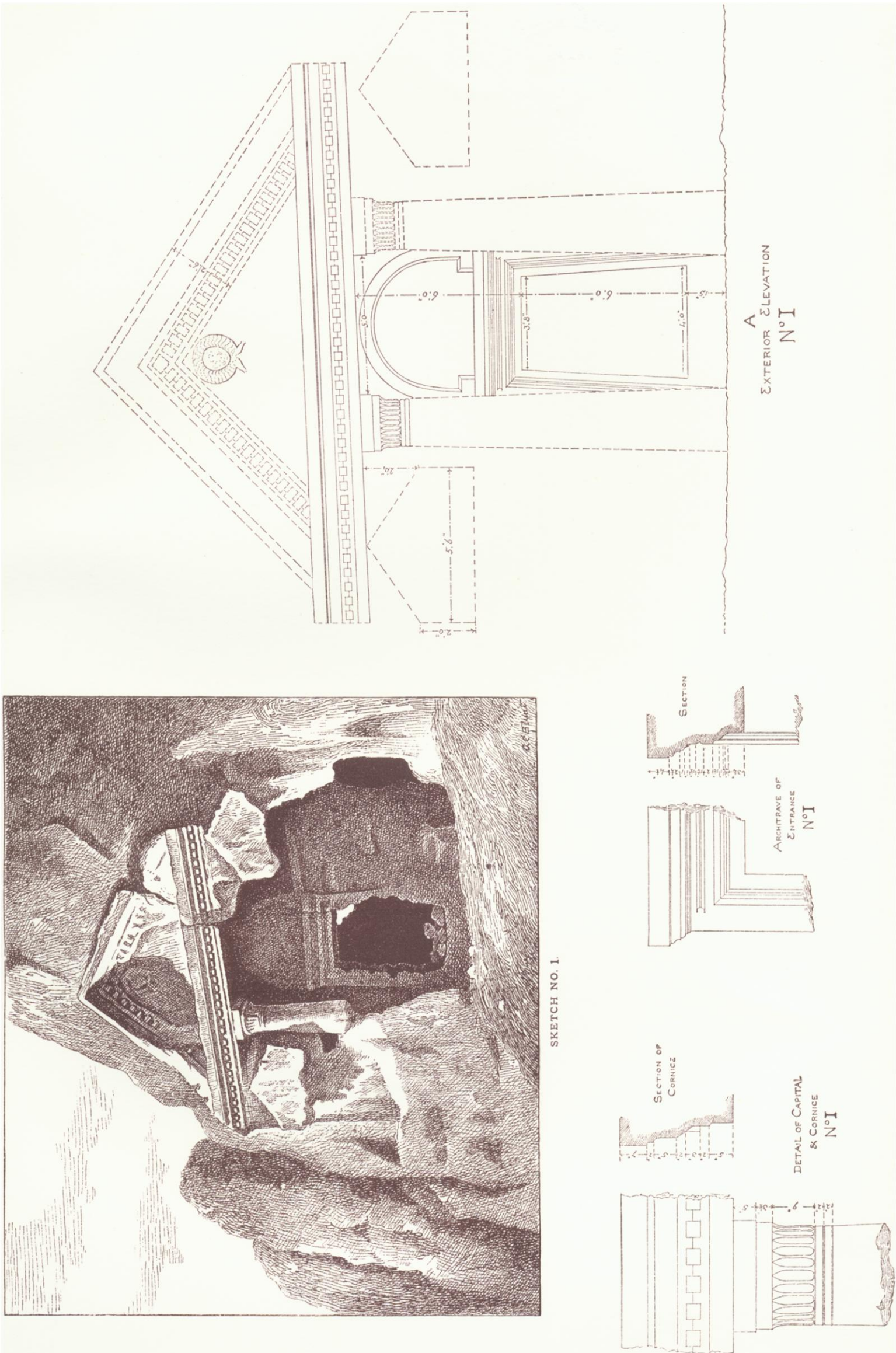
W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>1</sup> No. 2, Pl. XXVII. gives a sketch of an interesting tomb of this period: it is now very much decayed, but enough remained to enable Mr. Blunt to restore

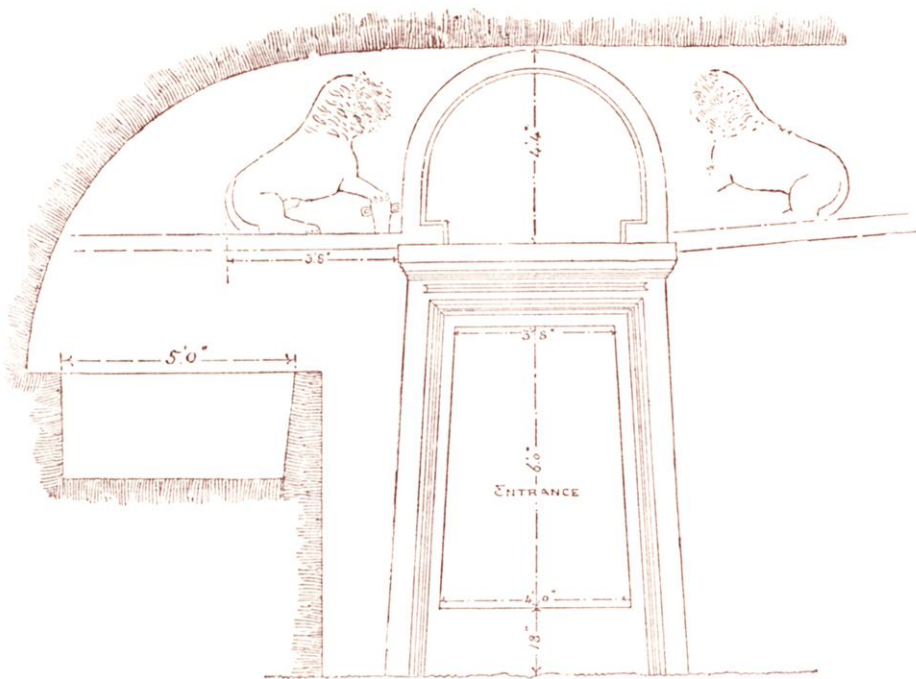
it with perfect certainty. Space however forbids us to give the details.

<sup>2</sup> Or Graeco-Roman.

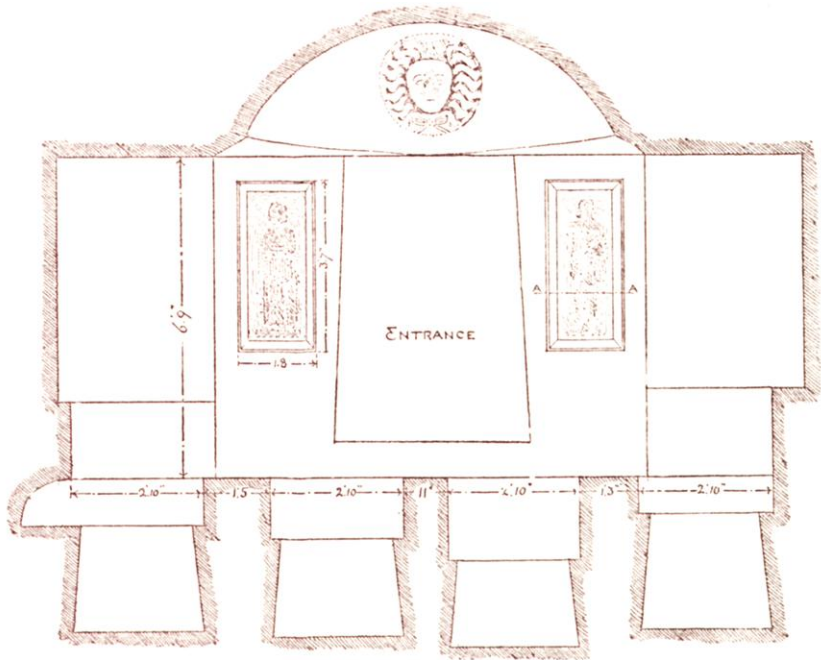




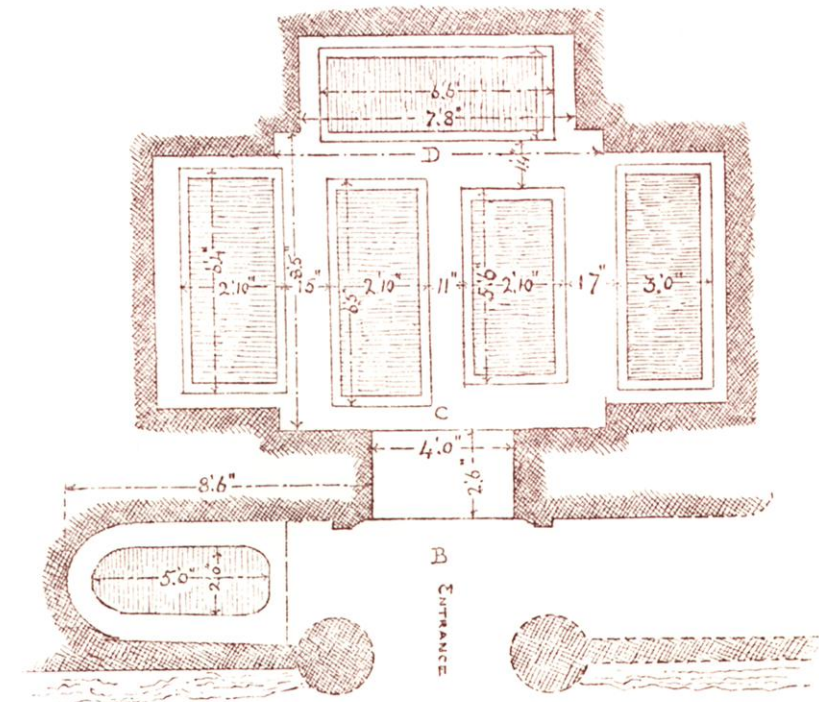




B  
ELEVATION OF ENTRANCE  
N° I

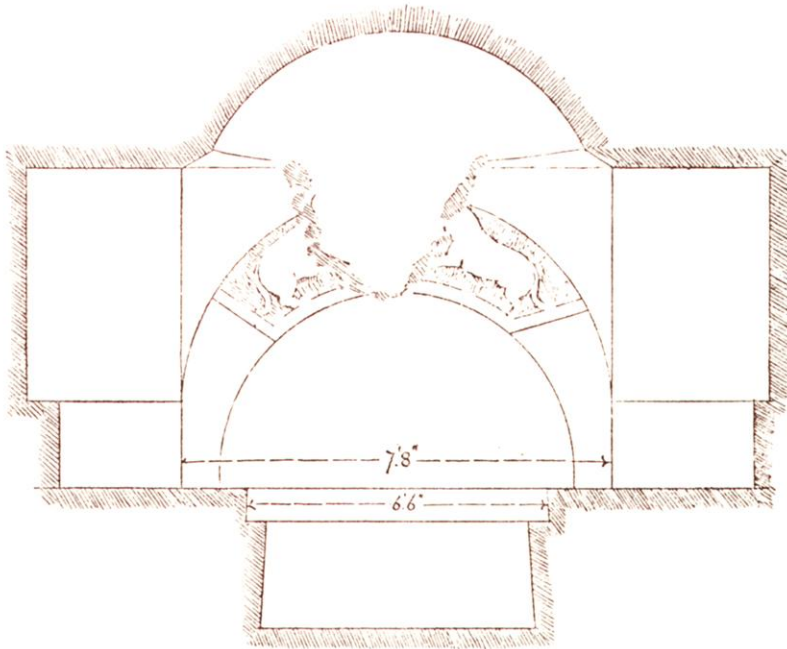
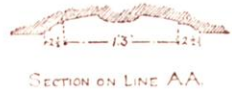


C  
INTERIOR ELEVATION OF ENTRANCE  
N° I

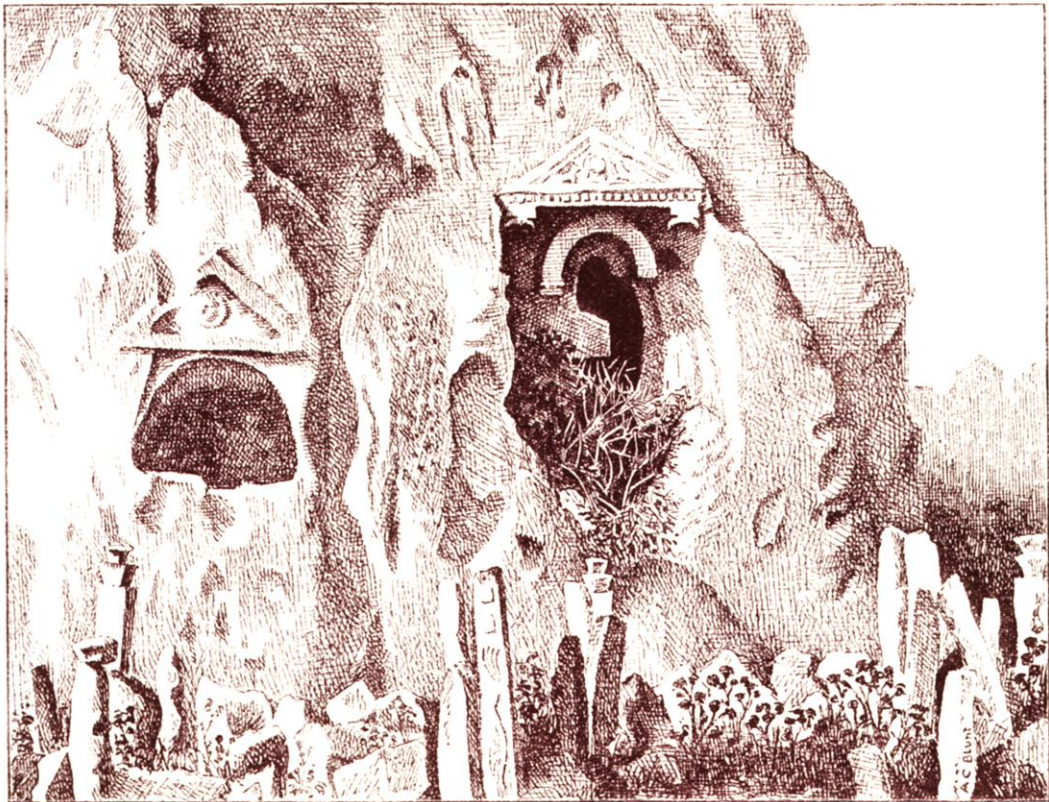


PLAN  
N° I

LETTERS A,B,C,D. REFER TO  
OTHER DRAWINGS OF THIS  
TOMB

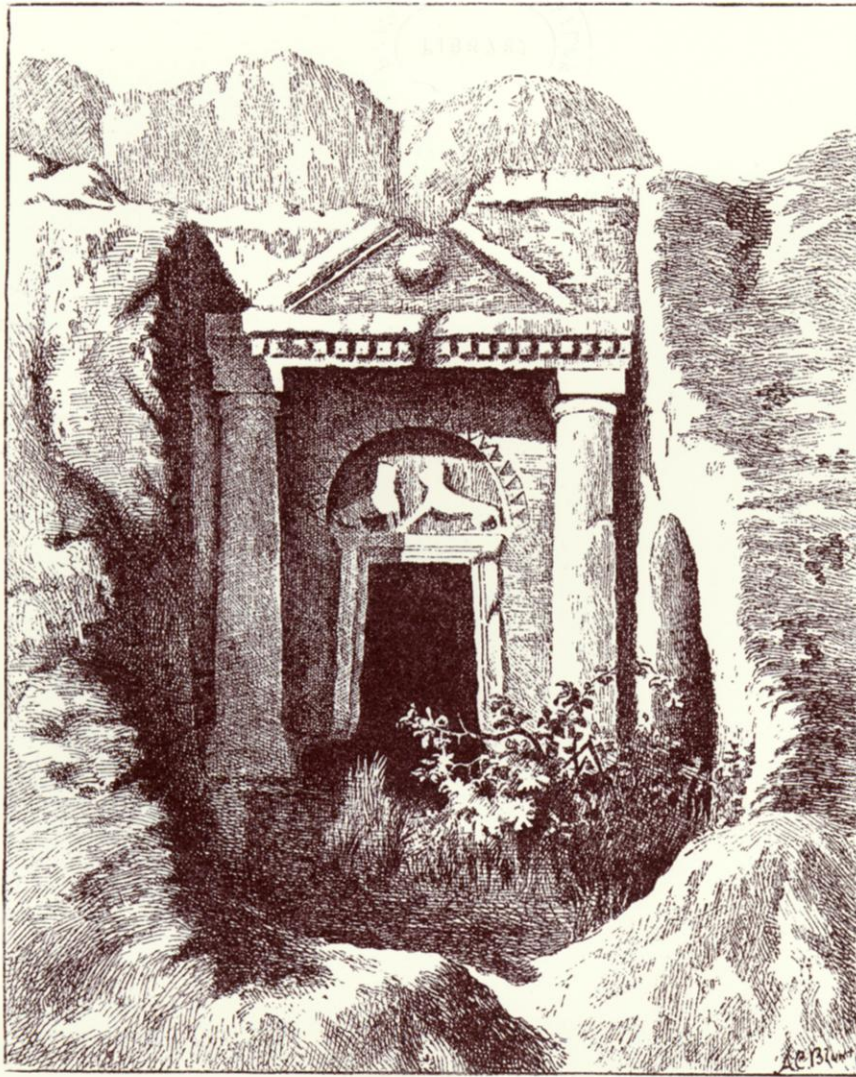


D  
WALL OF TOMB, OPPOSITE ENTRANCE  
N° I

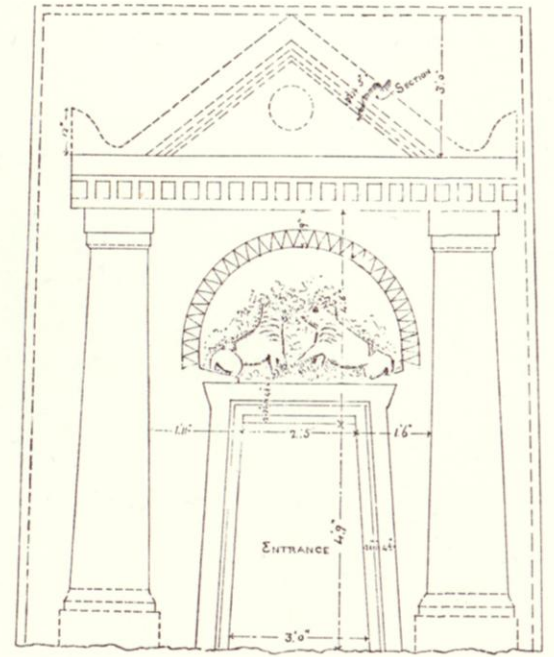


SKETCH NO. 2.

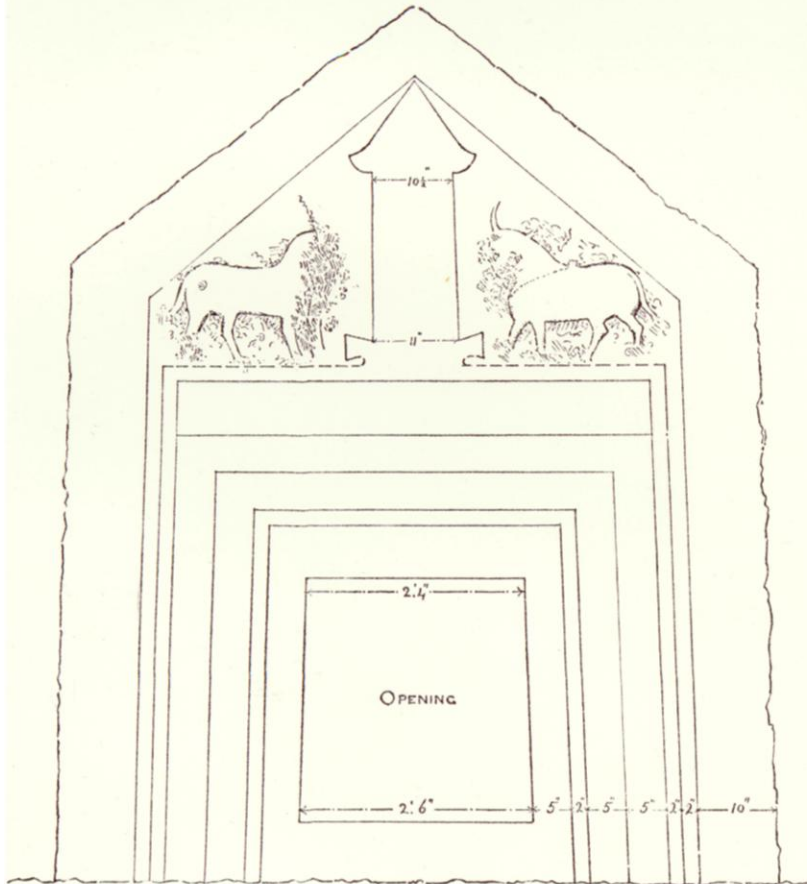




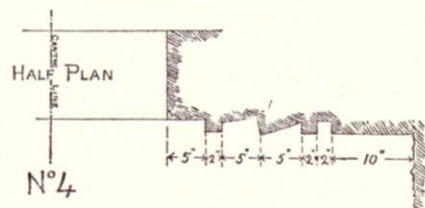
SKETCH NO. 3.



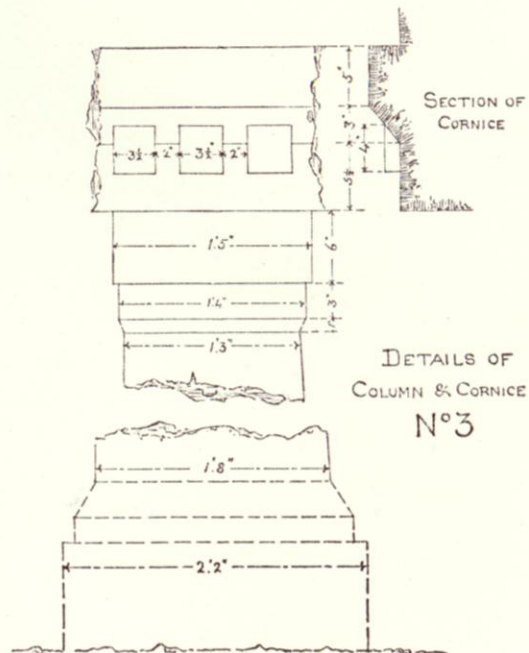
ELEVATION  
N°3



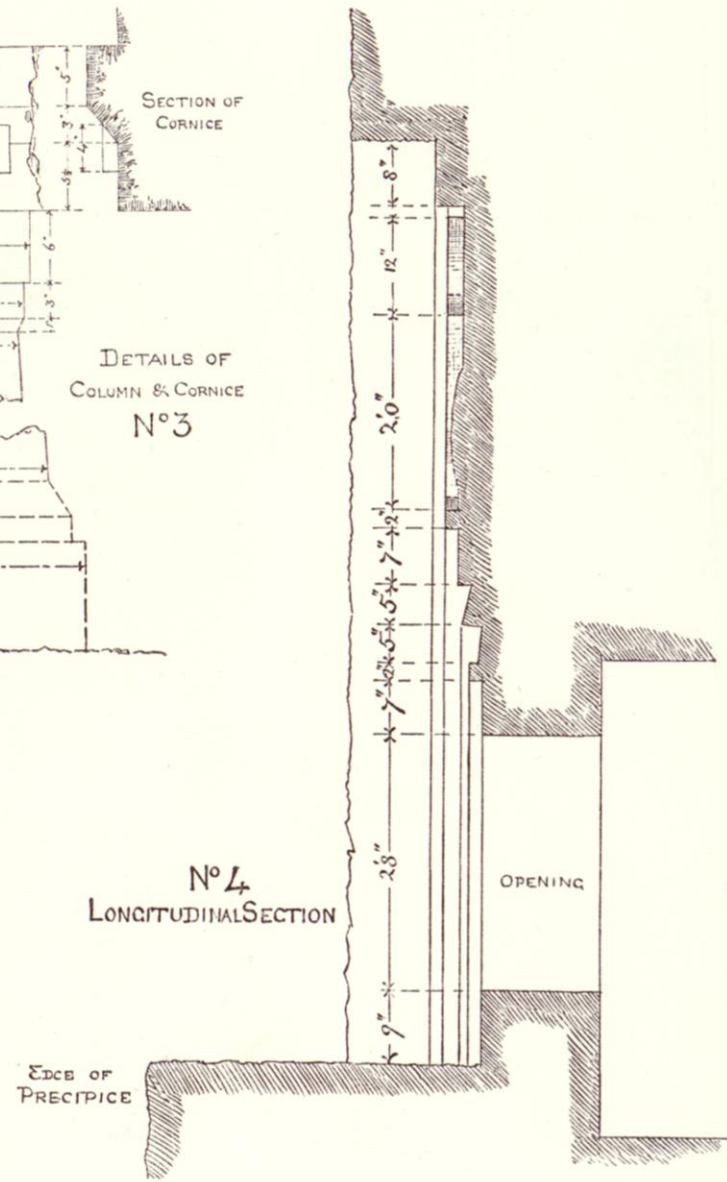
ELEVATION



N°4



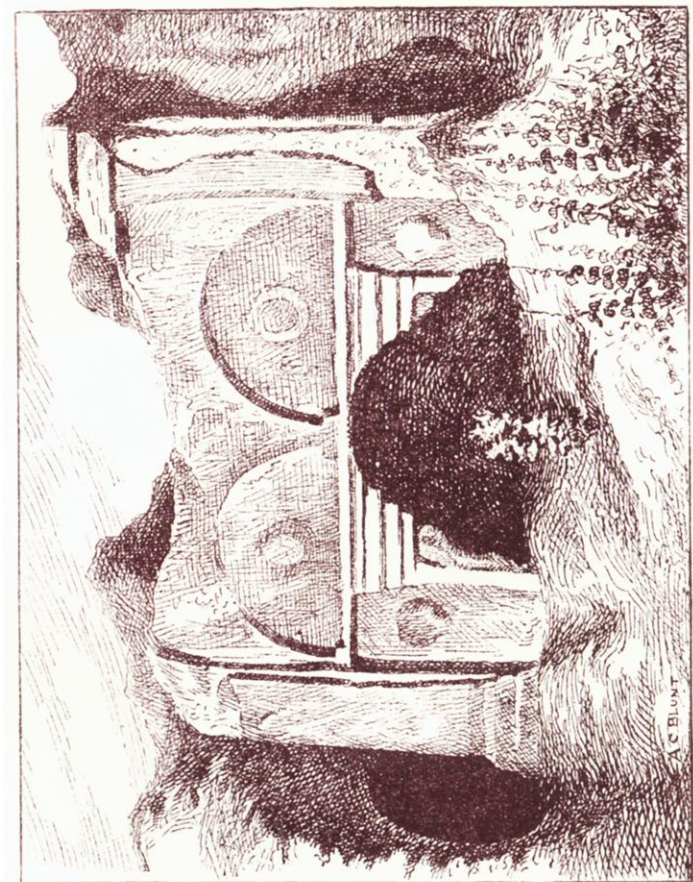
DETAILS OF  
COLUMN & CORNICE  
N°3



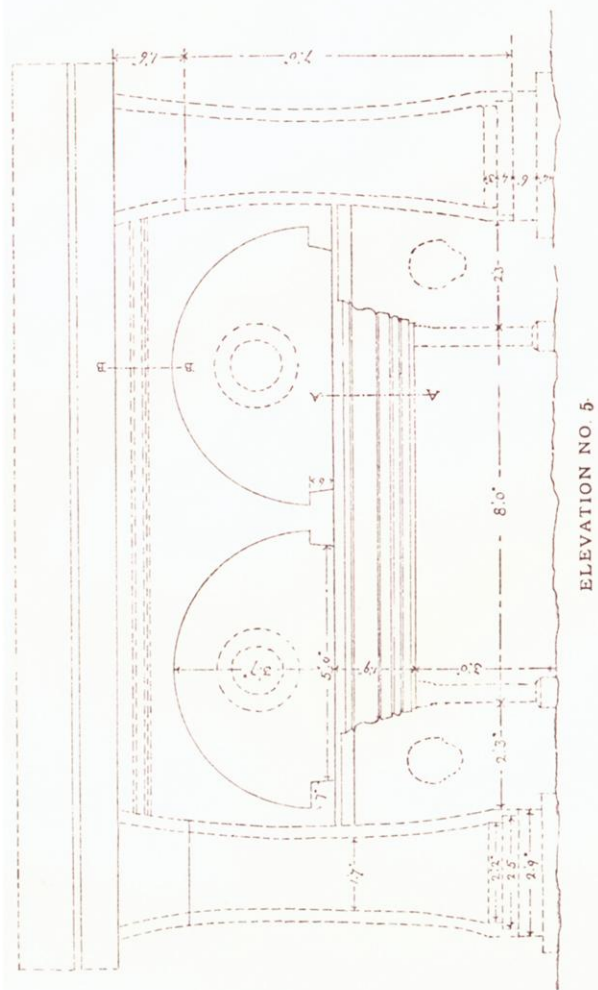
N°4  
LONGITUDINAL SECTION

EDGE OF  
PRECIPICE

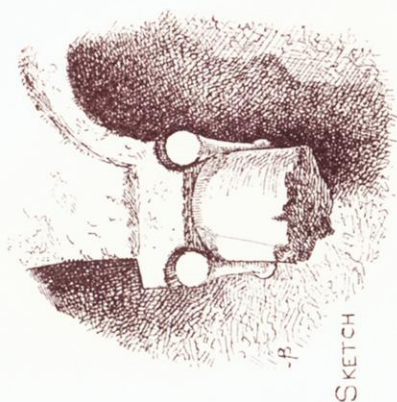




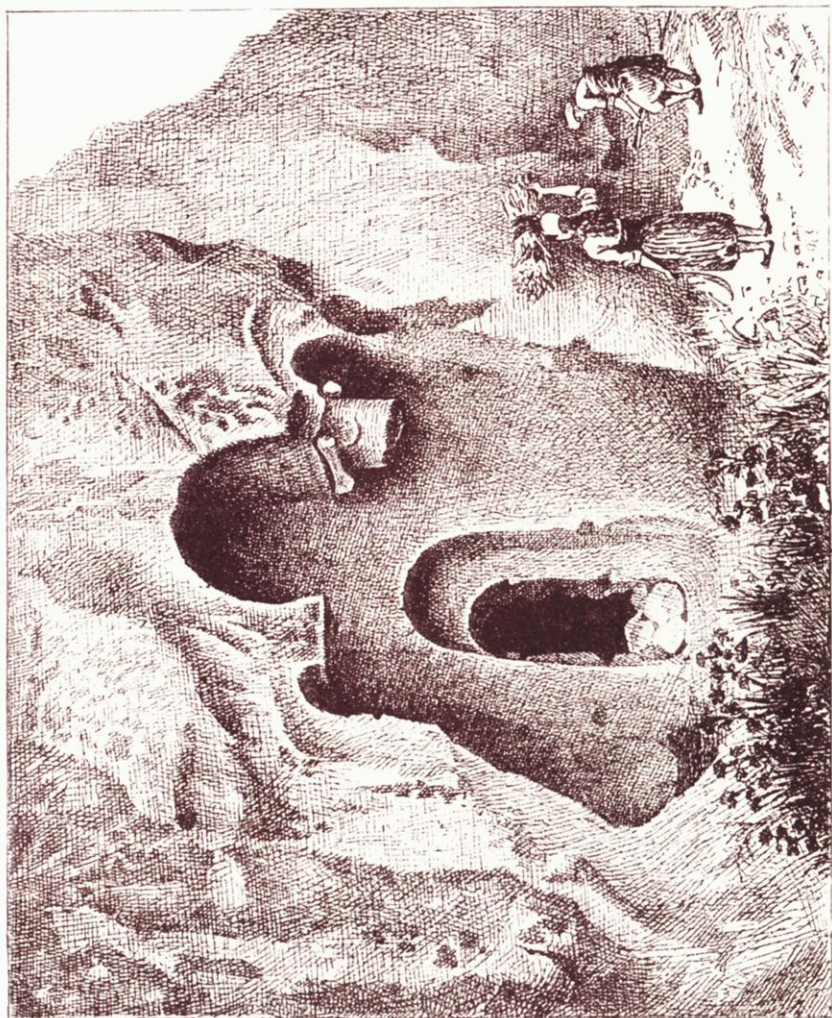
SKETCH NO. 5.



ELEVATION NO. 5.



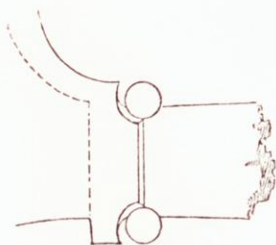
SKETCH



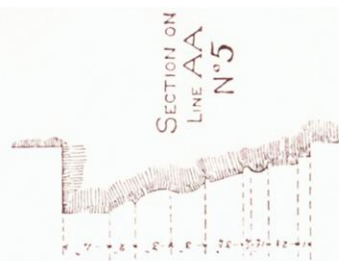
SKETCH NO. 6.



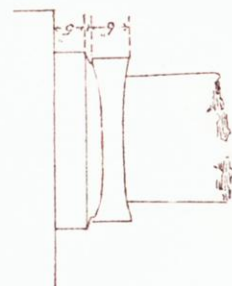
SECTION ON  
LINE B.B.  
No. 5



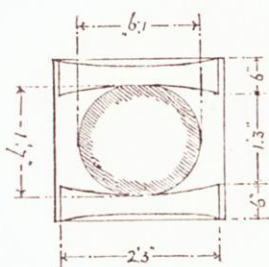
FRONT ELEVATION



SECTION ON  
LINE A.A.  
No. 5



SIDE ELEVATION



PLAN





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The Tale of Saint Abercius

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 3 (1882), pp. 339-353

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## THE TALE OF SAINT ABERCIUS.

THE chief authority for the life of this saint is the biography by Symeon Metaphrastes, written about 900-50 A.D. It quotes the epitaph on the saint's tomb, and the question whether this epitaph is an original document of the second century A.D., or a later forgery, is one of the utmost importance for the early history of the Christian church, and of many literary points connected with it. The document is not very easily accessible, so that it may be well to quote it as it is given in the *Life* by Metaphrastes; the criticism of the text has been to a certain extent advanced by the metrical restorations proposed by Pitra and others.<sup>1</sup>

Ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως πολίτης τόδ' ἐποίησα ζῶν, ἵν' ἔχω καιρῷ σώματος ἐνθάδε θέσιν, τούνομ' Ἀβέρκιος ὁ ὢν μαθητῆς Ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ, ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας οὖρεσι πεδίους τε· ὀφθαλμούς δς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντα καθορόωντας. Οὗτος γάρ με ἐδίδαξε γράμματα πιστά· εἰς Ῥώμην δς ἔπεμψεν ἐμὲ βασιλείαν ἀθρήσαι· καὶ βασίλισσαν ἰδεῖν χρυσόστολον χρυσοπέδιλον· λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγίδα ἔχοντα· καὶ Συρίης πέδον χώρας εἶδον καὶ ἄσπερα πάντα, Νίσιβιν Εὐφράτην διαβάς· πάντας δ' ἔσχον συνομηγύρους Παῦλον ἔσωθεν. Πίστις δὲ παντὶ προῆγε καὶ παρέθηκε τροφήν, ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς παμμεγέθη καθαρὸν ὃν ἐδράξατο Παρθένος ἀγνή, καὶ τούτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἐσθίειν διαπαντός· οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου. Ταῦτα παρεστῶς εἶπον Ἀβέρκιος ὥδε γραφῆναι, ἐβδωηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ δεύτερον ἄγων ἀληθῶς. Ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὐξαιτο ὑπὲρ Ἀβερκίου πᾶς ὁ συνωδός. Οὐ μέντοι τύμβον ἕτερον τις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐπάνω θήσει· εἰ δ' οὖν, Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχίλια χρυσᾶ καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεραπόλει χίλια χρυσᾶ.

<sup>1</sup> See *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. 22.

Tillemont has argued that the life of the saint as written by Metaphrastes is a mere fiction, and that the epitaph is as worthless as the biography. He is much shocked with the levity of the epitaph, for the only incidents of his Roman journey recorded by the saint are his seeing the Empress in her gold robes and shoes, and the people who wore rings, *i.e.* the senators and equites:<sup>1</sup> he therefore condemns the epitaph as unworthy of 'sanctum senioremq̃ue episcopum, jamque moriturum.' Probably this disagreement between the style of the epitaph and the spirit of later Christianity would now be considered as one of its chief points of interest, and as an indication of its probable authenticity. But the arguments of Tillemont on historical grounds are so weighty that the epitaph could certainly not be quoted with confidence as historical, however much one might incline to count it genuine. In particular, Tillemont's argument that there was no room for Abercius and his successor in the list of bishops of Hierapolis was apparently unanswerable. It is quite clear that in the biography, Abercius is conceived as having lived a considerable time, and travelled much after his Roman visit in 163 A.D. He is succeeded by another Abercius; and yet it is a known fact that the bishop of Hierapolis in 171 A.D. was Apollinaris. In the next page it will appear how this difficulty has been done away with, much to my own surprise, by a paper which I recently wrote. We have reason to consider that our brief expedition during last autumn was specially favoured by fortune in having enabled M. l'Abbé Duchesne finally to restore to historical science a document of the second century.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique*, July 1882, I published an article on the three Phrygian cities, Hierapolis, Brouzos, and Otrous, which were previously mere names: nothing was known of them except that the second and third had struck coins under the Empire. The first, which occurs in the Byzantine lists as Hierapolis,<sup>3</sup> had been still more unfortunate. Its existence had been almost ignored, and it had been identified

<sup>1</sup> The words admit of a symbolical interpretation, see Lightfoot, *Epp. to Coloss., introd.*, p. 55 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bulletin Litteraire*, Aug. 15, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> Though it is always called Hierapolis in literary authorities, I shall use the form Hieropolis, given on coins and inscriptions, for the sake of distinction.

with the far more important Hierapolis, also a Phrygian town, in the Maeander valley. The object of my paper was to prove that these three cities all lay in or close to the large and fertile valley of Sandukli, and that a general outline of their history could still be recovered. At the same time I proposed to assign certain coins, previously attributed to Hierapolis of the Maeander valley, to this Hierapolis: these coins bear the legend **ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ**. In this paper there were several points which rested on somewhat bold restorations or assumptions; and my first object is now to add some additional corroborations, which subsequent travel and M. Duchesne's discovery have enabled me to make. In particular I had hardly dared to trust my own judgment in restoring two lines of one inscription

**ΟΝΗΒΟΥ  
ΗΜΟΣΟ  
ΝΕΠΙΜΕ**

as [Σεβας]τὸν, ἡ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ὁ[τροηνῶ]ν, ἐπιμε[ληθέντων] κ.τ.λ., and in rejecting the alternative δῆμος ὁ Βρουζηνῶν as requiring more letters than the line could hold. The consideration that made the restoration Ὁτροηνῶν doubtful was the difficulty of placing three cities, all important enough to coin money, in one valley so near each other. But M. Duchesne has shown on other grounds that Otrous and Hierapolis were probably neighbouring cities.

I had also argued that the name Hierapolis might be taken as proof that the city was once the religious centre, on the analogy of Ephesus, Comana, and other towns in Asia Minor, of the whole surrounding district, whose inhabitants must then have been all the property of the temple (ιερόδουλοι); and connecting this fact with one or two others, I ventured to rest on this hypothetical basis a reconstruction in outline of the history of the valley. During this summer, on a journey in Cappadocia which the kindness and scientific interest of Sir Ch. Wilson procured for me, I found three official decrees in Comana, which prove that the native and official name of that city was Hierapolis. These three decrees all begin Ἱεροπολειτῶν ἡ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

In this paper I published the following inscription, which

proves clearly that the epitaph of Abercius was already imitated in this valley in the beginning of the third century A.D.

...λεκτῆς πο...ως ο πολεῖ...οὔτ' ἐποί...ν ἔχω ΦΑΝΕ I. σώματος ἔνθα θεσιν οὐ.ομα .λέξανδρος Ἄντ. νιου .αθητῆς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ. Οὐ μέντοι τυμβ· τις ἐμῶ ἑτερον τ.να θήσει. εἰ δ' οὐδ' Ῥωμαίων τα. εἰφ θήσει δισ.εἰλιᾶ .ρυσᾶ, καὶ .ρηστῇ πατρίδ. Ἱεροπόλει .ειλι. .ρυσᾶ. Ἐγράφη ἔτει τ', μηνὶ σ', ζόντος. Εἰρήνη παράγουσιν κα. μν..κομένους περὶ ἡ. ὦν.<sup>1</sup>

I did not recognise the importance of this inscription, except as being a monument of Christianity dated as early as the year 216 A.D. The oldest Christian inscription hitherto known in Asia Minor is dated in the year 279 A.D., but the well-known coin of Apameia in Phrygia, about thirty miles south of Hieropolis, furnished a proof that Christian (or Jewish) influence was strong in this district before the death of Septimius Severus, 211 A.D. On this coin, struck under this emperor, a man and a woman are represented standing before the ark and raising their hands to heaven: the ark bears the inscription **ΝΩΕ**. The very name of St. Abercius was unknown to me till I heard that M. Duchesne had discovered the relation of the inscription of Alexander to the epitaph of the saint. In the following notes I shall not touch on any of the literary and historical points about which M. Duchesne has promised an elaborate work; but I shall try from topographical considerations to make it probable that the legend as told by Metaphrastes is taken from an older literary source, that this older biography was written between the years 363 and 385 A.D., and that it merely gave written expression to a legend that had grown in the district around the remarkable tomb with the still more remarkable legend. Of course this is merely a presumption suggested as the most natural explanation of certain geographical considerations; it is liable to be overborne by stronger considerations derived from other points. I do not deny that the geographical facts may be consistent with a later date than I have assigned: but they are certainly more easily explained on this supposition, and they are absolutely inconsistent with an earlier date.

The tale of Saint Abercius is briefly as follows. Abercius was bishop of Hieropolis in Little Phrygia. Being moved to indig-

<sup>1</sup> Such faults of grammar and metre the Phrygians spoke very bad Greek. as occur in this inscription show that

nation by the sacrifices ordered by the Emperor Aurelius, he broke the statues of the gods in the temples of the city. When the populace was about to lay hands on him, he cured three men possessed with devils; the whole crowd was immediately converted, and 500 men were baptized. His many miracles procured him great fame. He was summoned to Rome to cure the Emperor's daughter Lucilla, who was possessed by a devil. He then travelled in Syria and Mesopotamia, and received from the churches there the title *ἱσαπόστολος*. He returned to Hieropolis, where he died at the age of seventy-two.

In the first place the biography presupposes the division of Phrygia into two provinces, which was made by Diocletian in remodelling the administration of the empire. The exact time when this remodelling was completed is uncertain; but the approximate date assigned by Mommsen is 297 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The two provinces were called Phrygia I. and Phrygia II. About 385 A.D. Phrygia II. had received the name *Salutaris*, and by 405 A.D. Phrygia I. had been called *Pacatiana*. These names, Phrygia *Salutaris* and Phrygia *Pacatiana*, continued to be used universally till the end of the Byzantine period. *Pacatiana* was the larger, richer, and more important province, and Justinian among his many alterations raised its governor to the rank of *comes*, and placed it on an independent footing. Before this time, about 535 A.D., it had been governed by a *consularis*, an official of lower rank than a *comes*, and both Phrygias were under the administration of the *Vicarius Dioceseos Asianae*. From this time onwards, *Pacatiana* was governed by a *comes*, who was co-ordinate in rank with the *Vicarius*, and not as before subject to him. *Salutaris*, however, as a less important province, continued to be governed by a *consularis*. Now the Life by Metaphrastes always says that Hieropolis was in Little Phrygia (*Φρυγία Μικρά*), and one passage implies the existence of two provinces, Great and Little Phrygia. These names have caused the commentators much difficulty. They thought of the older distinction into Phrygia Magna and Phrygia Epiktetos, and of the fact, true before 297 A.D., that Hierapolis was in Phrygia

<sup>1</sup> I need not here allude to the controversy that has arisen about Mommsen's theory as to the date of the Verona MS. The common dates for

Silvius Polemius, and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, 385 and 405, may also be used as nearly true.



Magna. But the difficulty disappears when we observe that Metaphrastes refers to the period after the division by Diocletian; and it becomes certain that Phrygia I. and II. were also known as Phrygia Magna and Parva (*Μεγάλη, Μικρά*), although no other example occurs where the two provinces bear these names. The names Pacatiana and Salutaris had not come into use when the biography was written, and the old names persist when the original biography was over-written by Metaphrastes. I do not mean to assert that the name Salutaris suddenly supplanted the name Little Phrygia; the change was probably a slow one. But it is certain that the name Salutaris did come into use in the second half of the fourth century instead of the older forms Secunda or Parva, and that when it was once adopted it established itself throughout the Byzantine period as the common name. It is not improbable that Metaphrastes, when he took from his authority the traditional name Little Phrygia, did not know the real meaning of the phrase he was using. Now Hieropolis was in Salutaris or Parva Phrygia, and it thus becomes clear why we read in the biography ὁ τῆς ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ Φρυγίᾳ τῶν Ἱεραπολιτῶν ἐπίσκοπος (*sic*) and many similar expressions. The two provinces are distinctly implied in *συνέρρῃον* (to Hieropolis) οὐ τῆς μεγάλης μόνον Φρυγίας... ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τὴν Ἀσίαν ὥκουν. Before 297 A.D., there was no separate governor of Phrygia or of any part of Phrygia: the whole country was part of the province of Asia under a proconsul, and the official capital of Asia was Ephesus. But Synnada was the capital of Phrygia Salutaris,<sup>1</sup> and hence we read in the biography Σύναδα (*sic*) τῆς μικρᾶς Φρυγίας μητρόπολιν. Accordingly, Abercius was bishop of Hieropolis in the valley of Sandukli and not of Hierapolis in the Maeander valley, for the latter was in Phrygia Magna, or Pacatiana. The chronological difficulty above mentioned disappears, as Abercius and Apollinaris may have been contemporary. Finally, it appears that several names, Secunda and Parva, were used to designate this province of Phrygia, before the usual name

<sup>1</sup> M. Waddington *Fastes de Prov. d'Asie*, p. 27, has for once erred on this point. Arguing, I suppose, from the order of Hierocles who places Eucarpia first in his list, he says that the capital of Phrygia II. was Eucarpia: and it

has been common to say that Eucarpia was the original capital, and Synnada the later capital. But Hierocles wrote about 530, and it is quite certain that Synnada was the capital both before and after his time.

Salutaris was devised; but the latter name came so early into general use that the older names hardly ever occur. A document which uses the name Parva may therefore be dated with the utmost probability between 297 and 385 A.D.

This conclusion is confirmed by another consideration. In the biography Phrygia Parva is governed by a *Praeses* or ἡγέμων (Ποπλίῳ τῆς μικρᾶς Φρύγias ἡγεμονεύοντι, and later τοῦ ἡγεμονεύοντος ἐκεῖ Σπινθήρος). Now about 405 A.D. both provinces of Phrygia were governed by a *Praeses* or ἡγέμων (*Notit. Dignit. Orient.* cap. I.).<sup>1</sup> But this arrangement was altered before 535 A.D.; for Hierocles, whose list falls before that year, says that both provinces were governed by a *consularis*. Justinian, in 535, placed Pacatiana under a *comes*, but left Salutaris or Parva under a *consularis*. Accordingly in this respect also the biography is true to the facts of an early date, and false to the facts of a later date.

It is equally certain that the biography was written after Constantinople was made the capital of the East (330 A.D.). Valerius and Bassianus, the two *magistriani* sent by the Emperor with his letter to Euxenianus, go first to Byzantium, taking ship from Brundisium. Thence they travel on the imperial post-road (δημοσίῳ δρόμῳ, δημοσίους ἵπποις) to Synnada. I have in an article which will be published in the forthcoming number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* explained the revolution in the system of roads in Asia Minor caused by the foundation of Constantinople as capital of the East. Before that time all roads led to Ephesus; after that time all roads led to Constantinople. Under the older system the envoys would have landed at Ephesus and gone right up the great highway of Asia Minor by the Maeander and Lycus valleys to Apameia, and thence direct by a country road to Hieropolis, or else continuing along the great highway to Synnada they would have there diverged by a country path to Hieropolis. The proconsul of the province of Asia was always obliged by law to land at Ephesus first of all.<sup>2</sup> Cicero in going to Cilicia, landed there, and went by the great highway over

<sup>1</sup> This date is always given for the composition of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and is assumed by Mommsen, though the proof promised by Böcking, the

editor, has not so far as I know been yet actually published.

<sup>2</sup> Waddington, *Fastes de Prov. d'Asie*, p. 16.

Laodiceia, Apameia, and Synnada, to his province.<sup>1</sup> This road explains why under the Republic these three *conventus* were placed under the governor of Cilicia, and not, as seems geographically natural, under the governor of Asia. The proconsul of Cilicia had to pass through Laodiceia, Apameia, and Synnada on his way; and hence it was arranged that he should hold the *conventus* at these towns going and returning, though they are so much nearer to Ephesus the seat of the Asian proconsul than they are to Tarsus the seat of the Cilician proconsul.

If the original biography which underlies the work of Metaphrastes had been written before 330 A.D., it would certainly have represented the imperial messengers as travelling by the imperial road from Ephesus. After the post-road by Nicomedeia and Dorylaion<sup>2</sup> to Iconium, which has existed ever since Constantinople became the seat of government, had been instituted, the official road to Synnada lay along this great road either to Lysias or to Cedrea, about LXXV. M.P. south of Dorylaion, or to Julia, a day's journey further on. At one of these places the road to Synnada, Apameia, and Baris diverged from it, and this was the road that the imperial envoys were, during the period after 330 A.D., naturally conceived as travelling by. It is certainly a very roundabout way from Rome, and so evidently the saint himself thought. He agreed to go to Rome, but sent the envoys to return as they came, travelling post on the post-road (*δημοσίοις ἵπποις*). But he himself refused to accompany them, and merely said he would meet them at Ostia in forty days. A native of Hieropolis knew that the easy and short way was by Attalia in Pamphylia, which still retains its old name, Adália, and its old importance as the chief seaport on this part of the southern coast. Five good days' journey would bring Abercius, passing along the easy valley behind (*i.e.* east of) Apameia, beside the fountains of the Obrimas and the lake Aulocrene, and thence through Baris to Attalia. Here he would constantly find homeward-bound ships engaged in the eastern trade, and so he arrived at Ostia three days sooner than the envoys with all the advantages of the imperial post. A touch like this makes it highly probable that the tale of Saint Abercius grew in the valley of Hieropolis.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Fam.* xv. 4, 2.

Cedrea see an article in the *Mittheil. d.*

<sup>2</sup> On this road and on the site of *d. Instit. Athen.* 1882, p. 140.

The same accuracy in details is manifested in the description of the envoys' journey to Hieropolis. Along the post-road to Synnada, the capital of the province, they go with ease and without guides. When they reach Synnada, they have to diverge from the post-road, which goes straight south to Apameia and Baris. Hieropolis is separated by a very rugged chain of volcanic mountains from Synnada, and the pass across this chain is a very unpleasant and tortuous one. Accordingly they got guides from Spinther, the *praeses* or ἡγέμων of the province, and reached Hieropolis the same day at the ninth hour. I have traversed all the roads near Synnada and Hieropolis, and can bear witness to the perfect accuracy of this incident. It impresses me strongly with the conviction that only a native of the district could have written the original narrative. On the other hand, the journey from the Peloponnesus to Byzantium is described in an absurd way.

The return journey of Abercius from Syria is also described accurately, but the terms are too general to found any inference upon.

Another passage narrows still further the period within which the tale must have been written down. In gratitude for the cure wrought on her daughter, the Empress Faustina, in the Emperor's absence, ordered at the saint's request that 3,000 medimni of corn should be given annually to the poor of Hieropolis, and this donation was continued until Julian put a stop to it (363 A.D.). The life of the saint must therefore have been written later than this date, and if there is any truth in my argument that it was written earlier than 385 A.D., it may be counted highly probable that some annual benefaction to the poor of Hieropolis, bequeathed perhaps by some pious soul, was actually seized by the officials of the Emperor Julian. Within such a short period it is improbable that the tale could grow without some foundation; and it is quite in accordance with historical verisimilitude that a Christian benefaction should be seized on at this time.

My argument, therefore, is that it is justifiable to regard the tale of Saint Abercius as a tradition and not, like the lives of some of the saints, as a mere legend. The historical facts contained are in the first place all that is vouched for in the epitaph; secondly, the rapid spread of Christianity in Phrygia during the second century; thirdly, the seizure by Julian of

a Christian benefaction to the poor of Hieropolis. It is not probable that there is any historical element underlying the tale of the Emperor's daughter. There was evidently a strong inclination, shown in some other tales, to make the good Emperor Aurelius into a semi-Christian, and moreover some of the incidents, especially the reference in 163 A.D. to an event that occurred in 180 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> and the Byzantine machinery of the court, are gross anachronisms. But the general course of the story of Lucilla fits so well into history, that it might almost seem as if some historical fact, perhaps quite unconnected with Abercius, lay at the foundation of it. According to Eckhel, Lucilla was betrothed to L. Verus, and was married to him in 164 A.D. Her father conducted her to Brundisium in 164 A.D., and Verus met her on her landing at Ephesus. She was born in 147 A.D. Now the biography says that when sixteen years of age, *i.e.* in 163 A.D., Lucilla was about to be conducted by her father to Ephesus to meet Verus, and that her sudden illness obliged the Emperor to postpone the marriage till the following year, making the excuse of disturbance on the German frontier. But a different train of reasoning is suggested by the letter of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius to Euxenianus Poplio summoning the saint to Rome. Euxenianus was resident at Hieropolis: it is implied that he was an official of high rank, in frequent communication with the Emperor (*ἦν τῶν παρὰ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τε καὶ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ τὰς πρώτας ἐχόντων τιμὰς. ᾧ πολλάκις περὶ δημοσίων ἐπέστειλας πραγμάτων*), and he is therefore presumably in authority in this part of Phrygia. But at the same time it is implied that he was governor of the province of Asia, for he was the agent through whom the Emperor relieved the distress of Smyrna caused by the great earthquake. His procurator Caelius is mentioned as concerned in this business. This distress and the relief given by the Emperor are historical facts: the earthquake took place in 180 A.D., and the letters of the rhetorician Aristides begging the Emperor for help to the city and thanking him for it when it was given are preserved. This letter must therefore have been composed at a time when Phrygia and Asia were under the same governor, *i.e.* before 297 A.D.; and it therefore preserves a form of the tale as it

<sup>1</sup> The earthquake that destroyed to the ruined city. Smyrna, and the Emperor's generosity

existed in the third century. It was incorporated by the writer of 363-85 A.D. in his biography, without his observing the contradiction between the office of Euxenianus and the office of Spinther or Poplius. He has rather slurred over the official character of Euxenianus, who must have been proconsul of Asia. He and his procurator Caelius are officers of the Roman Empire, the rest of the machinery in the tale belongs to the Byzantine Empire. It must be added that the reference to the Smyrna earthquake is made, according to the supposition in 163 A.D., seventeen years before it occurred; and this shows how the historical facts of the tale have been shuffled in the course of its growth. It is doubtful whether the incident of the Emperor's daughter occurred at all in the older form of the legend. In the Byzantine period Phrygia was wholly disjoined from Asia. The *Proconsul Asiae* ruled three provinces, *Asia*, *Insulae*, *Hellespontus*: the *Vicarius dioceseos Asianae* ruled eight provinces, *Pamphylia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Lycæonia*, *Pisidia*, *Phrygia Pacatiana* and *Salutaris*.<sup>1</sup> While this division is inconsistent with the episode of Euxenianus and Caelius, it suits the rest of the tale very well, and in particular the opening of cap. ii., where it is said that people flocked to see Abercius not only from Great Phrygia and all the neighbouring districts, but from Asia and from the provinces of Lydia and Caria.

It follows that the local legends incorporated in the biography—the production of the hot-springs at Agros beside the river, the production of the fountain on the hill at the τόπος γονυκλισίας, the affliction of the villagers at Aulon with eternal insatiability in feeding, the place called Phrougis or Phragellion in the market-place of Hieropolis—all these must be tales current from old times in the district, and told doubtless of pagan divinities before they were transferred to a Christian saint. A similar transference of pagan tales to Christ and the Apostles is a well-known phenomenon in German folk-lore. In particular the tale how Abercius sat on the stone by the village of Aulon, and the villagers disregarded his entreaties, recalls the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα of the Eleusinian legend.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This arrangement is certain in 405 (*Not. Dign.*). The remarkable inscription of Poplius, given in *C.I.G.* 3188 after Constant. Porphyrog. *de Them.* l. 3, perhaps proves that the Proconsul

of Asia was after 297 supreme ruler of all Asia Minor west of Armenia.

<sup>2</sup> On the native religion of Hieropolis see *Trois Villes Phrygiennes* in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882.

Only one fact is recorded in any historian about Abercius. Eusebius<sup>1</sup> mentions that an anonymous presbyter of Otrous wrote a tract on the Montanist heresy addressed to Avircius Marcellus. It is implied that this Avircius was a near neighbour of the bishop, and as the tract is apparently written about the beginning of the Montanist controversy in 171 A.D., it is exceedingly probable that he is identical with Saint Abercius. Le Quien had long ago conjectured that this was the case; and M. Duchesne now regards it as quite certain.

The epitaph shows clearly that Abercius was a man of mark in his own time, and that his tomb was a noticeable monument. It consisted of a square monolithic substructure, on which was placed an altar with the epitaph inscribed on it. A very remarkable early monument at Phocaea, carved out of the natural rock, proves that this form of monument was known in Asia Minor in the very earliest time: the monument has been very incorrectly engraved in the *Smyrna Μουσείον*, vol. ii., and I hope soon to give a more correct representation of it. The same form of monument appears in a curious relief,<sup>2</sup> now built into a house at Coula in the Katacecaumene on the borders of Lydia and Phrygia, which also I hope to publish hereafter. We may therefore conclude that the form was originally Phrygian. It is interesting to observe that the early Christians of Phrygia did not sever themselves by a social barrier from their pagan neighbours. On their tombs they employ some of the common pagan formulas; their tombs are made in the usual pagan form of the sepulchral altar, as has been remarked<sup>3</sup> about the epitaph of Alexandros quoted above; and they place their tomb under the protection of the public law. The word *χρηστιανός*, which is sometimes employed on their tombs,<sup>4</sup> is probably intentionally as much as possible assimilated to the ordinary pagan *χρηστός*. In later time, when Christianity had finally triumphed, the spelling *χρηστιανός* was proscribed as heretical.

The personality of Abercius formed a centre round which gathered a religious myth, containing the popular conception of the early history of Christianity in Phrygia. The incidents recorded in the epitaph were entwined with other historical and

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eccles.* V. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 520.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to by Wagener, in vol. xxx. of the *Mém. of Académie of Brussels*.

<sup>4</sup> Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* No. 727.



semi-historical facts: to these were added some ancient and originally pagan local legends about certain natural features of the district. No doubt the tale that the devil who was cast out of Lucilla, was ordered to carry a stone altar from the Hippodrome (*i.e.* the Circus Maximus perhaps) at Rome to Hieropolis to serve as the saint's tomb, was suggested by the peculiar form of the tomb with its sepulchral *βωμός* exactly resembling the old pagan monuments. Finally about 370 A.D. the local mythology was committed to writing, and the life of Saint Abercius took nearly the form that it has in the work of Metaphrastes.

There is one consideration which might overturn my argument, and that is the proof that there are no hot-springs near Hieropolis. It would then be necessary to suppose that the legend had not finally taken form till a much later time, when the hot-springs of Hieropolis were confused with the district of Hieropolis by some ignorant compiler. It is quite certain, however, that the description of the hot-springs given in the biography does not suit with those of Hieropolis: the former are said to be outside the city near a river, while the latter were inside the city and far from any river. If then it be discovered that there are hot-springs in the valley of Sandukli, this might be regarded as a conclusive proof that my theory is correct. I shall here quote the words I used on this subject in the paper already referred to,<sup>1</sup> written when the name and legend of Abercius were unknown to me: 'le nom d'Hieropolis implique que l'emplacement devait être désigné comme sacré par des caractères naturels, par exemple une source thermale ou quelque autre particularité semblable. Ceci pourrait aider un voyageur futur, disposant de plus de temps que nous n'en avons, à decouvrir la situation exacte de cette ville.'

NOTE.—After the preceding remarks were already in print, I observed in Hamilton's *Travels*, ii. 169-70, that there is in the valley of Sandukli a river, Hamam Su, 'The Water of the Baths,' which recalls the *Ἄγρος τῶν Θερμῶν*, as the hot-springs are called in the biography. Hamilton also says, "He pressed me to remain another day to visit some hot-springs which he affirmed were near the centre of the plain, about four miles to

<sup>1</sup> *Trois Villes Phrygiennes.*



the right of our road.' It may, therefore, be counted almost certain that the *Acta* of Metaphrastes follows faithfully an authority of the fourth century, embodying a genuine popular tradition, and not constructed by a legend-writer. The gradual growth of the tale in popular tradition is proved by the occurrence of elements dating from the third century, which do not harmonise with the usual fourth-century machinery of the biography. The tale may therefore be regarded as a clear example of the growth of a saint's life in the popular mind, and may even be employed with due caution as a testimony to history.

Another inference of some literary importance may be drawn. Metaphrastes has in this case faithfully reproduced an old authority, probably the same which underlies the account of the saint in the *Menologion Basilii*, 886 A.D. It is probable, therefore, that in his lives of other saints he was equally faithful, and that he deserves a much higher rank than is frequently assigned to him.

The confusion of the two towns Hierapolis and Hieropolis has produced much error in early Christian history. In the introduction to the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, p. 55 ff., the Bishop of Durham has rightly caught the ring of genuineness in the epitaph of Abercius, but the longstanding geographical mistake made it impossible to explain the historical difficulties. Hence arise such statements as 'Hierapolis, though only six miles from Laodicea, belonged to the province of Salutaris, whose metropolis was Synnada. The Lycus seems to have formed the boundary line between the two provinces,' Pacatiana and Salutaris. Hierapolis of Salutaris must always be interpreted as the Hieropolis in the valley of Sandukli: Hierapolis near Laodicea is *always* assigned in the Byzantine authorities to Pacatiana. The Lycus is in the heart of Pacatiana.

The Bishop of Durham also, by a conjectural alteration of the text of Eusebius, makes Apollinaris the author of the tract on the Montanist controversy above referred to. The writer mentions in the course of the tract τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ Ὁτρηνοῦ, and mentions that Avircius Marcellus had frequently enjoined on him to write against the new heresy. It is, therefore, certain that the writer was a presbyter of some place near Hieropolis, and there is no reason to identify him with Apollinaris of Hierapolis.

The oldest Christian inscriptions known in Rome, dating 71, 107, and 204 A.D., are mere names with date. The Phrygian epitaph of Alexander, son of Antonius, 216 A.D., may therefore rank as the earliest inscription yet found which affords any evidence of the state of Christianity. In Rome an inscription of the year 217 A.D. is of much interest (see De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.*).

W. M. RAMSAY.

The Graeco-Roman Civilisation in Pisidia

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 4 (1883), pp. 23-45

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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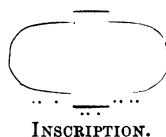


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## THE GRAECO-ROMAN CIVILISATION IN PISIDIA.

1. ON June 3, 1882, while travelling from Apollonia to Antioch of Pisidia, we observed a long inscription in a cemetery by the roadside, about eleven or twelve miles west of the latter town, and close to the village of Gondâne. It was engraved on a pillar of peculiar shape, commonly used in Roman and Byzantine times: a horizontal section of the column would give the annexed figure.



A short inspection showed that the inscription was important, and Sir C. Wilson delayed the march for a day to allow me to copy it. I was exceedingly anxious to get an impression, but a strong and bitterly cold north wind, accompanied by frequent heavy showers, frustrated our attempts. At last, by laying my coat over the impression-paper on the stone, I got a squeeze of a small part. The inscription has been engraved by an unskilful workman: the lines are very uneven, the letters are unequal in size and various in form, sometimes deeply and clearly cut, sometimes merely scratched, ligatures are frequent, and often three, or even four, letters are united. In some cases it was impossible to tell, except from the meaning, whether a group of letters belonged to one line or another. In the heavy rain the only way of copying the inscription was to learn half a line by heart, and get into some shelter where I could write it out in my notebook. In this way I made a complete copy during the day: at night I wrote out lists of the proper names,

compared the different forms together, and made a note of the places where difficulties struck me. Next morning the rest of the party went on to Antioch: I waited behind, revised the whole of the inscription, and carefully observed every difficulty that I had noted. A few other difficulties have occurred to me in subsequent study of the inscription; but in the great majority of cases where I remark on an uncertainty, the difficulty was distinctly present in my mind when comparing the copy with the stone. I have therefore confidence in believing that the following text is pretty accurate, though all who have tried to read on a MS. or a stone names of a strange language will understand how difficult (I might almost say impossible) it is to attain perfect certainty when the characters are faint and blurred. Had I found this inscription a year sooner on my first journey in Asia Minor, I could not in the circumstances have made a text at all trustworthy.

The column on which the inscription was engraved was 11 ft. 7 in. high: the writing began at the very top and extended to within 1 ft. 2 in. from the bottom. A piece a foot long was broken off the top of the column: this fragment had been split in two, and the right-hand half was lying near, but we could not find the other. The letters on the small fragment that remained were so worn that only half of them could be read. The inscription consists almost entirely of a list of persons, with the place to which they belonged, and a sum of money estimated in denarii appended to each name. The short superscription describing the object of these contributions is so mutilated as to be almost unintelligible. Of the places mentioned, I hope to prove that one is spoken of by Strabo. None of the others are mentioned, so far as I know, by any author older than the Byzantine lists of the sixth and following centuries. This does not seem a promising account, yet I believe that a minute examination of the inscription will yield a considerable amount of information about a district of Pisidia which was hitherto unknown even in name. I shall give first as accurate an edition of the text as possible, then a philological and geographical commentary, and finally the historical inferences that seem to result from the inscription. In the text a square bracket denotes that the inclosed letter or letters are inserted to fill a lacuna on the stone: a round bracket denotes that the

inclosed letter either was doubtful on the stone or was wrongly engraved and depends on a correction of the reading. I have tried to distinguish between actual variations of spelling and mere faults of the engraver's hand, correcting the latter and leaving the former. The dots in each lacuna indicate approximately the number of letters lost: a line indicates that I could form no opinion as to the number of letters wanting. Where neither dots nor a line is given in the text, it is to be understood that no letter has been lost. With more time I could have deciphered more personal names, but as time was so short I gave most attention to the geographical names.

## 2. Text of the Inscription.

I shall not give the uncial text, as it is impossible to represent by type the irregular characters of the inscription. I may quote M. Foucart's words in a similar case (*Assoc. Relig.*, p. 221): 'J'ai renoncé à publier le text épigraphique, parce que les caractères ordinaires rendraient inexactement une inscription qui rappelle parfois les graffiti de Pompeii.' The Greek symbols for 1,000, 2,000, etc., are rendered thus ,α ,β.

\_\_\_\_\_ους . . . . . (ι)ς μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις  
 \_\_\_\_\_ρειο(ν) ἐποίησαν φιάλην \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ρ (ε) (λ). ντα καὶ χαλκῶματα καὶ πατέλλ[ας  
 4 & 5 \_\_\_\_\_ϙΔΙΠΥ καὶ λιβανωτρίδα  
 \_\_\_\_\_ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀναλωμάτων  
 7 \_\_\_\_\_ΕΩC  
 8 \_\_\_\_\_ΑΥΡ  
 \_\_\_\_\_CIMOY  
 10 — IFN .... ΕΙΙΙ .. . . . . ΤΑ \_\_\_\_\_  
 .... του Αὐρ Παπ[ά]ς (Μει)[ν]έου Τ(ν)[ιτηνοῦ \* ...

1-3. The first letters of these lines are very uncertain: (ι) perhaps η: Ἄρ-τεμις is quite certain, not Ἄρτέμιδι.

2. (ν) first half of the N alone remains: it is doubtful.

4. [τ]φ διπυ[λφ]? On the relation of 1-3, 5, 6 to 4, 7-9, see below § 9.

7-10. [Ἐπὶ ἱερ]έως Αὐρ. [Ῥονη]σίμου (Μ)ε[ν]νέου Ὁ]ει(ν)[ιατου κα]τὰ? The position of ΑΥΡ is remarkable: it is doubtful whether it is in a separate

line or in the same line as ΕΩC.

10-11. Very few letters have been lost at the beginning of these lines.

11. Only the lower part of the letters MEN remains, but the reading seems certain. If the syntax is correct, which is doubtful in this inscription, it is impossible to read anything like [ἐπὶ κρή?]του; possibly [κα]τὰ [ἐπιταγήν αὐ]τοῦ, referring to the priest.

- Φ[ρ]ονίμου Καρ. Μεν[νέ]ου δ(όντ ✕)——  
 κ [ἐ] ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Α(ύ)ρ. Ἀλεξάνδρου (β)—————  
 καὶ Αὐρ. Ζωτικ(κ)οῦ Μενελάου Μαρσιανοῦ δόντ[ος] ✕(,ιυ).  
 15 Αὐρ. Ζωτικός Μ(ε)ί(δ)ας Πτ[α]γιανός  
 Αὐρ. Τιμόθεος Δημητρίου Καρβοκωμήτ[η]ς δόντος ✕,σά  
 Γάιος Κατώνιος Μορδιανός Μάρκου Ἰστρ(α)-  
 τιώτου Πειδρηνός ✕,εῖρ'  
 Οὐέσσμιος Μάξιμος Γισζηνός  
 20 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων β' Συρναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Κανδρουκώμ[η]—]  
 Αὐρ. Σκύμνος Ἀσκλᾶ Ναζουλεύς ✕,δσα'  
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Μεννέου Κελοσνιάτης  
 Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἑρμογένου Λυκιοκ(ω)μήτης  
 Α[ύ]ρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Τειμοθέου Ψερκιοκωμήτης  
 25 [Α]ὐρ. Γάιος Ρωμύλου Γαρδιβιανός  
 Λουκρήτιος Κδῖντος Κυίντου Ὀλυμποκωμήτης, ✕,δα'  
 Αὐρ. (Κο)ρνήλιος Ἰσ[κ]ύμνου Ναζουλεύς, ✕,γω'ϝ  
 Αὐρ. Καρικός Ἀντ[ί]λεος Ἐξαρεύς  
 Λουκρήτιος Λούκιος Πειδρηνός Λουκίου υἱός, ✕,γ(ψ)α'  
 30 Α(ύ)ρ. Μακ(ε)δών Ἀ(θ)ηνέου Ἀσκαρηνός ✕,γχα'  
 Αὐρ. Γάιος Βόρας Ὀλυνποκωμήτης ✕,γχ'  
 Αὐρ. Ποσιδώνιος Ἀρτέμωνος Κινναβορήνους  
 Αὐρ. Καρικός Ἀπ(π)ᾶδος Κίναβοριότης ✕,γφα'  
 Αὐρ. Λούκιος Καρικοῦ Νειδη(ν)ός ✕,γφα'  
 35 Αὐρ. Διοπάνης Παπᾶ Τελεσφόρου Πταγιανός  
 Αὐρ. Μάμα Ἰμενο[ς] Μονοκληρεΐτης

12. (οντ) only the lower part of the letters remains. A slight gap with no letter was left between Δ and Ο. No space between Τ and ✕.

13. ΚΕΠΙ, the reading seemed quite certain; probably κὲ ἐπὶ. (β) only the lower half remains.

14. No trace of [ος] visible, [ιύ] the lower half of the letters alone remains.

15. (ε) C on copy. (δ) Δ on copy. [α] omitted by the engraver. A space left between Π and Τ, thus, Π . Τ.

16. [η] Ν on the stone.

22. A slight gap on the stone, with no trace of letters between κελο and σν.

23. (ω) Ρ engraved by mistake on

the stone.

28. [ι], on the stone ι remains, the beginning of Ν or Η, or Υ, or Ι; Ἀντ(ή)λεος is perhaps the name, or Ἀντίλεος for Ἀντίλεως, a name not known, but quite in accordance with analogy, cf. Ἀντίδημος.

33. Probably Ἀππᾶδος is the correct reading, Ι in place of the second Π on the stone.

34. (ν) on the copy Ι, but it should certainly be connected with the leg of Η; the little cross-strokes are often very faint on the stone.

36. [ς] on the analogy of line 40; on Ἰμενος see § 5, probably read Μάμας. See below.

- Αὐρ. Μεννέας Ζωτικοῦ(ῦ) Προυρειστρε(ῦ)ς ✕, γρρ[ά]  
 [Α]ὐρ. Ἰμαν Ζωτικοῦ Σοφοῦ Δα(β)ην(ε)ῦς, ✕, γρα'  
 [Α]ὐρ. (Τ)ειμότεος Ἀττας Κοίντου Τυτηνός ✕, γρα'  
 40 [Α]ὐρ. Διοφάνης Ἰμενος Πταγιανός ✕, γά'  
 [Αὐρ.] Καρικὸς Ἑρμογένου Ταταεύς ✕, βων'  
 Αὐρ. Γάιος β' Πύρρου Μικκωνειάτης ✕, βων'  
 Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Μεννέου Μικκωνειάτης [δόντο]ς ✕, βψνα'  
 [Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸς Δ[ημ]ητρίου Τωτωνιάτης(ς).  
 45 Αὐρ. Παπύλος β' Συνναδεύς, οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀλιζέοις  
 Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἑκατησίου Κινναβοριάτης  
 Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Γανζαηνός ✕, βψα'  
 Μάρκος Σεπτο(ῦ)[μιο]ς β... ωνιανετης ✕, βφα'  
 Αὐρ. Ἀλέξαν[δρο]ς Κυ[ρικοῦ] οἰκῶν ἐν Νείδω ✕, βφα'  
 50 Αὐρ. Λούκ[ιος Μενν]έου(ν) ... ρου Γλεττεύς  
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων [Ἀττ]άλου Ἀνπελαδηνός ✕, βυα'  
 [Αὐρ. Μ]άξιμος ... ν Καρσει(η)δηνός ✕, βυα'  
 [Αὐρ. Ζω]τικὸς β' Ι(μ)[άη](ν)ος Ὀεινιάτ[η]ς ✕, βυά  
 ————ος Παπίου Ἀρχελ(α)[ε]ῦς ✕, βτα'  
 55 Αὐρ. Ἑρμῆς β' Ἰμάηνος ✕, βτα'  
 — Σεῦῆρος Καρ[ικ]οῦ Ἀνπελαδηνός ✕, βτα'  
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμω[ν] β' (Μ)αην(ό)[ς] δίντος ✕, βτα'  
 [Αὐρ.] Ἀλέξαν[δρο]ς Ἀππᾶ Π[εισ]διανός ✕, βτα'  
 [Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸς [Μεν]νέου Κνουτεινεύς ✕, βτα'  
 60 Αὐρ. Σούριος Μ[ηνο]φίλου Ἀσκαρηιός ✕, βσα'  
 Αὐρ. Καρικὸς(ς) Ζωτικοῦ Ὀεινιάτης ✕, βσα'  
 Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμίδωτος β' Λανκηνός δόντος ✕, βρα'  
 — Ἀρτέμων Ἀσκληπιάδου Κνουτεινεύς ✕, βρα'  
 [—]ος Ἀπᾶς Μαρσ[ι]ανός ✕, βα'  
 65 [—]ς Μεννέου Μην[οδ]ώρου Τ(ε)υιτηνός ✕, βα'  
 — Παπᾶ Ἀρτεμωνος Κερα(σ)ιανός ✕, α[ων]'.

37. (ν) N on the stone.

38. (β) the stone is broken, P certain, B probable, (ε) O on the stone.

44. Inserted in small letters between 43 and 45.

45. ιζέοις is engraved on line 44, immediately after τη(ς), but in larger letters.

52. (η) letter very faint on stone, perhaps EI-PA or EIPΔ, or EIHΔ.

56. Probably no gap before Σεῦῆρος.

57. (Μ) very doubtful on the stone, which seems to have AI. But Zoticus,

line 53, Hermes, line 55, and Artemon, line 57, are three brothers, whose father and grandfather are named Maên or Imaên; with the variation in spelling cf. Σκύμος 21, and Ἰσχύμος 71, Ἰστρατιώτης. No persons want the ethnic except the two in 55, 57.

61. (ς) E on the stone.

62. The termination -δωτος is unknown in Greek.

65. (ε) C on the stone.

66. (σ) E on the stone.



- Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἐ(ρ)σηνός ✕, αων'  
 ———— Μακεδό(ν)ος Τυρση[ν]ός δοντος ἐπ[ι]δο[σ]ιν ✕, αω'  
 Α[ὐ]ρ. Μάρκος Μενέου Τα . . λωεττηνός  
 70 ———— Ζωτικοῦ (Κ)ουνδοξαίης ✕, αω' ἐπίδοσι[ν] ✕  
 [Αὐρ. Ζω]τικὸς Ἰσχύ(μ)νου Μαμουτηνός ✕, αψν'  
 ———— Β]οιτωνιάτ[η]ς Παπαῆδος ✕, αψν'  
 ———— ]ος Μνηστέ(ο)υ Μαμουτηνός ✕, αψν'  
 ———— ]ος Αὐξάνοντος Ἀνπελαδηνός ✕, αψν'  
 75 ———— ]ας Ἀλεξάνδρου Γ[ι]σ]ξηνός ✕, αψα'  
 ———— ]ος Μεννέου Μαμοττην(ό)ς ✕, αψα'  
 ———— Ἀλ]έξανδρου Τιτηνός ✕, αψα  
 ———— ]ιας Ἀρκαστηνός ✕, αχνα'  
 ———— ]ος β' Λανκεηνός ✕, αχα'  
 79(2) Λουκρήτιο[ς] Τίτος Ραιτηνός ✕, βφ'  
 80 Αὐρ. [Ἀ]πᾶς Μάρκου Οὐεινιάτου  
 Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Ζωτικοῦ Πτα(γι)ανό(ς) ✕, αχ(α')  
 [Αὐρ.] Ἄρ]τέμων Δημητρίου Τενιανό(ς) ✕, αψν[α']  
 [Αὐρ.] Ζωτικὸς Ἱμενος Δημητρίου Τιυτηνός ✕, αψνα'  
 Ἥλιος Διο[φ]ά(ν)ης Μαξίμου Ταλιμε(τ)ε(ύ)[ς] ✕, αψνα'  
 85 ———— ]ος Κοῖντου Ταλιμε(τε)ύς  
 ———— Ζωτικοῦ Κακοξηνός ✕, (αφ)α'  
 Αὐρ. [—υκ]ρανος Ἀγηνός δόντος ἐπίδοσιν ✕, αφα'  
 Αὐρ. Αὐξάνων [—]υκρα[ν]ος Ἀγηνός δόντος [ἐπίδοσιν ✕, αφα']  
 Αὐρ. Λούκιος [ . . . ]ου (Ω(ν)υιάτης  
 90 ———— μετηνος δό(ν)τος ἐπίδοσιν ✕, αφα'  
 ———— Ζω]τικοῦ Ὀεινιάτης ✕, αυνα'  
 ———— Ὀεινιάτης ✕, ατπα'  
 [Αὐρ. Μενν]έας Ἀσκληπίου Ὀεινιάτης ✕, ατπα'

69. Inserted in small letters between 68 and 70. Between α and λ there is a gap with no trace of letters; the adjective is therefore most probably *ταλωεττηνός*. ττ are exceedingly faint and doubtful on the stone. Μενέου with one N is on the stone.

70. ἐπίδοσιν probably belongs to line 69, in which we must supply [δόντος] ἐπίδοσιν ✕ [αώ]: κ in 70 is probable.

75. ΗΖ, or ΠΖ, or ΓΙΖ on the stone; it is always very difficult to distinguish between Π and ΓΙ in this inscription.

76. (ο) E on the stone.

79 (2). This line is added at the end of 78–80, in three lines strongly and distinctly engraved.

81. (ς) NE in monogram on the stone, (γι) Π quite certain on the stone.

82. (σ) Γ on the stone.

84. (τ) Υ seemed the reading of the stone, I believe Ταλιμενός is correct.

85. (τε) both letters faint but probable; in 99 a certain case occurs of τ for ν.

88. Seems a mere repetition of 87, no certain trace of [N].

89. (ν) very doubtful.

- [Αὐρ. Με]ννάας [Ζω]τικοῦ Μαραλιτηνός ✕,ατκέ'  
 95 [Αὐρ.] Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικοῦ Ἀμπελαδηνός ✕,ατκέ'  
 [Αὐρ.] Μεννάας Ἀππαῶδος Κερασιανός  
 ————— Ζωτικοῦ Μ(ασ)υλιάτης  
 ————— Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνπελαδηνός ✕,ασνα'  
 ————— Διοπάνους Π(τ)αγιανός  
 100 ————— Ζ]ωτικοῦ Κνου(τ)εινεύς  
 ————— Ξ]ένωνος Πε(ι)σδηνός ✕,ασα  
 [Αὐρ.] Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀππᾶς [Τ]υρσηνός ✕,ασα'  
 Αὐρ.] Ἀππᾶς Ζωτικοῦ Λαπειστρεύς ✕,αρα'  
 [Αὐρ.] Μάξιμος Ζωτικοῦ Ὠεινιάτης ✕,αρ(α')  
 105 [Αὐρ.] Μενέας Λουκίου (Π)εσε(μ)νιάτης ✕,αα'  
 [Αὐρ.] Μένανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνπε(λ)αδηνός  
 ————— μος Ἡλίου Μεργνιάτης ✕,αα'  
 [Αὐρ.] Μενέδης Ἀλεκᾶς Κτιμενηνός ✕(φ)κέ'  
 Αὐρ. Διογένης Μενέου Στρ(ευων)ός ✕ωα'  
 110 Αὐρ. Χαρίδημος Γιλώνος Ἀμπε(λ)[αδηνός  
 Αὐρ. Ἄτταλος Μενάνδρου Ἀμπελα(δ)[ηνός] ✕φα'  
 Αὐρ. Καρικός β' Χθιμενηνός  
 Αὐρ. Κούειντος Αὐξάνοντος Οὐεινιάτης ✕ων[α]  
 Αὐρ. Ἰσκύμνος Μα(μ)ας Χθιμ(ε)[νηνός] ✕ωνα'  
 115 ————— Ζωτικὸς Μενέου Πεσκενια(ν)ις  
 Αὐρ. Μενέας Ἀππαῶδος Πολυμαργηνός  
 Αὐρ. Ξένων Βουβάλου Πεισδιανός  
 Αὐρ. Δάμας Βουτινιάθης ✕ωα  
 Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἐρμῆδος Εἰρευμενιάτης ✕,ακε

3. *Order*.—The contributors are arranged according to the amount of their subscription: the largest sum mentioned is probably 10,400 denarii, though the reading is uncertain. The other possible reading is ΓΥ, 3,400, which would disturb the

90. (ν) T clear and distinct on the stone.

97. (ασ) probably so, letters faint.

99. (ρ) P apparently on the stone.

100. (τ) doubtful on the stone.

101. (ι) a dot on the stone.

102. [Τ] entirely omitted on the stone.

104. (ς) Λ on the copy.

105. Μενέας as in 115, 116; single for double ν is common in late inscriptions in all parts of Asia Minor, (π)

and (μ) very doubtful, perhaps Πεσ-  
[κ]ενιατης, see 115.

106. (λ) Λ on the stone.

108. (φ) perhaps a mistake for ω.

109. (ευων) doubtful on the stone.

114. (μ) almost wholly obliterated.

115. Μενέου on the stone, cp. 105, 116; single for double letter is, as I have already remarked, common in late inscriptions of Asia Minor. Perhaps we should read Πεσκενιάτης, cp. 105.

order, but this contributor perhaps owes his place to his official position as *βραβευτής*. The largest certain sum is 6,001 denarii. There is a tendency throughout to numbers like 4,001, 3,601, &c., as if it was an object to pass a round number by one. The proper order is broken in ll. 37, 66, and 82, where the correction is obvious, in ll. 108-118 where 113 *ff.* have probably been added to the original enumeration, and in l. 79 (2) which has been added at the side of 78-80 a little below its proper position.

4. *Date*.—The date of the inscription is fixed about 225 A.D. by the nomenclature, and this date agrees well with the form of the letters.

(1) It is later than Pescennius Niger (193 A.D.) l. 113.

(2) It is later than Septimius Severus, l. 56, 48: Lucius is the commonest Roman name in the inscription.

(3) The ethnic *Μαρσιανός* is probably derived from Marcia, first wife of Severus, honoured by him with statues after his accession: I believe it not improbable that the name was given to a station on the Roman road, half-way between Antioch and Apollonia, when the road was repaired under his government.<sup>1</sup>

(4) The praenomen Aurelius, which is borne by almost every contributor, was probably assumed when the emperor Caracalla extended the right of citizenship to the whole empire: it is sometimes, but not very often, borne by the fathers of contributors, so that the generation which contributed is on the whole that which was living in 211-17 A.D.

5. *Language*.—The large number of faults in engraving the text might be due only to the want of skill in a village workman: but this will not account for all the peculiarities of the text.

(1) Various forms of the adjective derived from the name of a place:

*Κινναβορήνιος* and *Κινναβοριάτης*.

*Πεισδηνός* and *Πεισδιανός*.

*Λανκηνός* and *Λανκενός*.

<sup>1</sup> Severus seems to have repaired the roads in Phrygia and Pisidia; see my paper in *Mithteil. Inst. Ath.* 1882, p. 130.

(2) Variations in spelling probably due to variations or indistinctness in pronunciation.

Τυτηνός, Τευιτηνός, Τιτηνός, Τιιτηνός.

Χθιμενηνός, Κτιμενηνός.

Ῥεινιάτης, Ῥυνιάτης, Οὔρεινιάτης, Ῥεινιάτης.

Ῥολυμποκωμήτης, Ῥολυνποκωμήτης.

Ῥισκύμνος, Σκύμνος (so Ῥιμάηνος and Μάηνος, Ῥιστρατιώτης).

Μαμουτηνός, Μαμοττηνός, probably a fault of the engraver.

Ἀνπελαδηνός, Ἀμπελαδηνός.

Κούειντος 112, Κόιντος 25, 85, Κύντος 25.

Διοπάνης 35, Διοφάνης 40.

Βοιτωνιάτης, Βοιτινιάτης.

(3) Grammatical faults: *δόντος* is used after names in the nominative, apparently in imitation of the formula at the beginning, where the names are in the genitive and *δόντος* is correct.

In addition to these peculiarities we must remember that though the personal names are in general Graeco-Roman, a provincial, half-educated tone characterises the inscription. The non-Greek combination *-αη-* which occurs in the words Ῥιμάηνος, Γανζαηνός, is Phrygo-Pisidian, as in Ῥασκαηνός, Ῥακρόηνος. The personal name Imaên, Maên, Iman, Imenos, is a very remarkable one: I believe that Iman, genitive Imenos, and Imaên or Maên, genitive Imaênos or Maênos, are merely varieties of one name. That name is the name of the god Mên, which was assumed by the Greeks to be their word *μήν*, but which is undoubtedly a native non-Greek word. Greek personal names compounded with Mên begin to occur about the third century B.C., but they are at first confined to, and always more common in, Asia Minor. The worship of Mên spread into Greece in the Roman period, but is distinctly characteristic of Pisidia and southern Phrygia. The Manês of Lydo-Phrygian mythology is doubtless the same word which is Graecised as Mên: I find the personal name Manês Ourammoês on an unedited inscription of Anaboura, a Pisidian town quite close to the district of our inscription. The prefixed *i* in Imaên and Iman may be compared with that in Iskymnos and Istratiôtês.

It appears to me that these facts can be explained only in one

way. Greek was not the language most familiar to the persons who drew up this inscription: it was the language of writing and of education, but the ancient language of the district, Pisidian or Phrygian, was still spoken by the people. It is an interesting point to observe at what time Greek supplanted the native languages of Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> In the time of Strabo it is probable that Phrygian was generally spoken in at least the central and eastern parts of Phrygia; even in a rich and important city like Cibyra, situated on the western side of Phrygia towards the Greek country, four languages were spoken in his time, Lydian, Pisidian, Greek, and the tongue of the Solymi: on the other hand, Lydian had died out in Lydia, and probably Phrygian had, in the cities of Phrygia most exposed to Greek influence, given place to Greek.<sup>2</sup> Nine examples are known to me of a formula invoking a curse on the violator of the tomb, presumably written in the Phrygian language. These belong to the Roman period, and they are found in the heart of Phrygia, not down on the western side. Lycaonian was the common language at Lystra when St. Paul visited the city, though it probably lay on the great high road to the Cilician Gates<sup>3</sup> and was an important commercial town, as we may argue from the existence of a considerable Jewish colony in the district. It is therefore not extraordinary that the native tongue should have persisted till the third century in a district removed from the direct influence of the Graeco-Roman civilisation, and having no large city as a centre.

6. A list of the names of places is of interest, as our knowledge of Pisidian names is so scanty—

'Αγηνός, 87, 88: the village name Age or Aga.

'Αλιζεοι, 45.

'Αμπελαδηνός or 'Ανπελ-, 51, 56, 74, 98, 106, 110, 111: Amelada: see below § 8.

'Αρκαστηνός, 78: Arcasta.

'Αρχελαεύς, 54: Archelais: perhaps the person is a stranger from Archelais of Cappadocia, cp. 20, 45.

<sup>1</sup> Strab. p. 631.

<sup>2</sup> My opinion on this point has been completely altered by a study of this inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that Lystra is identical with *Maden Sheher*, or *Bin Bir Kisseh*.

Ἀσκαρηνός, 30, 60 : Askara : cp. Askrai of Boeotia.

[B]οιτωνιάτης, Βοιτινιάθης, 72, 118 : Boitinia.

Γανζαηνός, 47 : Ganzaêna, the modern village is Gondáne.

Γαρδιβιανός, 25 : Gardibia.

Γισζηνός, 19, 75 : Gisza : γίσσα in the Carian town name Monogissa is explained as 'stone,' *v.* Steph. Byz., *s.v.*

Γλεττεύς, 50 : Glettia.

Δα(β)ηνεύς, 38 : Dabênai : perhaps cp. Tabai of Pisidia, Taba of Caria ; the word ταβα is explained 'rock' (Keretapa, 'Rock of the Carians' ?).

Εἰρευμενιάτης, 119 ; Eireumenia.

Ἐζαρεύς, 28 : Ezaria or Aizaria (is **P** a mistake for **N** ? cp. Aizani of Phrygia and Phrygian Ἄζην = beard).

Κακοζηνός, 86 : Kakoza.

Κανδρουκώμη, 20.

Καρβοκωμήτης, 16 : Karbokômê : (village of Carbo, after some Roman governor ?)

Καρσειδηνός, 52 : Karseia, or Karseiêda.

(Κελος)νιάτης, 22 : Kelosnia ? **ΟΞ[Ι]ΝΙΑΤΗC** ? a very doubtful name.

Κερασιανός, 67, 96 : Kerasia : cp. Kerasous.

Κινναβοριάτης and Κινναβορήνος, 32, 33, 46 : Kinnaborion : cp. Kannadêloi.

Κνουτεινός, 59, 62, 100 : Knoutenia : cp. Tenia.

(Κ)ουνδοζα(ί)ης, 70 : doubtful name.

Λανκηνός and Λανκεηνός, 61, 79 : Lanka.

Λαπειστρεύς, 103 : Lapeistria.

Λυκιοκωμήτης, 23 : there was a Lycian colony in Apollonia ; this village therefore was probably on the north-western edge of the lake at the edge of the plain of Apollonia.

Μαμουτηνός, 71, 73, 76 : Mamouta : cp. Adramytta. The name is probably connected with the epithet of Cybele and personal name Mamas.

Μαραλιτηνός, 94 : Maralita or Maralis : Stephanus mentions a town Narmalis in Pisidia, ethnic Narmaleus.

Μαρσιανός, 14, 64 : probably a half-way station on the road from Apollonia to Antioch, established or improved when the roads were repaired under the emperor Severus, and named after his first wife Marcia.

Μ(ασ)υλιάτης, 97 : Masylia : doubtful name.

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Μεργινιάτης, 107 : Mergnia.

Μικκωνειάτης, 42, 43 : Mikkônia.

Μονοκληρείτης, 36 : Monoklêros : cp. Klêros Oreines and Klêros Politikes in Phrygia Salutaris, and a bishop of Klêroi in the same province. The Greek term κληρος was therefore applied to these small townships. Cp. Monogissa.

Ναζουλεύς, 21, 27 : Nazoulia.

Νειδη(ν)ός, 34, 49 : Neidos or Nidos.

Ὀλυμποκωμήτης, 26, 31 : Olympos was as common a name for mountains in Asia Minor as in Greece.

Πειδρηνός, 18, 29 : Peidra or Pidra.

Πεσε(μ)νιάτης, 105 : (Peskeniates from Peskenia ? see below).

Πεσκενιανίς, 113 : Peskenia, the village named after Pescenius Niger, perhaps read Πεσκενιά(τη)ς : single for double ν as in 105, 115, 116.

Πολυμαργηνός, 116 : Polymarga.

Προυρειστρεύς, 37 : Proureistria.

Πταγιανός, 15, 35, 40, 81, 99 : Ptagia : cp. Patara or Ptara of Lycia.

Ῥαιτηνός, 79 (2) : Rhaita.

Στρ(ουων)ος, 109 : doubtful name.

Ταλιμε(ν)εύς, 84, 85 : Τὰ Λιμένα or Λιμναῖα, see below § 8.

Ταλωεττηνός, 69 : very doubtful.

Ταταεύς, 41 : Tataia, the village of Tatas, a common and ancient Phrygian personal name : cp. Dorylaion from Dorylas, Akkilaion from Akylas, Attaia from Attas or Atys.

Τενιανός, 82 : Tenia.

Τυρσηνός, 67, 68, 102 : it is interesting to find this name, remembering the traditional connection of the Τυρσηνοί with Asia Minor : Τυρῶα was a town in Lydia. Stephanus mentions a town Tyros of Pisidia.

Τυιτηνός, Τευιτηνός, Τυτηνός, Τιτηνός, 39, 65, 77, 83 : Tyita : cp. Tityassos of Pamphylia, Titioupolis of Isauria.

Τωτωνιάτης, 44 : Totonia.

Χθιμεννός and Κτιμεννός, 108, 112, 114 : Ktimenos : ἔκ-τιμένον πολλίεθρον.

Ψερκιοκωμήτης, 25 : Pserkio-kômê

Ῥεινιάτης, Ὀεινιάτης, Οὐεινιάτης, Ὠ(ν)νιάτης, 53, 80, 89, 91,

92, 93, 104, 118: Oinia: cp. Oinoanda, see below. [Name omitted, 55, 57].

-μετηνος, 90.

-ωνιανετης, 48.

I add here a few Pisidian names for the sake of completeness. 'Houήιος occurs four times in an unedited inscription of Anaboura, Μάνης Οὐραρμμόης is another from the same town. Δεῖ Πότει occurs in an inscription of Pisidia or northern Pamphylia, and is explained by Deecke as Zeus the Lord: Πότις occurs also in Cyprus as an epithet of Zeus.<sup>1</sup> 'Ιμάην or Μάνη has been mentioned above: it is doubtful whether any other personal name in this inscription can be reckoned as native Pisidian; perhaps Sourios, Ouessmios, Giliôn, and even Boubalos.

The names as a whole are not unlike those which are common in western Asia Minor, especially Phrygia and Caria, and the Pisidian language was therefore perhaps akin to the Phrygian. Oinoanda in the Cibyratis bears a name differing only in the termination from Oinia. The termination -anda, -onda, -inda is very common in Phrygo-Carian town names: Alinda, 'Horse-town,' Sibidonda, Isinda, Kyinda, Dalisandos: the same ending appears in Aloudda, 'Horse-town,' Attoudda, 'Attys-town' (cp. Alia, Attaia), Clannoudda (cp. Kelenai or Kelainai).

7. *Personal Names*.—There is a great monotony in the personal names: at the present day a list of the inhabitants of a Pisidian village would repeat over and over again a small stock of names, Suleiman, Mehmet, &c., and so in this inscription Zoticus occurs 19 times, Menneas 17, Karikos 11, Alexandros 9, Artemon 8, Appas or Apas 8.

(1) The most common class of names is derived from gods characteristic of Asia Minor worship: Menophilos, Menodoros, Menneas,<sup>2</sup> Iman, Imaên, Maên, refer to the god Mên, whose worship is almost universal in Pisidia and Southern Phrygia: Mamas and Demetrios refer to Cybele-Demeter: Papas, Papias,

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. 335; Deetke in *Burs. Jahresb.*, 1882, p. 221, and in *Bezenb. Beitr.* vi.

<sup>2</sup> Fick, *Griech. Personenn.* p. 194, makes Menneas a 'pet name,' derived

from such a word as Menedêmos, or Menandros. As the name is exceedingly common in Asia Minor and rare in Greece, I find his explanation untenable.



Papylos, Appas, refer to Papas, and Attas to Attes or Atys, both characteristic Phrygian gods: Asclepiades, Asclepios, Asclas, Telesphoros, refer to Asclepios worship: Artemon, Artemidotos, and Hecatesios refer to Artemis: Helios, Hermes, Posidonius, which are rare, may belong to this class, or to class (4).

(2) Greek names of good omen, Phronimos, Sophos, Stratiotes, Auxanon, Zotikos, Mnêsteos.

(3) Names adopted either as borne by emperors, Septoumios, Severos, Aurelius, or as characteristic Roman names, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, Gaius: Lucius and Marcus are rather commoner than Gaius and Quintus, which is perhaps due to their being the names of Severus and Caracalla: Lucius occurs 6 times, Marcus 5, Gaius 4, Quintus 4.

(4) 'Fancy names,' derived from education and reading: historical are Catonius, Cornelius, Maximus, Romulus, Meidas, Menelaos, Pyrrhos, Attalos, Alexandros, and Alekas the diminutive, Makedon, Atheneos: literary (?) are Lucretius, Lucretius Titus, Menandros, Diogenes:<sup>1</sup> of no special character are Diophanes, Timotheos, Charidemos, Menedemos, Ant[i]leas, Xenon, Hermogenes, Skymnos.

(5) Various: Mordianos from Mordiaion, the old name of Apollonia; Karikos, an exceedingly common name in later Phrygian inscriptions; <sup>2</sup> Sourios, Ouessmios, Gilion, Boubalos, are perhaps Pisidian names, though the last is known in Greece.

The names derived from religion, and those which are distinctly native in character, Menneas, Imaên, &c., are more numerous among the fathers of the contributors, than among the contributors themselves: so are the Greek names of good omen. The 'fancy names' are decidedly more numerous among the sons, and rarer among the fathers. This suggests that education was advancing, the provincial native character and the power of religion growing fainter, in this and the preceding generation. The whole tone of the inscription points to this conclusion. The names are such as Graeco-Roman civilisation

<sup>1</sup> Menandros is a favourite name in Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> It is the only case of a common name in Asia Minor derived from the

name of a race, the stem is common also in names of places, Keretapa, Krya, Keressos, and occurs in a divine name, Men Karou.

made common all over Asia Minor: with the single exception of Iman or Imaên, they contain nothing distinctive of this particular district.

8. *Topography*.—The inscription was found near the north-eastern corner of the large double lake, Egerdir Göl and Hoiran Göl, the only lake of any size in Asia Minor whose ancient name is unknown: the stone is so large that it is not likely to have been carried far, and the cemetery of Gondâne is so full of old fragments that there must have existed some ancient town in the neighbourhood. This district formed part of the Roman province of Galatia, as is expressly recorded by Ptolemy. After the redistribution of the provinces about 297 A.D., the district formed part of the province of Pisidia.

Already while copying the inscription, the form Ἀμπελαδηνός delighted me very much. It is obvious that the village Ampe-lada is a Graecised form of the Graeco-Pisidian Amblada, so that we have a clear example of the process on which I have already insisted in this *Journal*<sup>1</sup> as often taking place where local or religious names in Asia Minor were Graecised: an attempt was made to give the word a meaning in Greek. The concurrence of three consonants was avoided by inserting a vowel, and the word was assimilated to the Greek ἄμπελος or ἀμπέλιον, which survives in modern Greek with the pronunciation ambeli.<sup>2</sup> Now Strabo remarks that Amblada of Pisidia lay near the Phrygian frontier, and that it produced a wine useful for medicinal purposes; and Ptolemy places Amblada in western Pisidia: the description corresponds exactly with the Ampe-lada of the inscription, and the two must be identical. The wine explains why the little town was mentioned by Strabo, and why the name became Ampelada.

Amlada was an older form of the town name, as is seen on coins.<sup>3</sup> So we find in Phrygia the name Blaundos is sometimes spelt Mlaundos. In both cases the B was developed as in the Greek βροτός or βλώσσω; and the true old form is Mlada or Mlandos, which are clearly the same name. Blados, mentioned

<sup>1</sup> 1882, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> The form Amplada was actually used in the Byzantine period, see Le Quien, *Oriens. Christ.* vol. i. under

Amblada of Lycaonia.

<sup>3</sup> See Waddington, *Voyage Numism.*, or in *Rev. Numism.* 1851.

by Hierocles in the province Hellespontus, is another form of the same name.<sup>1</sup> Balandos mentioned in Lydia by the *Notitiae*, is probably the same town as Blaundos, which lies near the frontier. The difficult form Mlada was avoided in two ways: (1) Amlada Amblada (becoming Ampelada), and Blandos or Blados or Blaundos: (2) Malandos becoming Amilanda and Balandos, perhaps even the modern Galandos.

Ampelada, Amplada, Amblada, or Amilanda,<sup>2</sup> must have been somewhere on the east side of the lake, where a good southern exposure, sheltered from the north wind, would favour the growing of vines. The modern town Galandos lies near the lake on the east and probably retains the ancient name. It is said that at Egerdir on the south side of the lake, not many miles from Galandos, and just beyond the limits of the district embraced in this inscription, twenty-five different species of grapes are found.<sup>3</sup> Neither Hierocles nor the lists of bishoprics mention a town named Amblada in Pisidia, but they all give an Amblada in Lycaonia. The Byzantine province of Lycaonia did not extend further west than Serki Serai, east of lake Caralis; so that it is quite impossible to suppose that any part of the district embraced in this inscription was included in Lycaonia. It is also impossible to suppose that a town situated at, or east of, Serki Serai furnished seven contributors to our inscription, or that it could be called by Strabo *τοῖς Φρυγῖν ὄμορος*, or that Ptolemy could have placed it in western Pisidia. There are therefore only two alternatives: either there was an Amblada in Lycaonia, and another Amblada in Pisidia, and the latter town disappeared before the Byzantine period, or Hierocles must, as Forbiger suggests,<sup>4</sup> have made a mistake in assigning Amblada to Lycaonia. The lists of bishoprics are generally according to the political divisions of the country, *e.g.* all the bishops of Pisidia are under the metropolitan see of Antioch, but in some few cases a bishopric is connected with a distant metropolis. I can only suppose that for some reason or other Amblada was placed under the see of Iconium, and that

<sup>1</sup> M. Waddington thinks it is actually Blaundos, mentioned here by mistake; probably he is right. See Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* No. 1011.

<sup>2</sup> The form Amilarda or Amalanda is

used for Amblada in *Act. Concil.*

<sup>3</sup> Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii.; as the book is not in any Athenian library I cannot give the exact reference.

<sup>4</sup> *Alle Geogr.* ii. p. 335.

Hierocles, whose list has been much influenced by the enumeration of bishoprics,<sup>1</sup> has assigned it to the wrong province. Two reasons are in favour of the latter alternative: first it is exceedingly rare for a town which coined money under the Roman Empire to disappear in the Byzantine period, and a comparative list of towns in the two periods proves that prosperity increased steadily, and that the old towns all remain; secondly, the language of Philostorgius,<sup>2</sup> when he mentions the Byzantine Amblada, applies very well to the Ampelada of our inscription. He says that it lay in an unhealthy and unpleasant situation, that the soil was barren, and that the inhabitants were very rude and uneducated: this last trait is quite in accordance with our inscription.

Ampelada and Oinia furnish more contributors than any other towns. Has the name Oinia any connection, either true or according to popular etymology, with *οἶνος*? We might look for the town in the vine-growing district near Amblada, and trace its prosperity to the same source.

Kinnaborion, which is three times mentioned in our inscription, was a bishopric in the Byzantine period. It is mentioned in *Not. Episcop.* i. vii. viii. ix.; and one of its bishops attended the sixth general council, while another was absent from the council of Chalcedon. Although it is in the heart of Pisidia, it is always placed under the metropolis of Synnada in Phrygia Salutaris. This is one of the geographical irregularities that sometimes occur in the lists of bishoprics. Kinnaborion is not mentioned by Hierocles nor in the very full list *Not. Episcop.* iii. x., xiii. In so exhaustive an enumeration of the towns as Hierocles gives, it can hardly be doubted that some of the fifty-five places mentioned in the inscription must occur. In making a comparison we must remember what gross errors often occur in the Byzantine lists<sup>3</sup> of Hierocles and the *Notitiae*. Hierocles

<sup>1</sup> He sometimes uses such expressions as *ὁ Τριβριαδέων [ἐπίσκοπος]*.

<sup>2</sup> *H. Eccles.* v. 2.

<sup>3</sup> I may here give a few examples that have hitherto puzzled the commentators, Konioupolis for Dionysopolis, Sitoupolis for Anastasiopolis, Thampioupolis for Themisonion. Many of these varieties are not mere clerical

errors: they are actual variations of spelling due to the indistinct pronunciation and provincial dialect of a half-educated people. How poorly educated even the bishops of the Byzantine period were may be judged from the fact that one of those present at the council of Chalcedon could not write his own name.

begins his list of Pisidian towns thus, Antiochia, Neapolis, Limenai, Sabinai, Atmenia. The first two, now called Yalowatch and Karaghatch, lie east of Gondáne, a little north of lake Caralis (lake of Beisheher). Instead of Atmenia we find in *Notitiae* vii. viii. ix., the forms Atenia, Atenoa, and it is hardly doubtful that *Τετιανός* in the inscription refers to the same place. But further, there is equally little doubt that *Δαβηνεύς* of the inscription and Sabinai of Hierocles are the same place, and that Sabinai ought to be corrected Dabinai.<sup>1</sup> It now becomes clear that his enumeration follows a well-defined geographical order. First he takes the country between Antioch and the two lakes, then the country bordering on Lycaonia, then the northern part of Pisidia, then the south-western round Baris (Isbarta), then the southern frontier.

Finally, it is probable that the form *Ταλιμενεύς* occurs in the inscription, though the reading is doubtful on the stone (see critical note l. 84-5). This form would be derived from *ταλιμένια*, *Τὰ Λιμέναια*, i.e. *Λιμναῖα*, a name, perhaps, for the small islands in the lake.<sup>2</sup> *Τὰ Λιμέναια* is the *Λιμέναι*, or *Λυμέναι*, or *Λυμναῖα*, or *Λίμνη*, of Hierocles and the *Notitiae*: *Λιμενεύς* occurs as the adjective. This identification enables us to recognise three consecutive towns of Hierocles in the district embraced by the inscription.

If my interpretation of *Ταλιμενεύς* is admitted, it tends to confirm Prof. Hirschfeld's view that the double lake along which these towns or villages were situated was called in ancient times *Λίμναι*. It appears, therefore, that some of the contributors mentioned in our inscription come from the extreme southern corner of the lake: and it has already been shown that Marsia and Lykiokome were probably on the northern shore towards Apollonia. The subscription was therefore common to a large country, all the northern and eastern shores of the lake. Let us now turn to the mutilated superscription to see what object brought together such widely separated villages.

9. *Historical*.—The only fact that can be gathered with certainty from the mutilated beginning of the inscription is that

<sup>1</sup> The town is not mentioned in any other place.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Hirschfeld places Limenai at Egerdir, the promontory beside the

islands. This position would not suit the inscription, as it is divided by mountains from the district where the other towns are found.

the money subscribed was devoted to buying certain articles employed in the worship of the great goddess Artemis : but the subscription is on such a large scale that it must have been intended for a greater purpose. The word  $\delta\acute{\iota}\pi\upsilon(\lambda\omicron\nu)$  makes it probable that the object was either to build, or to improve and beautify a temple of the goddess. Now the arrangement of the opening lines is remarkable.<sup>1</sup> The inscription was evidently intended at first to begin with line 4 ; we will conjecture that it defined the object of the subscription  $\tau\hat{\omega}\ \delta\iota\pi\acute{\upsilon}[\lambda\omega]$ , the date [ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho]$   $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ 7$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \beta\rho\alpha\beta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ 12$ , and the list of those who had subscribed more than 850 denarii. Afterwards some addition was made at the beginning in the blank space above the first line of the original inscription. There was not room to insert all that was needed in the space above and six words were added at the right hand of the old inscription: this addition records that some persons 'made at their own expense a phiale and some other articles, and chalkomata and patellai and a libanotris.' This addition is engraved in smaller letters and less deeply than the rest : it is therefore much more difficult to decipher. The phiale and the libanotris often occur in inventories of temple property ; in the *Corpus Aιβανωτίς* is twice given where the sense certainly demands *Aιβανωτρίς* (1570 *b* and 2855). Patellae are not mentioned in any other Greek inscription known to me : the occurrence shows the mixture of Greek and Latin terms characteristic of the later Roman and Byzantine times. Festus explains patellae as dishes in which food was set before the gods, especially the Lares and Penates. Chalkoma occurs often in the sense of a bronze plate to engrave an inscription on : it is mentioned in inscriptions of Coreyra and Sicily.

The subscription appears to have embraced the villages and small towns near the lake from the extreme southern extremity<sup>2</sup> to the north-western corner. A glance at the map will show that this includes all the lake country except two well-defined districts marked out by the mountain-system, the plain of Apollonia and the district in which lie Baris, Seleuceia Sidera, Agrae, and Conana : these two districts centre round points away from the lake, while the district embraced by the inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> An attempt is made to indicate it in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Even if the proposed interpretation

$\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon[\nu]\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$  is rejected, the boundary is extended far south by other considerations.

tion is the lake country proper. The people of this lake country subscribe towards a temple of Artemis, situated near the lake and about the middle of the district. Now in the social system which is known to have existed in Cappadocia, in Phrygia, also in Smyrna and Ephesus, in the non-Greek period, different districts had their centre in a *hieron*; the priests of the *hieron* interpreted the will of the god, and the people around were the servants of the *hieron*, *ιερόδουλοι*. Greek civilisation was always hostile to this system, and the history of Asia Minor, wherever we know anything of it, shows always the same conflict between the *polis* system of the Greeks, and the *hieron* system of the natives. The Greeks developed a *πολιτεία*, while the native system is technically described by the phrase *ῥκεῖτο κομηδόν*—the people, living in towns or villages, had not a definite political system, but depended on the *hieron*. The worship of Artemis, as Curtius has remarked,<sup>1</sup> was peculiarly associated with low-lying land and reed-covered marshes. The reeds shared with men in the worship of the goddess, and moved to the sound of the music in her festivals, or, as Strabo says, the baskets danced, or in Laconia maidens crowned with reeds danced.

This description enables us to form some conception of the worship of Artemis beside the Pisidian lake; and the remarkable suitability to this particular case proves the truth of our application. Every detail, so far as the details are known in other cases from our scanty information, suits here admirably. *Limnatis* was a favourite epithet of the goddess, used sometimes as her actual name: so we find a Laconian dedication *ἀνέθηκε Λιμνάτι*.<sup>2</sup> We have, a few pages back, seen reason to accept Prof. Hirschfeld's conjecture that the lake near which this *hieron* stood bore no more definite name than *Limnai*.

It cannot be supposed that the *hieron* system survived in its purity through the Roman period: the *hieron* was now only a social centre with no political power. But it appears that the whole district still looked to it as the religious sanctuary. All over Asia Minor we observe that as a rule the sanctuary is outside the city: so at Ephesus, at Smyrna, and many other places. A political centre grows up, but it is always apart from

<sup>1</sup> Curtius in *Arch. Ztg.* 1853, p. 150;      <sup>2</sup> See Fränkel, *Arch. Ztg.* 1876, p. E. Müller in *Philol.* vii. on *Gyges*;      28, on Artemis *Limnatis*. K. O. Müller, *Dorier*, i. p. 382.



and in opposition to the religious centre. In this case the Roman domination prevented the development of political power: the administration of the imperial province of Galatia, in which the district was embraced, gave apparently less freedom to the inhabitants and allowed less local government than the senatorial province of Asia: in the latter the towns had the right to put the names of their own magistrates on their coins. Hence it would appear that the Graeco-Roman civilisation was far better established in the valley of Metropolis than in this district, as is evident from the contemporary inscriptions of Metropolis published in this number of the *Journal*. Development came with the spread of education and knowledge of Greek; the use of fine classical names began to be common at the end of the second century. The inscription bears witness to a prosperity and contentment remarkable to any one that knows the modern country. I doubt if any man in the district is now rich enough to subscribe twenty denarii to any purpose.

It is difficult to gather what relations existed between the *hieron* and the different towns, and what were the duties and powers of the officers, apparently two in number, called *ἑπαβευταί*. But the fact that coins of Amblada are known under Commodus and Caracalla proves that that town had its own magistracy and separate government. It is, however, quite possible that the *hieron* of Artemis was at the town of Amblada, and that the surrounding villages were dependent on it as the centre of authority.

*Note on Amblada.*—Although the point is of little importance, I am unwilling to leave it without stating distinctly the reasons which lead me to think that all the different towns named Amblada, Amplada, Ampelada, Amilanda, Amalanda, Amlada, are really only one town, situated beside the lake of Egerdir, possibly at Galandos. The occurrence of *n* before *d* in some cases, and its absence in others, show that the nasal sound was very slight; probably the *n* only marks a nasalised vowel, which was generally disregarded when the word was written in Greek letters. This weakness of the *n* before *d* has long been known as characteristic of the Pamphylian and Cyprian dialects, so that it is not strange to find it also in Pisidia.

If we set aside for the moment the evidence of our inscription,

it is evident that, after the identification of Anaboura,<sup>1</sup> &c., there are only two positions in which it is possible to place Amblada, the eastern shore of the Egerdir lake, say at Galandos, and the neighbourhood of Serki Serai. Now an examination shows that the evidence of Strabo and of Ptolemy is accurate and clear if they are referring to Galandos, but if they are referring to Serki Serai their language is exceedingly loose and inaccurate.

Strabo describes lake Caralis in connection with Lycaonia and its *ὀροπέδια*: he evidently conceives that the lake lies between Lycaonia and Pisidia. It is not consistent with this to place a Pisidian town east of the lake at Serki Serai. Again he says Amblada is one of the towns *τοῖς Φρυξίν ὄμοροι καὶ τῇ Καρίᾳ*. He considers the boundary between Phrygia and Pisidia to be a line running east and west a little south of Antioch and Apollonia. Galandos is then most clearly *Φρυξίν ὄμορος*, but Serki Serai is not. In the first place it is a long way south of the frontier-line: in the second place the town of Anaboura, which Strabo mentions, is right between Serki Serai and the frontier.

Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> places Neapolis due south of Antioch, Amblada south-west of Antioch and west of Neapolis.<sup>3</sup> This agrees exactly with Galandos, but is quite wrong if we think of Serki Serai. I am aware that Ptolemy is not always to be trusted implicitly, but I could quote several cases where he is absolutely accurate while modern geographers are quite wrong.

Again there is plenty of evidence to show that the neighbourhood of the lake of Egerdir is rich in grapes and in wine. I have already given one quotation to this effect: compare the following sentence translated from the *Djihannuma* of the Arab geographer Hadji Khalfa with the passage of Strabo about the medicinal wine of Amblada,<sup>4</sup> 'Bavlo est le nom d'une montagne auprès du lac d'Egerdir. Cette montagne abonde en raisins et en mûres blanches, dont on fait une espèce de vin cuit qui est fort estimé.' I know no evidence that grapes abounded on the east side of lake Caralis; the Isaurian mountains far to the south-east are the only other grape-growing district mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> See my paper, *Mittheil.* 1883, 'Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor.'

<sup>2</sup> I use the text of the Tauchnitz edition of Ptolemy.

<sup>3</sup> Neapolis is the same as Anaboura, see *Mittheil.*, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> See Vivien St. Martin, *Asie Mineure*, ii. 699.

The case would be too clear to need discussion were it not for the evidence of Hierocles, which is undoubtedly of the highest value. But M. Waddington has proved that his list of towns in Hellespontus is inaccurate,<sup>1</sup> and I feel compelled by the evidence quoted to believe that in this case he has been misled by the arrangement of the bishoprics, in which for some reason or other Amblada was attached to the metropolitan see of Iconium. This arrangement perhaps arose during the time when no province of Lycaonia existed, and when Iconium was a part of Pisidia.<sup>2</sup>

It is easy to give examples of such geographical irregularities in the arrangement of the bishoprics: I need here mention only Parlais, which I think I have proved to be a town in the south of Lycaonia, but which is always placed under Antioch of Pisidia.<sup>3</sup>

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>1</sup> Waddington on Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* No. 1011.

<sup>2</sup> The province of Lycaonia was formed later than the Concil. Sardicense, 347 A.D., perhaps later than Conc. Alexandr.

362 A.D., but was already in existence in 373 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> See 'Uned. Inscr. of As. Min.' No. 48 in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883.



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Metropolitanus Campus

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 4 (1883), pp. 53-72

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## METROPOLITANUS CAMPUS.

It may not be unsuitable to the purpose of this *Journal* to depart for once from the strictly scientific method, and describe shortly the problem of a 'Lost Phrygian City,' as it presents itself to the explorer both in its relation to ancient literature and in its actual modern features. I take the example of a city which played no part in ancient history, which is mentioned only twice or thrice incidentally in classical literature, where no known event took place and no person known to fame was born, which, in short, is about as insignificant as a city could well be, and I hope to show that the discovery even of such a little city may have interest and value for classical scholars.

The passage in which Livy describes the march of the consul Manlius on his piratical raid through Asia Minor is one of peculiar interest on many grounds, apart from its value for students of geography. There is no passage in the whole of Livy which is more obviously translated from a Greek original: it is therefore of great importance in the question of his relation to his authorities and of his trustworthiness in using them. Beyond the mere resolution of the true scholar to understand his author, there is the further incentive to study this particular passage that the author's historical character is to some extent dependent on it. Now the third recorded stage beyond Sagalassos in Manlius's march is the *Metropolitanus Campus*. Where in wide Phrygia was the Metropolitanus Campus?

When Alcibiades found that the game was lost among the Greek cities, he took to a roving life in Asia Minor, and at last was slain at a village between Metropolis and Synnada. The closing scene in the life of a man who was for a time the central figure in Greek history, however much of a scoundrel he may (like several other distinguished old Greeks) have been, is not wholly devoid of interest to Greek scholars.

Strabo quotes a sentence from Artemidorus describing the road that was formed under the Diadochi between Ephesus and Mazaca of Cappadocia, afterwards called Caesarea; the first station mentioned east of Apameia on this road is Metropolis. I shall not here dwell on the fact that viewed as a whole the history of Asia Minor for many centuries depends on this great artery of communication; I merely appeal to the desire, which every true scholar has, to understand thoroughly the author he reads.

To numismatists Metropolis has the interest that it presents to him the problem of unclassified coins. There is a Metropolis in Ionia, and there are two cities Metropolis in Phrygia; of the latter one was included in the province of Pisidia after 297 A.D., and may be distinguished as 'the southern Metropolis.' The coins of Metropolis may be divided into classes:—

(1) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΤΩΝΕΝΙΩΝΙΑ: Metropolis of Ionia.

(2) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ: one of the two cities Metropolis in Phrygia, and, as I shall prove here, the southern Metropolis.<sup>1</sup> The magistrate is the *πρώτος ἄρχων*.

(3) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, mentioning a *στρατηγός* as eponymous magistrate; these cannot have been coined by the southern Metropolis. They begin in the third century,<sup>2</sup> and the list of magistrates known to me includes eleven names.

(4) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, mentioning the games *CEBACTAKAICAPHA* (*sic*); one of this class mentions a *strategos*, so that these coins are struck by the same city that coined class (3). The choice is limited therefore to Metropolis of Ionia and the northern Metropolis. This class also belongs to the third century.

(5) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, and

(6) Coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ. Some of the coins in these two classes are certainly Phrygian. M. Wadding-

<sup>1</sup> I proposed this assignation on insufficient grounds in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* 1882, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Mionnet quotes from Sestini a coin of Antoninus Pius with the legend, ΕΠΙ.....ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.

ton bought one in the country (see his *Voyage Numismatique*), and I have seen several there, but unfortunately before I began to make a note of such coins. Others certainly belong to Metropolis of Ionia. I have not the opportunity of studying the coins belonging to these classes.

On October 25, 1881, our little party left Apameia, now called Dineir, the capital of Phrygia in the Graeco-Roman period. Our object was to trace the course of the important Roman road which led to Synnada, the modern town Tchifout Cassaba, 'Jews' Market,' and, as far as we could learn, the only direct route between the two towns crossed a valley called the Tchyl Ova. We climbed the steep ascent behind—*i.e.* east of—Apameia, crossed obliquely the plain of Aulocrene, now called Dombai Ova, 'Buffalo Valley,' and entered a ravine among the hills on the opposite side.<sup>1</sup> Our course was nearly north-east. Among the hills we several times observed cuttings in the rock; they marked the course of the Roman road, along which, as early as the time of Strabo, the huge monolithic columns of Phrygian marble were conveyed to the Aegean coast on their way to Rome. About sixteen or seventeen miles<sup>2</sup> from Apameia we reached the Tchyl Ova, a fertile valley about eleven miles long and four broad, completely surrounded by hills. The road goes straight along the valley which extends towards the north-east. In such a fertile valley on the great Roman high road some city must have stood, and it was at once resolved that we must find its remains. There are at least a dozen villages in the valley, and we began to search them one by one. The following day we found three inscriptions, a number of marbles, and traces of buildings at the village of Horrou on the north side of the valley, and above it on a hill there was said to be a *kale*, 'castle.' The *kale* showed evident traces of fortification, but little except fragments of glass and pottery to prove that a Roman city had occupied the site.<sup>3</sup> On the third day we came in the afternoon to Tatarly, near the other end of the valley;

<sup>1</sup> I have since regretted that we did not spend a day among the villages on the northern side of this valley, along the road to Sandukli, the ancient Hieropolis. I should now look for some Phrygian city on this road; but circumstances confined our whole journey within very narrow limits of time.

<sup>2</sup> I use the word mile always in the Roman sense.

<sup>3</sup> No coins, except a few Byzantine and autonomous coins of Apameia, could be found in the valley. A Greek emissary had recently crossed the valley, and bought every coin.

here we soon discovered that there were several inscriptions on stones half-buried in the cemetery, and the natives said that at the *kale* on a little hill over the village there were 'old stones' and 'old houses.' At the same time we made another less pleasant discovery: I had in the morning sent on the baggage and servants to a village which was said to be at an hour's distance, but in Tatarly the natives declared this village was four long hours' ride away, and already it was within three hours of sunset. It is injudicious to be far from camp after sunset in a half-populated country where no roads exist, but it was hard to desert the inscriptions. Especially tempting was one very large marble basis, on the under side of which we could see an inscription in big letters. We got out all the able-bodied men of the village, armed with the clumsy native picks and small trees to serve as levers, and proposed the magnificent reward of tenpence if they succeeded in turning round the big stone. I may say that I have dug up many Turkish cemeteries in Asia Minor, and never met with the slightest disapproval except once at Tyana in Cappadocia, where some veiled ladies came up, hot and angry, luckily just too late to hinder the men from uncovering an inscription for my benefit: in fact, so far as my experience goes, Turks are never so jovial and ready to lend a helping hand as when digging up the graves of their ancestors. After an hour's toil the stone was still unmoved, and the workmen began to relax their efforts. We raised our reward, and encouraged them by promising one shilling and fourpence; the judicious munificence produced good effect, and the stone was moved sufficiently for me to copy the inscription. The others were easily copied: we hurried off without visiting the *kale*, and luckily reached the camp without any misadventure except a long ride in the dark.

None of the inscriptions found in the valley contained the name of the town, and for the time it seemed that we had failed to discover our city. But in May 1882 I had the opportunity, during a journey in company with Sir Charles Wilson, of acquiring a wider knowledge of the country. It then became clear that the Metropolis where Manlius halted, and which lay on the road from Ephesus to Caesareia Mazaca, must have been in the Tchyl Ova, and that the valley is the Metropolitanus Campus. Passing through Paris in December 1882, it occurred to me that M. Waddington's wide knowledge of Phrygian



antiquities might enable him to identify some of the names mentioned on my inscriptions, and at the first glance he recognised that the person honoured in one of them was a magistrate mentioned on unedited coins bearing the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ.

Professor Hirschfeld has placed this southern Metropolis in the valley of Apollonia, and when writing on the topography of this district in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts zu Athen* for 1882, I could only follow his authority. Several of the arguments in my paper, therefore, cease to have any value; but the proposal made in it to assign the coins of class (2) to the southern Metropolis has since proved correct. As in the present paper I shall have occasion to differ from Professor Hirschfeld on several other points, I must here say that in the great majority of cases the sites which he assigns to Pisidian and Phrygian cities seem to me certainly correct, and that my divergence from his views is on points which he had not the opportunity of seeing so thoroughly. His journey made Pisidia, previously a *terra incognita*, one of the best known parts of Asia Minor.

## No. 1.

The place of honour is given, as is but fair, to the inscription on the large marble basis.

	ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
	ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
	ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΑΥΡ
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ
5	ΚΑΡΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΝΕ
	ΟΥΕΝΔΟΞΩC
	ΝΕΙΚΗCΑΝΤΑ
	ΘΙΚΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙ
	ΟΝΑΓΩΝΑΘΕΜΕ
10	ΩCΜΕΝΝΕΑΝ-C
	ΠΡΩΤΗCΔΟΘΕ
	CΙ-CΤ-ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑ
	Τ-ΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΥΠΟ
	ΤΟΥΠΑΠΠΟΥ
15	ΑΥΤΟΥ

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον Καρικοῦ Μεννέου ἐνδόξως νεικήσαντα [Πυ]θικῶν πανκράτιον ἀγῶνα Θέμεως Μεννεανῆς πρώτης δοθε[ί]σης τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ.

In a Themis or ἀγὼν θεματικὸς the prizes given to the victors in the sports were not mere garlands, but objects of value, sums of money, or even an honorary statue.<sup>1</sup> Such games were common in Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and we may from this inscription add southern Phrygia. The genitive of θέμις in this sense is usually θέμιδος, but in this and another inscription of Metropolis it is θέμεως. It was a feature of the Graecising civilisation of these countries that some wealthy citizen paid the expenses of the festival and was rewarded by having his name given to it; the custom recalls the choragic and similar liturgies in Athens, but it is quite contrary to the democratic pride of Athens that the name of any citizen should be given to the festival. If the donor was still living, it was usual that he should be *agonothetes*; if the games were celebrated with money bequeathed for the purpose, a relative of the donor often filled the office. So we find

(1) At Oinoanda a Θέμις ἀγώνων Εὐαρεστείων, in which the giver of the games, Julius Lucius Meidias Euarestos is ἀγωνοθέτης (*C. I. G.* 4380 *m.*).

(2) At Balboura a Θέμις, the gift of Meleagros Castor, whose grandson Thoantios is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου, and holds the games at least eleven times (*C. I. G.* 4380).

(3) At Sagalassos an Ἀγὼν Καλλιππιανείου, celebrated with money bequeathed by M. Ulpius Kallippianos, in which Q. Aurelius Diomedianus Alexander is ἀγωνοθέτης (*C. I. G.* 4369).

(4) At Side a Θέμις Παμφυλιακῇ Τουησιανείου, in which Aurelius Paioueinος Touesianos the donor is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (*C. I. G.* 4352).

(5) At Telmessos a Θέμις τετάρτη ἀγώνων Προκληιανῶν, in which M. Domitius Philippus is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (*C. I. G.* 4198).

<sup>1</sup> See Longperier in *Rev. Numism.* *As. Min.* No. 1209; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1869-70; Waddington on Lebas, *Inscr.* iii. p. 340.

(6) Unknown city. The first Themis Theodoreios in which the donor Aur. Theodoros is ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 340).<sup>1</sup>

In the First Menneanic Themis the pancration was won by Aurelius Alexander, grandson of the donor, whose name, therefore, must have been Menneas, and who, in the regular course, was doubtless agonothetes. The senate and the people of Metropolis placed an inscription in honour of the victory on the very large marble basis which gave us so much trouble to move, and on which there perhaps stood originally a statue of the victor in the character of an athlete. It must have been some unusual circumstance that prompted the state to do so, inasmuch as the cost of the Menneanic Themis was defrayed by Menneas. Moreover the expression *πρώτης* might be taken as a proof that the inscription was not composed till later Menneanic Themides had been celebrated. The general language of the inscription is peculiar, and suggests that at some later time the state commemorated the victory of Alexander in the pancration, 'when the First Menneanic Themis was given by his grandfather to his sweetest fatherland.' This supposition becomes a certainty when the following two inscriptions are compared:—

## No. 2.

At Horrou, six or seven miles away across the valley, engraved on a marble basis.

	ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕ
	ΑΥΡΜΕΝΝΕΑΣ
	ΔΕΜΕΩΣΑΓΩ
5	ΝΟΘΕΤΗΣΑΥΡ
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ
	ΤΙΣΙΟΥΠΡΟΤΡΕ
	ΥΑΜΕΝ-ΣΤ-ΣΠΟ
	ΩΣΕΝΔΟ
	ΩΣΑΓΩΝΙΣΑ
10	ΕΝΘΝΤΥΘΙ
	ΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙ
	ΔΟΝ

<sup>1</sup> See also Lebas, Nos. 1209, 1210, 1223, 1257, &c.

Ἑτείμησε Αὐρ. Μεννέας, [Θ]έμεως [ἀ]γωνοθ[έ]της, Αὐρ.  
Ἀλέξανδρον Τι[ε]ίου, προτρεψαμένης τῆς πόλεως, ἐνδόξως  
[ἀ]γωνισά[μ]ενον Πυθι[κ]ῶν πανκράτιον.

This is the honorary inscription, probably forming part of the prize (θέμα), put up by the agonothetes under the direction of the state,<sup>1</sup> in honour of the victor in the pancration. Aurelius Menneas, the agonothetes, places the inscription and therefore pays its cost. He is no doubt the same Menneas who, as we have seen, was donor and agonothetes of the Menneanic Themides. This Themis, in which Aurelius Alexander Tieiou won the pancration, must certainly be the first, otherwise the expression *δευτέρας* or *τρίτης* would be added, as in the following inscription and in many other cases. But we have just seen that the victor at the first Themis was grandson of the donor, and we can now restore the pedigree of the family as follows:—

Aurelius Menneas  
|  
[Aurelius] Karikos Menneas  
|  
Aurelius Alexandros Tieiou.

The peculiar indeclinable name Tieiou is quite in accordance with Phrygian analogy: we find *Μὴν Τιάμου*, *Μὴν Φαρνάκου*, *Μὴν Κάρον*. It is one of the last lingering traces of the pre-Greek languages of Asia Minor.

When I showed this inscription to M. Waddington, he recognised that Alexandros Tieiou was mentioned on two unedited coins of Metropolis of Phrygia in his collection. By his permission I here describe them:—

(1) *Obv.*—Radiated head of Decius, right:

ΑΥΤ.Κ.Γ.Μ.Κ.ΤΡΑΔΕΚΙΝΘΕ (*sic.*)

*Rev.*—Within a tetrastyle temple of Corinthian order, Cybele seated two-thirds turned to the left, holding a patera in the right hand, and having the left resting on a tympanum. On the ground on each side of her a lion. The pediment of the temple is quaintly ornamented with tracery and with four

<sup>1</sup> Compare τοῦ συλλόγου προτρεψα- Lydia, Μουσ. Σμυρν. Σχολ. Νο. σλα.  
μένου in an inscription from Teira of

objects like disks or phialai mesomphaloi, a large one in the centre and a smaller one in each corner.

ΠΑΡ.ΑΛΕΞΤΙΕΙΟΥΑΡΧΠΡ  
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ  
ΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 10 of Mionnet.

(2) *Obv.*—Bust of the empress to right.

ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ.

*Rev.*—Fortune standing, with cornucopia and rudder.

ΠΑΡ.ΑΛΕΞ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥ.ΠΡΩ.ΑΡ  
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦ

Size, 8 of Mionnet.

To these I add two other inedited coins from the collection of Mr. Lawson, mentioning the same magistrate,<sup>1</sup> which he has permitted me to publish.

(3) *Obv.*—Bust of Decius.

*Rev.*—Simulacrum resembling that of the Ephesian Artemis.

ΠΑ.ΑΛΕ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥΠΡΑΡ  
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 6 of Mionnet. A and P in monogram.

(4) *Obv.*—Bust of Decius.

*Rev.*—The god Mên standing slightly turned to the right hand, wearing the high Phrygian cap and a short tunic, with the crescent on his shoulders, holding a spear in the right and a patera in the left hand.

[Π]Α.ΑΛΕ.ΤΙΕΙΟΥΠΡ.ΑΡ.  
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥ

Size, 6 of Mionnet.

<sup>1</sup> One of them I described in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* 1882, p. 144, but with the inscription incomplete, and (through

a misprint which would have been corrected if I had seen the proof sheets), incorrect.

Alexander Tieiou was First Archon in the reign of Trajanus Decius, 249-51 A.D. We may therefore place the first Themis some time between 220 and 230. The family was evidently the richest in the valley of Metropolis, and is mentioned below in inscription (5). When Alexander was head of the family, the state perhaps recalled his victory as a young man in the pancration, and commemorated it by a statue and inscription.

The second Menneanic Themis, which is presupposed in our argument, is mentioned in the next inscription.

## No. 3.

On a small basis, buried upside down, in the cemetery at Tatarly: I could not uncover the first lines of the inscription.

5  
 CEΛEYKONBIA  
 NOPO ΠΟΥΔΕΝ  
 ΤΟΤΟΝΚΑΙΖΩ  
 ΤΙΚΟΝΝΕΙΚΗCΑΝ  
 ΤΑΕΝΔΟ ΩC  
 ΑΝΔΡΩΝΤΑΝ  
 ΚΡΑΤΙΟΝΘΕΜ  
 ΜΕΝΝΕΑΝΗΝ  
 ΔΕ ΤΕΡΑΝ

[ὁ δεῖνα ἀγωνοθέτης] ἐτείμησε Σέλευκον Βιάνορο[ς] Πού-  
 δεντος τὸν καὶ Ζωτικὸν νεικήσαντα ἐνδο[ξ]ῳ ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον  
 Θέμ[ιν] Μεννεανὴν δε[υ]τέραν.

## No. 4,

ΟΔΗΜΟC  
 ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΑΥΡ  
 ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΑΒ

ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμωνα β' κ.τ.λ.

This inscription also must belong to the third century, as both father and name are called Aur. Artemon. The custom

of making Aurelius an almost universal praenomen belongs to the third century, and probably began when Caracalla, whose name was Aurelius, extended the rights of citizenship over the whole empire.

## No. 5.

In a house at Tatarly on a slab of marble, quite complete, but the letters so worn as to be hardly legible.

ΑΥΡΑΛΕΞΑ

◇ΥΔΙΓ

ΑΥΡ ΑΕΞΑΝ

Ρ◇CMENNE

◇ΥΤ◇NEAY

Τ◇ΥΕΓΓ◇

N◇N

This inscription evidently belongs to the same rich family that we have learned about. Aurelius Alexander, son of Menneas, places it in honour of his grandson Aurelius Alexander. The word *δῖς* seems to occur in line 3, indicating that the father and grandfather of the person bore a name whose genitive ends in ◇Υ. But we have the name of the grandfather, and therefore assuming the reading *δῖς*, we can restore the inscription as follows. *Αὐρ. Ἀλέξα[νδρον Ἀλεξάνδρου δῖς Αὐρ. [Α]λέξαν[δ]ρος Μεννέου τὸν αὐτοῦ ἑγγονον.* It is highly probable that Aur. Alexander, son of Menneas, is identical with Aur. Alexander, son of Karikos Menneas in No. 1. Then the whole pedigree of the family during the third century is

```

Aur. Menneas
|
[Aur.] Karikos Menneas
|
Aur. Alexandros Tieiou, magistrate 250.
|
Aur. Alexandros
|
Aur. Alexandros.

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## No. 6.

The text of the inscription has been already published by Prof. Hirschfeld in his paper on Kelainai-Apameia. My copy is more complete than his, and gives the following reading with perfect certainty :—

ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Ἀπφίαν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀττ[α]λο[υ]  
Λουκίσκου ἱερασαμένην ἐπιφανῶς θεᾶς [Ἀρτέ]μιδος Τ[α]υρ[ο]-  
πόλου.

The Artemis Tauropolos of Metropolis is represented on a coin, described above, after the fashion of the Ephesian Artemis. The name Metropolis points to the worship of the Mother goddess as the chief cultus of the city.<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to think that Artemis was a distinct goddess from the Mêtêr, with a separate temple. There was a tendency to give Greek names to the gods of Phrygia,<sup>2</sup> and their native names are not often preserved. As the same deity presented analogies with several Greek deities, it was easy to give several different Greek names to one god. So at Iconium<sup>3</sup> we find a goddess called Achaia and identified with Demeter, but immediately afterwards styled *δεκάμαζος*, which indicates a goddess of the type of the Ephesian Artemis. The same double identification took place at Metropolis.

Pausanias gives a remarkable example of the way in which Greek legend supplanted native Phrygian legend under the influence of Graeco-Roman civilisation. A coffin with human bones of immense size had been found at Temenothyrai on the river Hyllos, and the people in general called them the bones of Geryones; but Pausanias argued that this was impossible, and found that those who were skilled in the antiquities of the district (οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταί)<sup>4</sup> assigned the bones to Hyllos,

<sup>1</sup> It is very extraordinary that Forbiger, *Alt. Geogr.* on Metropolis of Phrygia, should pronounce this derivation *lächerlich*.

<sup>2</sup> The same tendency has operated in Greece itself in many cases, see Foucart on Lebas, *Inscrip. Pelop.* No. 326a, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. G.* No. 4,000.

<sup>4</sup> The word *ἐξηγητής*, besides its technical sense in religious law, often denotes in Pausanias the persons who showed him over the sights of the district and expounded to him its antiquarian lore, hardly distinguishable from his *περιηγητής*, or 'guide.'



the son of Ge. Here we see that as early as 150 A.D. ordinary people had quite forgot their country legends and learned Greek mythology; and I have elsewhere proved that the people of Magnesia *ad Sipylum* had by this time substituted the Greek literary form of the Niobe and Tantalus legends for the native tales.<sup>1</sup>

## No. 7.

At Horrou, on a marble basis broken down the middle. The left half of the stone remained. Letters very much worn.

	ΤΟΝΓΗΚΑΙΟ
	ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ
	ΤΟΙΑΚΛΙΣΑΡΑ
	ΟΝΣΕΝΗΡΟΝΠΕΡΤ
5	ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΝ
	ΕΥΣΕΒΗ
	ΝΙΚΟΝ
	ΥΟΥΤΟΝΕΩΤΗΡΑ
	ΤΗΕΟΙΚΟ
10	ΩΝΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ
	ΛΩΓΑΥΡΖΩ

The letters in line 11 are very doubtful.

Τὸν γῆς καὶ θ[αλάσσης] δεσπότη[ν αὐτοκρά]το[ρ]α Καίσαρα  
[Δ. Σεπτίμι]ον Σεῦήρον Περτ[ίνακα] Αὔγουστον [μέγιστον?]  
Εὐσεβῇ [Ἀδιαβη]νικὸν [Παρθικὸν? ?] οὐ τὸν σωτήρα [πάσης]  
τῆς οἰκο[υμένης ἐκ τ]ῶν ἀναλωμ[άτων . . .]ω Γ. Αὐρ.  
Ζωσ[ίμου].

The formulas in this inscription show great ignorance of the proper official titles of the emperor. It is almost doubtful if it should not be restored as referring to M. Aurelius, *i.e.* Caracalla, who is sometimes styled Severus. The Roman V is borrowed to denote the non-Greek sound in this word.

I copied four other fragmentary inscriptions at Horrou,

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882, 'Sipylos and Cybele.'

Tatarly, and Oktchilar,<sup>1</sup> but they are so imperfect that it is unnecessary to publish them. Two were in Latin, one certainly sepulchral: Latin inscriptions are rarely found away from the Roman roads in Asia Minor.

These inscriptions do not give us much information about Metropolis: but they prove clearly that the city took a sudden start in prosperity during the third century, when the Roman Empire was growing so weak and rotten at its centre. This was confirmed by its coinage, which suddenly appears in considerable abundance during the reigns of Philip, Decius, and Gallienus. I will add another unedited coin from the collection of Mr. Whittall.<sup>2</sup>

*Obv.*—Bust of the empress Otacilia to right.

ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΩΤΑΚΙΑΙCΕΒ

*Rev.*—Fortune standing with rudder and cornucopia.

ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΦΡΥΓ

We recognise the same style of religion and of civilisation and of nomenclature that is characteristic of southern Phrygia and Pisidia at this period. Otrous, a town near Sandukli, strikes a number of coins at the beginning of the third century, generally bearing the name of Alexandros the Asiarch. So we find all over this district of Asia Minor, that one uniform Graeco-Roman type establishes itself firmly about 200 A.D. I believe that this civilisation and prosperity indicate the triumph of western manners and language in the district. Greek civilisation did not definitely supersede the native customs on the plateau till this period; the fortresses and cities on the great roads, by which the Greek kings maintained and consolidated their rule, were Greek, but the mass of the country was Phrygian or Pisidian in character. The mountainous districts of the Taurus were hardly thoroughly subdued by foreign manners even in the Byzantine period. The coinage of the small cities of upper Phrygia belongs to this late time, whereas the coinage of the

<sup>1</sup> A village two miles from Tatarly; perhaps Aktchilar, 'the cooks.' under Decius, in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* as cited above.

<sup>2</sup> I have published another struck

small cities of western Phrygia and Lydia begins in general a century or more earlier.

In May 1882 we traversed the district between Sagalassos, Apameia, and Apollonia, and directed our attention especially to the march of Manlius. Finally we came to the conclusion that there was nothing more to be said on the subject than any muleteer along the road could have told us. Manlius travelled with native guides (*ducibus itinerum acceptis*) along the direct and well defined road from Sagalassos to Synnada, the only road that is used by traders between the two places, past the village of Paradis, through the Dombai Ova and the Tchyl Ova. The subsequent discovery from inscriptions that Metropolis was in the Tchyl Ova makes this view quite certain. It is therefore not necessary to argue that Prof. Hirschfeld is wrong in thinking that Manlius traversed the valley of Apollonia.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand he is probably right in supposing that *Aporidos Come* is the village of Paradis, close to which the road does actually pass.

The words of Livy, describing the march from the plain of Sagalassos to Synnada, are as follows: *Progressus inde ad Rhotrinos fontes, ad vicum, quem Aporidos comen vocant, posuit castra. Eo Seleucus ab Apamea postero die venit. Aegros inde et inutilia impedimenta cum Apameam dimisisset, ducibus itinerum ab Seleuco acceptis, profectus eo die in Metropolitanum campum, postero die (Dinias, Dynias, Dymas?) Phrygiae processit. Inde Synnada venit.*

The valley of Sagalassos, Mamak Ovassi, is a beautiful and fertile little plain among the mountains: the modern village of Aghlasan, *i.e.* [Σ]ωγαλασσόν, lies at the northern end of the valley. High above it on the slope of the Aghlasan Dagħ lie the ruins of the ancient city; a long climb of thirty stadia<sup>2</sup> is needed to take the traveller from the modern village to the ancient city. The difference of level is from 1,000 to 1,200 feet.<sup>3</sup> The northward march encountered one serious obstacle—the lofty and precipitous mountain range extending east and

<sup>1</sup> *Gratulationschrift der Königsb. Univ. für d. Arch. Inst. in Rom*, 1879, and *Reisebericht in Monatsb. Berlin*, 1879. Previously Prof. Hirschfeld took the correct view that Metropolis was in the Tchyl Ova.

<sup>2</sup> *κατάβασις τριάκοντα σταδίων*, Strab. p. 569. He says that it is a day's journey from Apameia: the distance is now reckoned fourteen hours by the most direct path.

<sup>3</sup> 300 to 380 metres, Hirschfeld.

west, on whose southern slope Sagalassos was built. Two paths across the mountains were open to Manlius. One leads close beside the walls of Sagalassos, and crosses the mountains by a very steep and difficult pass, 2,000 feet above the plain, to Isbarta, the ancient Baris. The other leads westward by a longer route towards Buldur, and then goes along the salt lake Ascania. The two roads join near the village of Paradis, and henceforth the way to Synnada is direct and unmistakable. There is one very marked natural feature on its course through the Dombai Ova, viz. the fine springs of Bounarbashi, which rise from the foot of the rocks on the east side of the valley and flow down into the marshy lake, once called Aulocrene, in the hollow. Any native in describing the road would be sure to mention the springs.

Manlius took the road to Buldur, as Prof. Hirschfeld rightly says: so Alexander the Great did before him. Perhaps on the third day he might reach the springs of Bounarbashi: he could hardly do so sooner owing to the difficulty of marching across the mountains. Alexander took five days to reach Apameia, which is only a few miles further. Livy must mean Bounarbashi, when he speaks of *Rhotrinos Fontes*. There are no other fountains along the road; we inquired very carefully from many people in the neighbourhood. These springs are a landmark by the way, and any muleteer of the country would at once understand what place was meant if he were told about a fountain on the road from Cassaba to Aghlasan. I have therefore no doubt that *Rhotrini Fontes* were here in the Dombai Ova, just behind Apameia, at a distance of seven or eight miles. Here it was natural that Seleucus should come from Apameia to meet Manlius and take charge of the sick.

There is one difficulty in the text: Livy implies that Rhotrini Fontes and Aporidos Come were close together, but Paradis is at least twelve miles from the fountain in the Dombai Ova. It appears to me that, if we admit the identification of Paradis with Aporidos Come,<sup>1</sup> as I think we must, either there is a fault in Livy's account, i.e. a slight misrepresentation of the Greek original,<sup>2</sup> or the name Paradis has been transferred from its

<sup>1</sup> It must however be remembered that Acoridos or Acaridos may be the true reading.

<sup>2</sup> The original statement might have

been that Manlius passed near Aporidos Come, and encamped beside Rhotrinos Fontes.

ancient site to another at some distance, a phenomenon not unexampled in Asia Minor. The former supposition seems to me more probable, as Paradis is certainly an old site.

The name *Rhotrinos*, unknown elsewhere, is perhaps a corruption. On a coin of Apameia the name Callirhoe is given to this fountain: Mionnet describes the coin thus: 'Minerve casquée et vêtue d'une tunique, assise sur le mont Ida,<sup>1</sup> à gauche, et tournée vers la droite, jouant de la double flûte; derrière, un bouclier et la fontaine Callirhoée vomissant des eaux sur un cygne nageant; devant Marsyas sur le sommet d'une montagne, avec le *pallium*, les mains levées et se retournant.'

ΠΑ.ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ.ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗ.ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ (*Suppl.* VII. p. 514).

On this coin we have the whole myth of Athene and Marsyas with the locality, the fountain and lake, clearly represented. The fountain is named Callirhoe.

It is obvious that *Rhotrinos* cannot be a corruption of Callirhoe, which is probably a mere fashionable name given to the fountain under the influence of Graecising civilisation. It has, however, been suggested that the true reading is *Obrimae*, and this reading has been almost universally adopted. It would give a clear and easy solution to the difficulty about the course of the Obrimas. The Obrimas is mentioned by Pliny (v. 106) as one of the rivers of Apameia falling into the Maeander. Now the natives have always believed that the water of Lake Aulocrene passes under the mountain and emerges in Apameia as the Maeander and Marsyas. Hence Maximus Tyrius says: Φρύγες οἱ περὶ Κελαινὰς νεμόμενοι τιμῶσι ποταμούς· δύο, Μαρσύαν καὶ Μαίανδρον. εἶδον τοὺς ποταμούς· ἀφήσιν αὐτοὺς πηγὴν μίαν, ἣ προελθούσα ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ νότον τῆς πόλεως καὶ θίς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος διελούσα τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα.<sup>2</sup> We might then understand that the Obrimas is the water of Bounarbashi, and Professor Hirschfeld has made a similar suggestion, though not connecting the name with Bounarbashi. But I incline to another view. A reference to the plan of Apameia in Professor Hirschfeld's paper<sup>3</sup> shows that the Marsyas and the Maeander rise near each other, while the Orgas rises several miles away and flows down through the plain to the city. Before reaching the city it is

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Strab. xiii. p. 616.

<sup>3</sup> Apameia-Celaenae in *Berl. Abhand.*

<sup>2</sup> Dissert. viii. 8.

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joined by a stream which rises in two large springs, and flows for a hundred yards or more with a considerable body of water to join the Orgas. This stream, Indjerly Su, is not well represented in Professor Hirschfeld's map: it may be the Obrimas.<sup>1</sup> The four names of the rivers of Apameia are thus apportioned to the only four distinct streams; and the Obrimas is so small a stream that it is omitted by every writer except Pliny. I must add that, in all points except this one, Professor Hirschfeld seems to me quite correct in his discussion of the topography of Apameia.

Whether the reading *Rhotrinus* is correct or not, I believe that until further evidence is brought forward it must be retained in the text, and the reading *Obrimae* must be given up. One feels loath to quit this beautiful fountain, as loath as the traveller does to quit the shade of its trees and the murmur of the springs, and go on across the shelterless plain on a hot day in July. Hardly in Greece itself is there a place more sacred with legend. Here Athene threw aside her flute, and Marsyas picked it up; here Marsyas contended with Apollo, and on the plane beside the fountain he was hung up to be flayed. In the plain below, Lityerses was slain in the harvest-field by the sickles of the reapers.<sup>2</sup> The physical features of the plain are so striking that we need not wonder to find so many legends attached to it.

From Bounarbashi a long day's march of sixteen miles brought the Roman army into the Tchyl Ova, *Metropolitanus Campus*. Two days more, or perhaps three, were needed before they reached Synnada; unfortunately I travelled a great part of the road in the darkness of night, and am for the present unable to form any opinion as to the stage called *Dinias* or *Dynias* in the text of Livy. For the same reason I have nothing to say about the tomb of Alcibiades, erected by Hadrian, which Athenaeus saw on the road between Metropolis and Synnada. In the paper on the topography of this district already referred to, I brought forward some arguments to show that the northern

<sup>1</sup> It has such a short course that Strabo, giving a very accurate and distinct account of Apameia, mentions Marsyas, Maeander, and Orgas, but omits Obrimas.

<sup>2</sup> Michaelis, *Annali*, 1858; Ruhl, *Zft. f. Oesterr. Gymnas.* 1882. This last paper is not accessible to me. Pliny (xvi. 89) mentions the plane-tree on which Marsyas was fastened.

Metropolis was on the road between Synnada and Prymnessos at the modern village of Surmeneh. Several of these arguments were founded on the mistaken idea that the southern Metropolis was in the plain of Apollonia. I still think it highly probable that the northern Metropolis was at Surmeneh, but I should now look for Melissa, where Alcibiades was buried, on the south and not on the north of Synnada.<sup>1</sup>

*Note on Aulocrene.*—The myth of Marsyas and Apollo implies as its scene a place where reeds abounded. The basis of the legend is undoubtedly the contrast between the music of the lyre employed in the worship of the Ionian Apollo Citharoedos and of the flute used in the religion of southern Phrygia. The Ionian Greeks were in direct communication with southern Phrygia by the Lycus valley route,<sup>2</sup> and Celainai was therefore a natural place in which to localise the mythical contest. The myth must be placed where the reeds from which the earliest simplest kind of flute was made abounded.<sup>3</sup> The actual course of the little river Marsyas does not and could not in ancient time have afforded such a scene, but the lake from which it was believed to rise is not much more than a reedy marsh. Here therefore the scene was laid.

The name Aulocrene was certainly understood by the Greeks to mean 'the flute-spring,' but this is not the kind of name that we should expect to find in the heart of Phrygia. It seems however to be, not a name coined by writers and learned persons, but a genuine popular name, for Pliny mentions that the whole valley was named Aulocrene. The Byzantine lists, a storehouse of information not yet properly used, come to our aid in this difficulty. We find at *Conc. Chalced.* 451 A.D., *Conc. Rom.* 503, in Hierocles, and in *Not. Episc.* i., vii., viii., ix., a bishopric, Aurocra, Aulocra, or Abrocla. The commonest form of the local adjective in Asia Minor ends in -ηνός, fem. -ηνή: in this case we have *Ἀύλοκρηνός*, *Ἀύλοκρηνή*, from which it was easy for Greek literature to make *Ἀύλοκρήνη* by a mere change of accent.

<sup>1</sup> I need not here repeat the remarks about the assignation of classes (3) and (4) of the coins of Metropolis to the northern Metropolis, as given in the above-mentioned article, and in the

additional remarks in the same Journal 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hipponax, *Fragm.* 46 [30].

<sup>3</sup> See Flach, *Gesch. d. griech. Lyrik*, p. 77 f.

Aulocra was a mere village, which is not likely to have left any remains: Hierocles calls it *dêmos Auracleia*. The boundary between the Byzantine provinces, Phrygia Salutaris and Pisidia, must have crossed the valley, and Aulocra is always attached to the former province. This is remarkable, as Aulocra must under the Roman empire, when the power of the Asian cities was not discouraged, have been one of the many villages subject to *Apameia*: *πολλὰς εὐδαίμονας κόμας ὑπηκόους ἔχετε*, Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxxv.

Probably the same Graecising tendency has affected the name of the fountain on coins of Ceretapa, Aulindenos. This name also is an adjective derived from Aulinda, which is probably altered from the native form Alinda to give a connection with *αὐλός*, flute. Alinda is a Carian name, probably derived from *ala*, the Carian word meaning 'horse,' an exceedingly common element in local names of Asia Minor.

W. M. RAMSAY.



On the Early Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia

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Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Apr., 1883), pp. 100-135

Published by: [Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland](#)

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ART. III.—*On the Early Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia.* By W. M. RAMSAY, Esq.

I.—THE ROYAL ROAD.

THE following account of the early relations between the countries east and west of the Illys is the result of a journey made from Smyrna by the Hermus valley, Doghanlu, Angora, Boghaz Keui, and Euyuk to Sivas (May 13 to June 29, 1881), on which Col. Sir Charles Wilson kindly invited me to accompany him.<sup>1</sup> The Roman roads of the district were a frequent topic of conversation; and the knowledge of the routes, on which this article rests, has been gained from his skill. I afterwards found that the information I had thus acquired from him of the Roman road-system had an important bearing on the early history of these countries.

There is a great obstacle to communication between the Aegean coast and the immense plateau, 3500 feet high, which forms the greater part of Asia Minor. From the central plateau ranges of mountains, separated by deep valleys, run out to the west; rivers spring from the edge of the plateau, and flow to the Aegean through gorges which gradually open out to level fertile valleys; but mountains, rarely practicable except on foot, often not even on foot, separate the valleys from the plateau. One easy path, and one alone, has been marked out by nature. It leads up the Maeander to the junction of the Lycus, and then along the

<sup>1</sup> The paper was intended for publication in the last Number of this Journal, and was completed in all essential features last September; it was delayed in order to see whether a second journey in Phrygia might modify or add to the views here expressed. The delay has enabled me to speak of the Maeander route from personal knowledge, to add insert. 4, 5, 6, 11, and 12, and to insert many corroborative details.

Lycus, through Colossae, past the salt lake and the old town of Anava<sup>1</sup> to Celaenae and the fountains of the Maeander. Along the whole road there is no perceptible slope, till near Celaenae it descends into the valley, through which the Maeander flows north and west. Apameia-Celaenae lies just below the great central plateau, which is divided by a perfect mountain-wall from the deep-lying valley of the Maeander. Under this mountain-wall comes the water from the lake Aulocrene on the plateau above, and gushes forth in many fountains, which, uniting in front of the city, make the Maeander at once a considerable stream. The road ascends the mountain-side obliquely, and has then the plateau stretching open in front of it for a thousand miles away. This road was used by trade from an early time. Artemidorus describes it as it existed under the Persian empire, and gives all measurements from Ephesus to Susa.<sup>2</sup>

We learn from Hipponax that Phrygian traders came to Miletus (fr. 36); they doubtless came down the Lycus route to Miletus, which was the natural sea-outlet till its harbour was filled up by the Maeander. Herodotus had gone up as far as Celaenae, but no further (Matzat, *Hermes* vi. p. 406). Xerxes descended by the same route when marching to attack Greece; Cyrus went up by it to attack Artaxerxes; the Roman commerce with Phrygia and the mighty blocks of Docimian marble (Strab. p. 577) followed this route; so did the caravans till lately;<sup>3</sup> and, henceforth, the railway

<sup>1</sup> Anava (Herod. vii. 24) was situated at the modern village Sari Kavak, 'Yel-low Poplar,' an hour east of Chardak, overlooking the lake whence people still get salt as they did in the time of Herodotus. Considerable traces of the city remain, including a curious old doorway of pre-Hellenic style.

<sup>2</sup> In Caria 740 st., towns Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Nysa, Antiocheia, Caroura; in Phrygia, 920 st., towns Laodiceia, Apameia, Metropolis, Chelidonium, Holmoi; in Phrygia, Paroreia rather more than 500 st., towns Philomelion, Tyriaion; in Lycania, 840 st., towns Laodiceia Katakekaumene, Koropassos; thence over Cappadocia by Garsaura (120 st.), Soandos, Sadakora to Mazaka, 800st. (Strab. p. 663). Pliny refers to this road, ii. 172, v. 106, xvi. 240; distance from Mazaka to Ephesus cccxv m. p. Xenophon gives the distances—Sardis to Apameia 50 parasangs (Sardis-Apameia = Ephesus-Apameia), Colossae to Apameia 20, Peltae 10, Keramon Agora 12. Kauston Pedion 30, Thymbria 10, Tyriaion 10, Iconion 20, through Lycania 30, through Cappadocia to Dana 25; whence he crossed the mountains to Cilicia. The parasang is 30 short stadia of 480 feet measured by a *bematistes* (Hirschfeld, *Apameia-Celaenae*, p. 8).

<sup>3</sup> When the Hermus valley railway was extended to Philadelphia, trade from

will make this route the great artery of intercourse with the interior.

On the other hand, the Maeander valley proper is an almost impassable defile above the junction with the Lycus, while the upper Hermus valley, though not so difficult, offers some long and narrow gorges, which will make the proposed railway very expensive.

It seems then easy to see the path by which civilization was carried from the east to the west of Asia Minor, and yet, on examination, it becomes certain that the Lycus route was not the one used in early time. In the explanation of this seeming contradiction lies the clue to the early history of Asia Minor.

The legends of Marsyas, Midas and Ictyrses show that the Greeks of the coast knew very early of the Phrygian inhabitants and of the remarkable natural features of Celacnae. But these myths form only a small proportion of the body of Phrygian legend, which is chiefly connected with Northern Phrygia. The Phrygia of legend is the Sangarius valley, the kings of Phrygia are the descendants of the Sangarius, and their legendary battles with the Amazons are fought on its banks (*Iliad* iii. 186).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Persian "Royal Road" from Ephesus to Susa, described by Herodotus (v. 49), crossed Mt. Tmolus to Sardis, and thence went on to the Halys over the very country where Phrygian legend has its special home. This route is very much longer than the other, besides being infinitely more difficult.<sup>2</sup> How comes it that the Persians, with the direct and easy route already known to commerce perhaps as early as the time of Xerxes' march, preferred the longer and more difficult one? The historical circumstances of the fifth and sixth centuries afford no answer to this question; it can be answered only by

the interior was diverted to this route. Now when the Ottoman line is extended to the Lycus junction, trade will resume the old path.

<sup>1</sup> I have no sympathy with the view that recognizes in the Phrygia of the Homeric poems merely the district beside the lake Ascannia. *Iliad* iii. 186, and the phrase of the Hymn to Aphrodite, *Φρυγίης ἐβρείχτροιο*, seem to me decisive against it.

<sup>2</sup> No one who has travelled both will accuse me of overstating the difficulty of the Hermus route or the ease of the Lycus route.

going back to an older time when different centres of power made this route the necessary one.

In the northern part of Cappadocia, about ten hours east of the Halys, at the village of Boghaz-keui, are the ruins of a great city. Its walls, which are of great circumference, and include several hills, two small streams, and a considerable portion of the plain in front of the hills, are fourteen feet thick on the hills, and were apparently still stronger on the plain. I need not here repeat the description which M. Perrot<sup>1</sup> has given well, though incompletely; nor need I again state his convincing proof that the city is the Pteria of Herodotus and Stephanus. The character of the city and of the immense palace or temple in it is clearly Oriental, and there can be no doubt that this was the capital, or at least one of the strongest cities of a genuinely Oriental power which ruled over a wide country. A place of such size and magnificence implies the existence of a strong political power.

The situation beyond the Halys, in the northern part of Cappadocia, must be noted. The Halys has always been a boundary river. The expressions "within" or "beyond the Halys" occur frequently; we never find "beyond the Sangarius." The Halys, then, was the boundary between the east and the west. The empire of Assyria never crossed it, and it was the limit between the Lydians and the Medes (Hdt. i. 72); when Croesus declared war against the Medes, he marched straight on Pteria, as the chief seat of his enemy. The road from the east to Sinope, in early Greek history the chief route for Oriental commerce (Curt. *Gesch.*

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage Archéol. en Galatie*, etc., p. 323 ff. Stein on Herod. i. 76 doubts that Boghaz-keui is Pteria. In that case one would simply have to read throughout the present article Boghaz-keui instead of Pteria; the reasoning is not dependent on the name. The ruins of Boghaz-keui show what its character was; according to Stein, Croesus must have passed by this chief seat of his enemy and attacked some place on the coast near the mouth of the Halys. But (1) it is in the highest degree improbable that a great Oriental city so situated should either have disappeared completely or escaped the notice of travellers; (2) Herodotus implies that Croesus attacked the strongest seat of the Oriental power; (3) it seems to me quite certain that Boghaz-keui was the chief seat of that power. Against these arguments it seems injudicious to press so much the force of *kard*, even admitting the interpretation of Stein, which I think misses the true character of the preposition. Stephanus has the form Pterion, Herodotus Pterie.

Gr. i. p. 405), must have passed through Pteria;<sup>1</sup> no doubt that colony owed its great prosperity in early times to the fact that it was the nearest point of the coast to the great Oriental centre. Hence, Herodotus defines the position of Pteria for his Greek readers by the words, ἡ δὲ Πτερὶή ἐστι τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον κατὰ Σιώνην πόλιν . . . μάλιστα κη κειμένη (i. 76).

It is not yet possible to speak of the relation which existed between Pteria and the great empires of the east; we know not how far it was the head of an independent monarchy, or how often it was merely subject to Carchemish or Nineveh. It does not indeed lie within the scope of this paper to treat of the relation between Cappadocia and the East, but only of its influence on the civilization of Western Asia Minor; the former task must be left to abler hands. It will doubtless, with better knowledge of the country, become possible to trace the path of government, of commerce, and of civilization, across Cappadocia, by means of the rock-cut monuments, and of the important religious centres of the country. A little west of the Cilician gates are the rock-sculptures and inscriptions beside Eregli; at Tyana we found a stone with similar sculpture and inscription; further north, near Ghurun are two rock-inscriptions discovered by Sir C. Wilson: Comana was the greatest Cappadocian sanctuary of later days.

The "Royal Road" dates from the time when Sardis and Pteria were the two chief cities of Asia Minor, and when they were in regular communication with one another. The civilization and merchandize of the east were brought from Pteria to Phrygia and Sardis across the Halys. The road could hardly be used except for peaceful communication. An army could scarcely traverse the gorges of the Hermus, and both Xerxes<sup>2</sup> and Cyrus the Younger were obliged to take

<sup>1</sup> The road between Sinope and Pteria probably went, like the modern path, due south by Boiwad. It traverses a very difficult country.

<sup>2</sup> According to Herodotus, Xerxes crossed the Halys into Phrygia, but here he diverged south to Celaenae; if this account is correct, Xerxes followed the "Royal Road" for some time, but came round by Celaenae in order to avoid the Hermus route, which was impracticable for an army.

the Lycus route. Can it be believed that Darius would have chosen this way for his Royal Road unless he had found it ready made to his hand ?

Kirchhoff and Hirschfeld<sup>1</sup> have both recognized the necessity of explaining the peculiar path taken by the Persian Road ; the theory which they adopt is different from the one which I have given. They consider that the western part of the road was constructed to join the old trade road between Sinope and the East, but this leaves unexplained the original difficulty, viz. why the point of junction was placed so far away to the north. Nothing that I have said conflicts with their remarks, but I have added a new element to the theory.

But direct proof that such a road existed before the Persian rule can be added to the indirect argument hitherto given.<sup>2</sup> In the first place, Herodotus asserts that before 500 B.C. this road existed, and was known by Aristagorus. But if it existed before 500 B.C., it was probably made before the Persian rule. Darius had not as yet had time to consolidate his empire and form the lines of communication on such a vast scale as this road implies. The earlier years of his reign were spent in continuous wars.

Secondly, the bridge by which the road crossed the Halys existed in the reign of Croesus (Herod. i. 75) ; and a bridge implies a road in regular use.

Thirdly, the Lydian kings seem to have paid some attention to the road system of their empire, and to have perhaps even measured them ; this may be gathered from Herodotus's account of the roads in the Maeander and Lycus valleys, and the boundary pillar erected by Croesus at the fork of the roads in Kydrara (vii. 30).

Fourthly, this road explains why the old Greek mythology localizes most of its Phrygian myths in the Sangarius valley.

<sup>1</sup> Berl. Monatsb. 1857, p. 126 f. ; Hirschfeld, *Apameia-Celaenae*, p. 7 (extr. fr. *Berl. Abhandl.* 1875).

<sup>2</sup> It is now admitted that the eastern half of the Royal Road existed long before the Persian rule ; see Stein on Herod. v. 52, p. 52.

Fifthly, all the important centres of Phrygian commerce, except Apameia, such as Pessinus and Gordium, the chief religious centres similar to Comana, all the most remarkable Phrygian monuments with one exception,<sup>1</sup> and the chief remains of early Phrygia, lie along this road.

If the Royal Road was originally the road between Sardis and Pteria, the capitals of the West and East, its formation cannot be later than the accession of the Mermnad dynasty, 687 B.C., when the attention of the Lydians was diverted from the East and turned towards the Greeks. On the other hand, it is well known that the Heracleid kings did not trouble themselves about the coast-line, but looked towards the East. A consideration of the early history of Lydia makes it probable that the beginning of the power of Sardis is contemporaneous with the formation of a permanent road. It is a most important and wide-reaching fact that intercourse between Cappadocia and Lydia existed sufficient to form for itself a regular road at least as early as the ninth B.C.; this fact, if it be admitted, is the key to the whole history of the country in early time. In another place I have argued that the art and therefore the whole civilization of Northern Phrygia is derived from Pteria; and long before Greek influence began to penetrate into Phrygia we are obliged to consider that the civilization of Pteria must have been spreading westwards, and its growing ascendancy in Phrygia and Lydia demanded facility for communication with the East. We shall hardly be wrong in tracing this advance of Cappadocian influence to the expansive power of its religion. It is impossible among a primitive people for such interchange of ideas to take place except under the influence of religion. Art in its earliest stages is hieratic, and this character certainly belongs to almost every rock-sculpture in Lydia, Phrygia, or Cappadocia. It was therefore as the servant of religion that art diffused itself westwards.

<sup>1</sup> The tomb of Mygdon, at Stectorion near Apameia, Paus. x. 27.



One might also explain the resemblance of Cappadocian and Phrygian civilization by an actual conquest of Phrygia and Lydia. But its own proselytizing power, and not conquest, spread this religion over Thrace and Macedonia into Greece; and the presumption is that it spread in a similar way over Phrygia and Lydia.<sup>1</sup> It must however be left to future investigation to determine whether Western Asia Minor was ever actually conquered by the Cappadocians. This religion developed wherever it went great religious centres, where a hierarchy of priests ruled over a district peopled by Hierodouloi; at Ephesus and at Comana, the west and the east, the same character is apparent. It is now no longer a matter of doubt that the civilization of Asia Minor always tended to this character, and that secular rule was a development of later time, perhaps always more or less under Greek influence. Strabo (p. 535) has described the gradual growth of kingly power beside that of the priesthood in Comana; and we shall probably not be wrong in believing that the Phrygian kings in like manner were in close relation with the priesthood.

Let us now try to follow this road step by step, following the line between Pteria and Sardis; we shall then find that we go along a series of great cities and priestly centres, some of which sank into insignificance during the historical period, and retained only the recollection of their former greatness. It crossed the Halys by a bridge<sup>2</sup> which was strongly guarded, *πύλαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξέλδσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, καὶ οὕτω διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμόν· καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ*. These *phylakteria*, which Herodotus mentions also in Armenia and at the Cilician Gates, were originally, doubtless, barriers where every traveller crossing from one country to another was carefully scrutinized. It is clear

<sup>1</sup> I hope hereafter to trace the southern road across the peninsula by Iconium, and to show that it also grew through the spread of religion and civilization, not through foreign conquest.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus distinguishes throughout those rivers that were crossed by boat, *νησὶ περιητός*, and he tells us that Croesus had a bridge to cross the Halys (i. 75).

that the road and bridge existed when the Halys was a boundary river between Lydia and Cappadocia; the guard-house perhaps dates from the time when the limits between Lydia and Media were fixed at the Halys, and the relations between the two countries settled by treaty, 585 B.C.

From the words of Herodotus, one is tempted to believe that the very place of the crossing may still be traced. A bridge made at so early a period was probably placed where nature offered special facility, and we might hope that the crossing would strike the eye of any traveller by some marked features. It was perhaps situated at the very place where we crossed by a Turkish bridge last June. In going from Ancyra to Yuzgat, six hours south of Pteria, we took not the north road by Kalejik, which Perrot followed, but another road that crosses the Halys further south at a very remarkable place. The broad river flowing north through a wide level plain is obstructed by a great mass of rocks, through the heart of which it forces its way in a deep narrow chasm. The point where the river suddenly contracts is, as Sir C. Wilson remarked,<sup>1</sup> exactly the place where a bridge of an early period might be looked for.

The north road by Kalejik is nearer the direct route between Ancyra and Pteria than the south road. One must suppose that the southern and longer route was preferred from the facility of the bridge over the Halys; and the route coincides better with known remains. On the road leading direct south from Boghazkeui to Yuzgat, we found half-way an artificial mound: Sir C. Wilson said that this was the point where the road from Tavium would naturally join the road we were travelling, and that the mound might mark the site of a guard-house. Between the mound and

<sup>1</sup> The remark was made with reference to the Roman period, when the principle of the arch was thoroughly developed. Close to the eastern bank there is a large artificial mound, such as are very common in Cappadocia and Lycæonia, and were called by the ancients "mounds of Semiramis." Strabo attributes to the Syrians the invention of roads, bridges, and artificial mounds, p. 736.

Boghazkeui, the road goes through a long narrow glen, and Pteria was placed on the hills at the point where this glen opens to the north on a wide plain. The Royal Road may have traversed this glen, passed the artificial mound, and gone on straight to Tavium, whose cultus of Zeus was one of the chief religions of Eastern Galatia. From Tavium the southern route to Ancyra is more direct than the northern, though it would appear that the later Roman road took the northern. Two mile-stones, the thirty-fifth and thirty-ninth, have been found at Kalejik (C.I.L. iii. 309, 310); they must mark the Roman road.

After crossing the Halys, the Royal Road probably went by Ancyra, the name of which marks it as an old Phrygian city, while its foundation was attributed to Midas (Paus. i. 4, 5). Some remains of its early art still exist (Perrot, p. 224 and pl. 32). A fine lion in relief on a slab of stone, built into a Turkish fountain, shows the peculiar art of Asia Minor at its best. M. Perrot also gives a photograph of a marble lion in Angora; it is carved in the round, and is much decayed. At the crossing of the Halys, there sits by the roadside a lion also of marble, which may perhaps also belong to an early period. The natives spoke of cuttings among the rocks beside the bridge, but I did not succeed in finding anything except one small niche of peculiar form.

From Ancyra the road went by Gordium. The site of this town has not yet been found, but after Mordtmann's excellent discussion,<sup>1</sup> no doubt remains that it is in the Haimaneh district, west from Pessinus, on the other side of the Halys. The Royal Road must therefore have passed close to the rock-cut monuments of Giaour-Kulessi in the Haimaneh, whose similarity at once to the pseudo-Sesostris figures near Nymphio and the sculptures of Pteria, is so marked. Gordium was one of the great commercial towns of Phrygia (Livy, xxxviii. 18).

From Gordium the road crossed the Sangarius to Pessinus,

<sup>1</sup> "Gordium, Pessinus, Sivri Hisar," in *Munch. Gel. Anz.* 1861; Perrot, p. 154.

the most famous of all the centres of Cybele-worship, and also a great commercial city (Strab. xii. p. 567).

Next it passed by Orcistos, the old city which, in its later decline, still boasted of the ancient roads that passed through it and of the early kings who glorified its history (see Mommsen's commentary on C.I.L. iii. No. 352, p. 67). In another place I have traced the gradual decay of Orcistos and the other ancient cities of the district, and the rise of the later city Nacoleia, showing the connexion between the prosperity of each and the road on which it lay.<sup>1</sup>

Thence the road went straight west to cross the Phrygian mountains. It passed through the rock necropolis beside the Tomb of Midas, and close to the important city, which has been described in Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882, pt. i. At the point where it entered on the valley in which these remains are situated a strong fort on a rocky hill commanded it; this fort, now called Pishmish Kalessi, has been described and engraved by M. Perrot (p. 144 and pl. 8). The road can still be actually traced in the rock beneath the fort, and a few miles north-west, beside Doghanlu Kulesi. In corroboration of this bold statement, I may quote a sentence from a letter of Sir C. Wilson, written from quite another point of view: "The fragments of a road we saw near the old Phrygian city . . . I could not be certain of without laying down my sketches; it at any rate crossed the Phrygian mountains more or less at right angles." The road is made like the early Greek roads, described by Col. Mure (*Tour in Greece*, ii. p. 251) and by Curtius (*Gesch. d. Wegebaus b. d. Gr.* p. 13). Two parallel ruts for carriage-wheels to run easily are cut in the rock.<sup>2</sup> I have traced exactly such a rock at Phocaea, coming from the old mill-stone quarries down to the water. This road is therefore no Roman work, it belongs to an older stage of civilization and an older system of routes.

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882, pt. i. "Inserr. fr. Nacoleia."

<sup>2</sup> I have unfortunately no note of the breadth between the wheels. On the breadth of Greek waggon-roads see Mitth. Inst. Ath. iii. p. 29.

It went on slightly north of west to Kirká (i.e. "Forty Aghas"), where an old village named Pontanos was situated in the Roman period. At this point it crossed the mountains, which form a plateau running north and south with perpendicular sides. Thence the course of the road is quite uncertain:<sup>1</sup> it joined the Hermus valley at some point, and crossed the Katakekaumene probably near Coloe, the great priestly centre of the district. It entered the middle Hermus valley just opposite Sardis, passed close beside lake Coloe and the Lydian necropolis, and ended at the nearest strong point on the opposite mountains, the steep hill on which Sardis was founded.

Such was the main road across Asia Minor in the earliest period to which our knowledge extends: it was maintained in defiance of the natural difficulties, through the necessity for intercourse between Sardis and the north-east; and when Sardis ceased to be a capital city and Pteria disappeared from history, this road also sank into decay. It was unsuited for a commercial route, and trade with the east either turned towards Sinope, or was under the Persians carried across Lycaonia to Celaenae and the Lycus valley. The latter road is the one of which we hear throughout the Greek and the Roman period; but Strabo (p. 539) knew that it was not an ancient route. The red earth of Cappadocia was called Sinopic, being brought by Sinope before the land trade-route had grown. Another probable route of this early period has been described in the *Bulletin de Corresp. Hell.* 1882 (July); it led from the city of the Midas-Necropolis by Ayazeen and Hieropolis (Sandukli), in an almost straight line south to Celaenae.

As civilization found new centres, a new road-system was

<sup>1</sup> It perhaps passed through Bennisoa (Altuntash), with its priestly college, Bennecitai, of Zeus Benuios. This supposition connects it with a religious centre, and coincides with a route marked by nature and still followed, by Ushak and Koula. It may also have gone through Konui, a still unknown site, which was certainly not very far from the line of the road. The name may be an old religious one, like Apollo Kunneios with his hereditary priests the Kunnidai at Athens. The most probable route however is by Ancyra, and thence down the Hermus by Kadoi to Coloe.

required. The connection between Asia Minor and the East was broken. The Hellenistic and Roman periods encouraged a system in which Ephesus was the port where the merchandise of Asia Minor was collected for transport to the West. Apameia-Celaenae and Mazaca-Caesareia were the two chief emporia of the interior, to which the productions of the country were brought, and the great road was that which connected these three important cities. The foundation of Constantinople introduced a new centre and a new system of roads, which has lasted till the present time. The great lines of communication all lead to Constantinople. Apameia is now no longer on the direct road; and though nothing can altogether neutralize the advantages of its splendid situation, which will become once more apparent when the railway reaches it, its history has been a declining one ever since the foundation of Constantinople. Caesareia-Mazaca, on the contrary, continued as important as ever under the new system. It is as well placed for the connexion with Constantinople as for that with Ephesus and Rome, and it continues to be the great eastern centre of trade.

Each of these three periods in the history of Asia Minor must be separately studied; in each it will be found that certain points are of great importance, which are of no consequence in the others, and hardly a case exists where the same city has maintained its importance through all three. In the first period Sinope and Miletus for the sea-borne traffic, Pteria and Sardis for the land roads, were the chief centres. In the second period, Ephesus,<sup>1</sup> Apameia and Caesareia took their place. In the third period, all tend to Constantinople.

<sup>1</sup> Ephesus takes the place which Miletus or any port on the Maeander valley would have held had their harbours remained open. In later time Ephesus also lost its harbour, and trade passed to Smyrna.

II.—THE ROCK-SCULPTURES OF BOGHAZKEUI AND EUYUK.<sup>1</sup>

The wonderful rock-sculptures near Pteria are, as M. Perrot has proved, a series of religious representations. I believe that their explanation has been hindered by one misconception of Perrot's, whose account is in general accurate and sympathetic. Many of the figures which he considers male seemed to me undoubtedly female. I came to Pteria fresh from the perusal at Ancyra of the only copy of M. Perrot's *Voyage* that exists in Asia Minor; but, after two hours' examination, Sir C. Wilson and I both came independently to the same conclusion, that the majority of the figures were female. We were fortunately able to remain a second day at Pteria, and I spent about five hours examining every figure specially in this regard. In many cases the sex is quite uncertain, but only a few are certainly male, and a large number are certainly female. On the whole, I came to the conclusion that the sculptures were the monument of a religion in which the female sex played a much more important part than the male, and that in various cases where the sex was doubtful, the probability lay on the female side. Bachofen (*das Mutterrecht*), along with many untenable hypotheses, has shown how great an influence belonged to the woman in Asia Minor, and this influence is of course creative of or dependent on religious sanction: and Gelzer has proved that the Lydian religion attached special importance to the female (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxv. p. 516). The character of the sculptures at Pteria is therefore in accordance with the analogy of Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup>

Two facts suggest a false idea as to the sex of the figures. In the first place the great mass of the figures fall into two long lines turned towards a central point. The series of figures on the left is headed by three gods, that on the right

<sup>1</sup> These notes are printed solely from the wish to call attention to a remarkable series of sculptures, which have as yet been almost completely neglected. In our hurried journey there was no opportunity of examining them sufficiently. Now Herr Hermann has been charged with the duty of bringing casts to the Berlin Museum, and there is every reason to hope that the sculptures will soon be accessible to study.

<sup>2</sup> This view was not suggested by a preconceived theory; in reality it suggested ideas which have gradually led to the general theory of early history in Asia Minor here and elsewhere expressed.

by a goddess; almost all the figures on the right are clearly female, several of those on the left are equally clearly male. Hence the idea arose that the figures of the right are female, of the left male. But this idea cannot be carried out completely. The goddess who leads the procession on the right is followed immediately by a youthful god standing on a leopard; and in the series to the left there are several female figures.

In the second place, the wearing of the short tunic seems to prove that more than half the figures are male. Closer examination makes this doubtful. Most of the figures are armed, and it is obvious that if women are going to fight they cannot wear long sweeping robes. Female warriors were one of the most remarkable characteristics of the religion of Asia Minor and particularly of Cappadocia; and I should not hesitate to consider the twelve armed figures<sup>1</sup> in the narrow passage opposite the most mysterious and perhaps the most sacred figures of the whole to be Amazons.

The idea of women as fighting and as warlike, finds its religious justification in the warlike goddess who was one of the chief manifestations of divinity: and the masculine air, the short dress, the flatness of the bosom, are quite in the spirit of a religion, of which it is characteristic to raise itself above the distinction of sex. Its essence<sup>2</sup> lies in the adoration under various forms of the life of nature, that life subject apparently to death, yet never dying, but reproducing itself in new forms, different, and yet the same. This perpetual self-identity under varying forms, this annihilation of death through the power of self-reproduction, was the object of the enthusiastic worship of Asia Minor with all its self-abandonment, its periods of complete immersion in the divine nature and of superiority to all moral distinctions and human ties, its mixture of the obscenest symbolism and the most sublime truths. The mystery of self-reproduction, of self-identity amid diversity, is the key to explain all the repulsive legends that cluster round that worship, and all the manifold mani-

<sup>1</sup> Perrot, *Voyage Archéologique*, pl. 52.

<sup>2</sup> I must here assume unproved that theory of the character of Phrygian religion which seems required by the facts of its history.



festations or embodiments of the divine life that are carved on the rocks of Pteria. The parent is the child, the mother is the daughter, the father the son; they seem to men different; religion teaches that they are the same, that death and birth are only two aspects of one idea, and that the birth is only the completion of the incomplete apparent death.

One of the central ideas in the religion is that the distinction of sex is not ultimate, is only an appearance, and not a real element of the divine life. In its essence that life is self-complete, self-sufficient, continually existent; the idea of death comes in with the idea of sex, of incompleteness, of diversity. The goddess is the earth, the Mother; the god is the Heaven, the Father; the ultimate divinity comprehends both heaven and earth, both god and goddess. Hence arises the idea which appears in Greek art as the Hermaphrodite, merely a rude symbolical expression of the unreality of sexual distinction. Hence also arises the tendency to confuse or to obliterate the distinction of sex in the gods, to represent the goddess with the character of the man, the god as womanly and effeminate; while the priest of the religion must be neither male nor female.

The wearing of bracelets and earrings is of course not peculiar to women, but is practised in many countries by men. But I am obliged to say that I could not find them on any figure certainly male with one exception, and this exception furnishes a strong presumption that they were in Cappadocia a feminine ornament. It is a figure that occurs three times at Boghazkeui, and twice at Euyuk,<sup>1</sup> and M. Perrot rightly comes to the conclusion<sup>2</sup> that it must be the high priest; and it is easy to recognize in it the effeminate character, the soft outlines, the long sweeping dress, the ornaments of the eunuch high priest so well known in the cultus of Cybele.<sup>3</sup> This view, to which M. Perrot inclines,

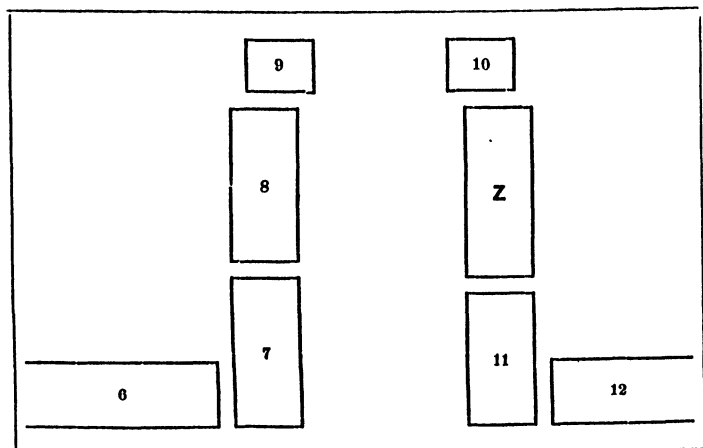
<sup>1</sup> Perrot, pl. 42, 47, 50, 51, 56. Euyuk is five hours north of Pteria. Here, out of the side of one of the large artificial "mounds of Semiramis," appear the doorway and front, covered with sculptures, of some great palace or temple.

<sup>2</sup> p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> I must however add that at Ibriz both the husbandman-god and his bearded priest wear earrings. Lydian men wore earrings (Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1, 31).

is made quite certain by the subject of the following slab at Euyuk, which was not seen by him: Sir C. Wilson got the villagers to turn over a block, and disclosed one of the most interesting scenes of the whole series.

The accompanying plan shows the position of this slab, which is lettered Z.



It is on the right hand as one enters the great doorway, guarded by the two Sphinxes (9 and 10). The two blocks on the left side of the entrance (7 and 8) are each 6 feet 6 inches long; so that the length of the entrance way is exactly 13 feet. Now Z is 7 feet 3 inches long, and the block (11) is 5 feet 9 inches long, so that these two exactly fill up the right side of the entrance way. It is remarkable that there is no sculpture on the side of the block (11); while on the short end which forms the first slab of the series in the front wall, the seated deity, Perrot, pl. 66, is carved. Both the blocks (7 and 8) on the left side of the entrance way are adorned with reliefs; one of those on the right side is carved, and the other is left plain. I know no explanation of the apparent anomaly.

At the right hand of the scene on the slab (Z) a deity sits with the feet resting on a footstool, one in front of the

other ; the figure is much worn, but in all that remains it is exactly the same as the seated goddess on pl. 66. Towards this deity a procession advances, headed by the figure of which we are speaking. His dress is the same as in all the scenes where Perrot has engraved him : in his right hand he, as usual, holds the *lituus*, while with the left he pours from an *oinochoe* a libation, which falls on the front foot of the seated deity. Behind him is the priestess, with her hands in the position that seems to be characteristic of women in the art of Cappadocia. The right hand holds out some round object in front of her face, the left hand carries some object to her mouth. It is now impossible to tell whether she wore earrings. She is dressed in the long sweeping dress which she wears in the scene on pl. 56, fig. 1. Behind her come two other figures, which are much worn ; they seem to have been dressed in short tunics and a cloak which hangs so as to cover one leg and leave the advanced leg bare. The figures at the extremities of this slab have been destroyed by the small stones on which it has fallen. Fortunately the two in the middle have not suffered so much, and it seems hardly open to doubt that they are the chief priest and priestess of the cultus ; and the same view is suggested by the scene on pl. 56 (Perrot). Here also the subject seems to be a procession approaching the divine presence. An altar of peculiar shape is placed in front of a small figure of a bull, evidently a religious symbol, standing on a high pedestal. The very same male and female figures, in the same dress, the male carrying in his right hand the *lituus*, approach the altar. The priestess wears earrings.

At Boghazkeui the priest is seen three times (pls. 42, 47, 50, 51). On pl. 50-1 he is represented walking beside a tall figure, whose arm is affectionately twined round his neck. Perrot would fain make this pair a man and woman, but is obliged to acknowledge that the little figure is clearly male. To our eyes the tall figure is equally clearly female. It is in high relief, and the face stands out from the rock with an exquisitely delicate contour—bold, determined, and yet femi-

nine. The figure is far the finest of all the series, and looks almost like the creation of a different art. In the midst of rude work and inartistic symbolism, it recalled to me the Amazons of the Maussolleum frieze.<sup>1</sup> It is evidently the *Νικηφόρος θεά* of an inscription of Comana (Journ. Philol. 1882), the warlike goddess who was characteristic of the Asia Minor worship. Like the Lydian Omphale, she bears the weapons, and her male companion is the effeminate and unwarlike god.

This companion is Atys, at once her favourite and her priest, her son and her paramour. The god was the type of all succeeding priests, who bore at Pessinus his name as an official title:<sup>2</sup> each priest wore the insignia, and was said to imitate the self-mutilation of the god. That priests and priestesses should wear the dress, bear the name, and represent the personality, of the god whom they served, was common in Greek religion also. The priests of Bacchus were Bacchoi, the female celebrants Bacchai; the priests of Sabos or Sabazios were also called Saboi; and many other examples may be found in Hermann, *Lehrb. d. Gr. Rel.* § 37.

The frequency with which the priest appears shows how great was his importance in the religion, and his influence among the people. He was the embodiment of the god living always among his people and explaining to them always through the oracle, which was a never-failing accompaniment of the Asian religion, the will of heaven. This is in complete agreement with all that we know of political organization and government among the people of Asia Minor, before they were affected by Greek influence. Either the priesthood comprehended the kingship in itself and exercised supreme power, or the priest was at least coordinate with the king in rank and social power.<sup>3</sup> The same thought is suggested by the scene

<sup>1</sup> One who looks at the plates in Perrot, 50 and 51, will at once say that I am wrong on this point, and that the figure is certainly female. But before judging, one should bear in mind that the photograph on pl. 51 is useless, and that the drawing on pl. 50, being made by one who thought the figure male, loses all the feminine character.

<sup>2</sup> See *Inscr.* published by Mordtmann, "Gordium, Pessinus, and Sivrihissar," *Munch. Gel. Anz.* 1862.

<sup>3</sup> *Str.* p. 557: Curtius on Ephesian history, *Beitr. Gesch. Kleinas.*

on pl. 47 (Perrot). Here the priest is represented as of superhuman size, standing with his feet on two large objects, in shape like cones with rounded points; these are quite different in character and form from the mountains on which the gods stand. He is evidently the apparent god, coordinated with the other manifestations of the divine nature on the rocks around, smaller in size than the greatest of these, but larger than many of them. In all the three cases where this figure occurs at Pteria, it is accompanied by a remarkable symbol: this symbol is not always the same, but the three are only slight modifications of one type. The variations are doubtless of great importance, and will in time perhaps throw much light on the scenes in which they occur. They are all composed of symbols, such as occur in the hieroglyphic inscriptions that are characteristic of the rock-sculptures of Asia Minor, so placed together so as to form something like a *naiskos*, bounded on each side by two Ionic columns. In the example of pl. 47, a figure of a man in peculiar dress, standing on a long boot laid on its side, is represented between the columns: in the example on p. 50, where the goddess stands beside her priest, the same position is occupied by what Perrot considers to be undoubtedly a *phallus*.

It follows from the nature of this religion that on the rocks of Pteria we must expect to find in the diversity of divine personages many various manifestations of the one divine life. The attempt to explain them must begin by studying the cases where the same figure is repeated with slight variations, and must have at its disposal either the original sculptures or satisfactory representations of them. The photographs published by M. Perrot, welcome as they are, cannot be made the basis of a satisfactory discussion. In every figure I could see numberless details which are quite invisible on the photographs: the light is very bad among the rocks, the apparatus can often not be put at the proper position, and nothing except either a series of careful drawings, made with the help of photographs, or a complete set of casts, can supply the place of the originals.

The head of the series of figures on the right is a female deity standing on a lion, which has its feet placed on four mountains. On her head is the turreted crown, which was in Greece the distinguishing mark of the Asian goddess Cybele, but which, from its frequent occurrence at Pteria, can hardly be more than the mark of womanhood, of the female sex in its properly female function and not as setting aside the distinction between male and female. She holds her hands in the attitude which is characteristic of women in the art of Cappadocia; the right hand raises a symbol in front of her, the left holds some object towards her mouth. She is followed by a youthful god standing on a leopard, whose feet also are planted on mountains. In this pair one must recognize the mother and son, Cybele and Atys in one of his manifestations, Demeter and Dionysos. The leopard on which the god stands is the favourite animal of the Greek Dionysos. A few other examples of the connexion between the sculptures of Pteria and the religion of Phrygia and Lydia have been given in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882. But few of the figures on these rocks have their character so plainly expressed as these examples; and without better material for study, the whole set must remain unexplained.

### III.—ARCHAIC PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

The copies of these inscriptions have been made very carefully, and with special attention to the forms of the letters. I had Mordtmann's copies of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 and 9 in my hands, and compared them with the original; in them I found more than twenty inaccuracies. Steuart is far more trustworthy, but he has several faults, and did not copy accurately the shape of the letters. Texier has also copied Nos. 1, 2, 7, 8 and 9.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Steuart, *Ancient Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia*; Mordtmann, *Sitzungsber. Akad.* 1862, p. 35; Texier, *Asie Mineure*. As the Phrygian alphabet does not distinguish long and short vowels, the inscriptions cannot be transliterated by the Greek symbols; I have therefore used the Roman character to transcribe them. I shall often refer to M. Schmidt's remarks on these inscriptions (*Neue Lyk. Stud.* 136), and to Fick's discussion of the Phrygian glosses in the last

No. 1.

ATE: A° KIAEFAI: AKEAIAOFA: S°/ΔA: TAFA TAFA AKTFA: ΔA F3

No. 2.

BABA: MFAI: POTAFA: K°/NAFA F3 KKEFAI: ENAE3

No. 3.

AS: THA MFAE PPAFA: T°/IN: MFA

No. 4.

1961 11 11 A° NKIO

BBA: MFAI: POTAFAO2

No. 5.

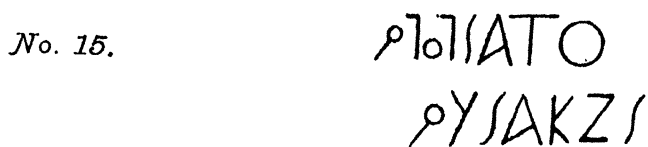
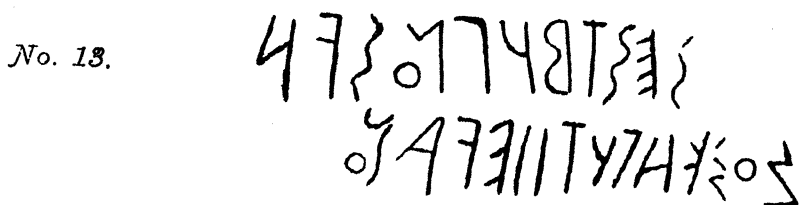
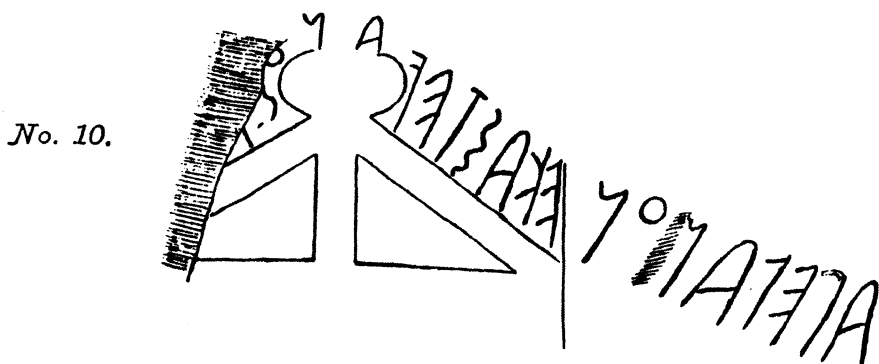
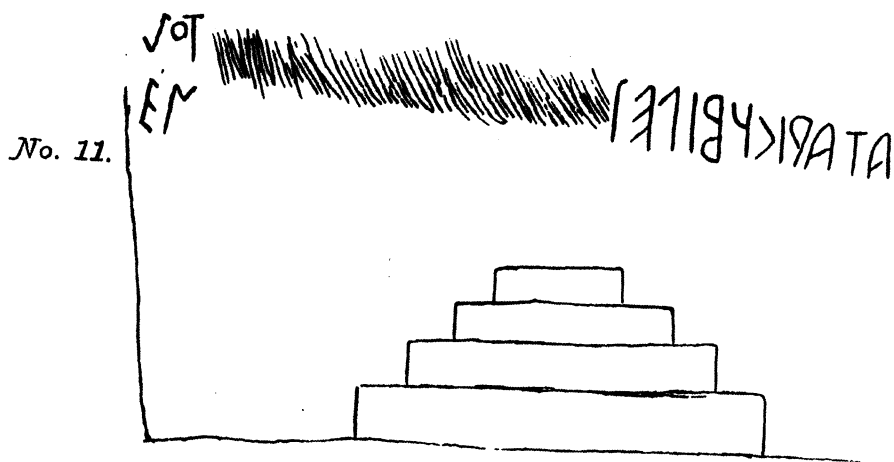
1917 A9A A: S°/FA TAITK  
ENAE3

No. 6.

KI A° FAFA: TILK  
1917 A: K°/A TA9A







As in all archaic Greek inscriptions, it is difficult to distinguish *gamma* and *lambda*. One of these is represented always by  $\Lambda$ , the other is given as  $\Gamma$ , or  $\text{𐌧}$ , or  $\text{𐌨}$ , or perhaps  $\text{𐌩}$ . It is more in accordance with analogy to make the former *gamma*, and the latter *lambda*:<sup>1</sup> this reading gives words easier to interpret in the inscriptions. For example, in No. 12 we have the choice between *matar kubile* and *matar kubige*, in No. 1 between *laraltaci* and *garagtaci*.

Another difficult symbol occurs in two forms, used in the same word in Nos. 2 and 5: the forms are  $\text{𐌪}$  and  $\text{𐌫}$ .<sup>2</sup> It occurs in the first syllable of a word between *kappa* and *iota* and can therefore hardly be *koppa*. Nor can it be *phi*, for aspirates are not found in Phrygian. It must therefore be some symbol unknown in the later Greek alphabet, such as occur in the alphabets of Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia. The two variants have very little resemblance to one another, but one of them is not unlike the symbol used in *la γ it*, No. 7. It is not allowable to understand this symbol as *psi*, for no symbol *xi* is known, and *xi* is older than *psi* (see Kirchh. *Gr. Alph.* p. 38). If the form  $\text{𐌫}$  is a variant of  $\text{𐌪}$ , the sound may perhaps be a palatal sibilant, like that which is represented by the symbol  $\text{𐌮}$   $\Psi$  or  $\text{𐌯}$  in Carian, Lycian, and Pamphylian. The oldest form must then be  $\text{𐌪}$  or  $\text{𐌫}$ , and later forms are  $\text{𐌮}$ ,  $\text{𐌯}$ ,  $\text{𐌰}$  and  $\text{𐌱}$ . If this hypothesis be correct,  $\text{K𐌫}$  in the older Phrygian inscriptions represents *xi*, which in No. 7 (the latest of all in my opinion) is represented by  $\text{K𐌮}$ .

*Zeta* is one of the commonest symbols. According to Fick it represents an original *gh*. It occurs frequently as the final letter (see 7, 8, 9), and must in these cases represent simply a soft sibilant. We find that on coins of Brouzos, the only

chapter of his *Ehemalige Spracheinheit*. I may add that in every discrepancy between my reading and the published copies, the reader may understand that I specially compared the older copy with the stone. I made my own copies of 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, compared them with the older copies, and then compared each with the stone. Time failed me in the case of 4, 5, 6.

<sup>1</sup> The form  $\text{𐌧}$  for *lambda* occurs in an archaic inscription of Arcesine in Amorgos, a Milesian colony (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 187):  $\text{𐌧}$  and  $\text{𐌨}$  were used for *lambda* in Argos.

<sup>2</sup> The second form may possibly be more complicated, as the stone is worn.

autonomous specimen spells the name with *sigma*, all the later ones with *zeta*:<sup>1</sup> and in the inscriptions, a final *zeta* occurs very frequently in 7, 8, and 9 (the latest), rarely in any other.

*Theta* and *H* are the only old Greek letters that are wanting in Phrygian. No aspirates occur either in the early Phrygian or in the Phrygian inscriptions of the Roman period; and cases occur where an original aspirate is represented by the corresponding consonant. The language had therefore, like Latin, lost the aspirates and did not need the *theta*. Perhaps the want of *H* is accidental, and it might be found if longer inscriptions were known.

*Sigma* is represented in the oldest inscriptions by a seven or five-barred zigzag, like a serpent: then seems to come a four-barred *sigma*, and last, a form with three bars, the usual one on early Greek inscriptions. In the Attic alphabet the four-barred *sigma* seems to be later than the three-barred, but in Naxos, where the alphabet can be traced very far back, the four bars occur in the oldest known inscriptions, while the three bars are known only in those which are later.<sup>2</sup>

It is natural to inquire how the Phrygians learned their alphabet. It is evident that they use the Greek alphabet, and not the Phoenician; they employ the *upsilon*, and have modified the same symbols to serve as vowels that the Greek alphabet uses for this purpose. Therefore, either they learned from the Greeks or the Greeks from them.

It is impossible for two reasons to believe that the Phrygians originated the alphabet. In the first place the Phrygian alphabet has no *theta*, while the Greek has this Phoenician symbol. Secondly, the original Phoenician form is retained more closely, especially in the case of *iota*, in Greek than in Phrygian. It seems certain that Phrygian was borrowed from Greek at a particular stage of its de-

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.* viii. p. 59: *Annali*, 1861, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Even those which are later go back nearly to the sixth century: see Fränkel, *Arch. Ztg.* 1879, p. 84.

velopment. If so, how did the Greek alphabet travel so far away from the Greek world as the source of the Sungarius?

Before trying to answer this question, let us look at No. 13, which is inscribed on two sides of a large block of the country stone in the village of Euyuk; it is evidently the same as that copied by Mordtmann in the same place (No. 14), but he did not observe that the stone was inscribed on two sides. It is probably hopeless to think of explaining this inscription; but the fact of its existence beyond the Halys, in a country where many inscriptions in hieroglyphics occur, is very remarkable. Euyuk is, as we have seen, an early site where the art and religion of Cappadocia are presented in the same forms as at Pteria. The same alphabet with the same peculiar character, the same elongated *tau* with a little cross line at the top, the same five-barred *sigma* of serpentine form, etc., occur at Euyuk and in Phrygia.<sup>1</sup>

In attempting to connect the scattered fragments of the past history of Asia Minor, this fact is very important, and two inferences may be drawn from it. In the first place, the inscription at Euyuk must be transliterated on the analogy of the Phrygian inscriptions. In the second place, any theory as to the way in which the Phrygians learned the alphabet must account for the use of the same alphabet in Cappadocia.

The first idea that occurs to one's mind is that the Phrygians learned the alphabet from the Greeks of Ionia. If so, it must have been learned by the Lydians first, and must then have been imparted by them to the Phrygians, and thence have spread into Cappadocia; we should then have an instance where education propagated itself back from the west to the east of Asia Minor. This could not begin to take place before the rise of the Mermnad dynasty and the opening up

<sup>1</sup> I do not think that the inscription from Euyuk in symbols partly Greek given by Hamilton, *Travels*, i. p. 329, is to be relied on for the forms of the letters. Hamilton is an accurate observer in most respects, but he had not realized the value of such details, as is evident from his Greek and Latin inscriptions.

of Lydia to Greek influence, *i.e.* at the very earliest 650–600. Now all that can be gathered as to the state of the Ionic alphabet at this time proves that it was much more developed than that from which the Phrygian is borrowed. None of our extant monuments go back much, if at all, beyond the year 600, but at that time it is certain that the distinction of the long and short vowel *e*, the compound consonants  $\xi$  and  $\psi$ , the non-Phoenician symbols  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ , had all been developed. But it is equally certain that the Phrygians learned an alphabet which had none of these later characteristics; and it will perhaps appear that the Phrygians actually felt the want of a long vowel symbol, intermediate between *a* and *e*. It is therefore not possible to suppose that the alphabet was transmitted by this route without putting it back to a period when we can find no warrant and no analogy to prove that intercourse existed between the Greeks and the inner country. Only the last necessity would justify such an hypothesis.

The Phrygian inscriptions occur on monuments which show no mark of Hellenic influence, but some of which are obviously made after the analogy of Oriental work. The style of these monuments, so far as he saw them, has led M. Perrot to the same conclusion, viz. that the country was at the time under the influence of the east, and was quite ignorant of Greek art. Later than these inscribed monuments, we see the art of Greece forcing its way into the country, and gradually establishing itself and ousting the Oriental character.

Moreover, let us consider how far we are warranted in supposing that intercourse existed between the Ionian Greeks and the interior of Phrygia, even in the fifth century. It seems probable that Herodotus has brought together all that he could learn of the character and the history of Asia Minor in his great work. The only references which he makes to Phrygian history are: (1) the episode of the refugee Adrastus at the court of Croesus, (2) the statement that it formed part of the dominion of Croesus, (3) the tale of the throne dedicated by King Midas at Delphi

before the time of Gyges, which is a statement that one may hesitate to accept as historical. Of the geography of Phrygia we learn nothing from Herodotus, except his account of Celaenae and the Lycus valley. This district he had himself traversed,<sup>1</sup> and here his account is minute and careful: the contrast with his utter silence about the rest of Phrygia has already been taken by others as a proof of his ignorance of the country. Of Cappadocia he knows more than of Phrygia: and here the reason is clear. He had gone to Sinope, had coasted along past the Halys, and had learned from the Greek traders about the distance across to Cilicia, about the course of the Halys and the bridge over it, about Pteria.<sup>2</sup> Here again the contrast to his silence about Phrygia is a proof of his ignorance about the latter country. It would therefore appear that the knowledge possessed by the Greeks in the fifth century about the interior of Asia Minor was confined to the reports of traders in Sinope, and to the open valley of the Lycus; of its history they knew only the cases where it had come in contact with the Lydians, and vague reports about kings who reigned on the Sangarius, and who possessed well-built cities (*Hqm. Hymn. Aphr.* 112). One of them was said to have presented his own beautiful throne to the god of Delphi (*Herod.* i. 14).

At the time of Xerxes' expedition the Phrygians were armed like the Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, while the Lydians were armed like the Greeks. The distinction shows that the Lydians had adopted Greek habits much more thoroughly than the Phrygians; doubtless the warlike Mermnad kings, who encouraged the Greek connexion, had adopted the improved Greek method of warfare.

These considerations suffice to show that the Greek alphabet could not have travelled from Ionia direct into Phrygia in the seventh century.

Let us now consider the situation of Asia Minor before

<sup>1</sup> Its trade with Miletus is probably alluded to by Hippodam, *fr.* 36, Bergk.

<sup>2</sup> The ideas here stated are exactly those at which Matzat arrives, "*Herodot's Angaben über Asien*," in *Hermes*, vi. pp. 392-486.

650 B.C., as revealed to us by the remains of its art and civilization. We have found that there was a considerable intercourse maintained between Pteria and the western countries, that the art of Phrygia and of Lydia is at first a mere reproduction of and in a more developed form still suggested by the art and civilization of Cappadocia. Let us now compare the picture drawn by Curtius of the commercial importance of Sinope<sup>1</sup> as the emporium of exchange between the east and the Greeks (*Gr. Gesch.* i. 405), and remember that Pteria is immediately south of Sinope on the high road between it and the east, and that the two cities are named in connexion by Herodotus. It is certain then that Pteria and Sinope were in constant intercourse, and it becomes probable that the Greek alphabet was introduced at Pteria through this connexion, and thence spread to Phrygia. This supposition is in perfect analogy with all that we know of the state of Asia Minor in the eighth and seventh centuries, and requires no hypothetical addition to the forces that we know to have been then actually at work moulding the history of the time. The Greeks of Sinope got from Cappadocia the manufactures of the East; but they had a far more serviceable method of writing, which was doubtless of use in commercial transactions. The Cappadocians learned the art from the Greeks, and the Phrygians, learning it from the Cappadocians, apparently turned it to account far more than their teachers. The same historical phenomenon can be seen in the western colonies. Etruria and Latium learned the Greek alphabet from the traders of Cumae, the Celtiberians from the Greek colonies of Spain.

Now Sinope was destroyed, and the northern parts of Asia Minor, including Phrygia, were ravaged by the Cimmerians probably about 670 B.C. The city was not refounded till 630: and the reasons above given make it improbable that the alphabet was learned later than this date. It follows then that the Phrygian and Cappa-

<sup>1</sup> Sinope was a colony of Miletus.

docian alphabet reveals to us the stage at which the alphabet of Sinope and its parent city Miletus was in the eighth century B.C.

Did the Phrygians learn from the Milesian colonists the non-Greek symbol  $\uparrow$  or  $\Phi$ , or did they invent it? Its occurrence in Caria, the country where Miletus lay, proves that the former alternative must be adopted. We are referred back to a time when the Greeks were still trying to accommodate the Phoenician alphabet to their own needs: it is known that this operation required a long time and many tentatives to perform. The first modification on the Phoenician alphabet was the institution of vowel signs: this had been accomplished before the Phrygians learned to use Greek signs. Next, the need of special symbols for some consonants, and for the distinction of long and short vowels *e* and *o* was felt. It required many tentatives to satisfy the want, and various methods were tried. The Naxian and Thasian group of alphabets use  $\Omega$  for the short sound, others do the opposite: some use  $\Upsilon$  to denote the guttural aspirate, others to denote *psi*. Finally the Ionic alphabet, completed before 600 B.C., gradually established itself over Greece and Asia Minor. At the time when the Phrygians adopted the Greek signs, the Ionian alphabet was still in process of formation, and  $\Upsilon$  had not yet acquired its final signification. The steps in this process have not yet been determined, but materials are gradually accumulating for it; and important evidence may be furnished by the semi-Greek alphabets of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia. Apparently, the Ionic alphabet had not begun to distinguish the long and short *e* and *o*, at the time when the Phrygian alphabet diverged from it; but it was introducing new consonantal symbols. Unfortunately the want of aspirates in Phrygian deprives us of all information about possible symbols for *phi* and *chi*. None had yet been devised for *xi* and *psi*.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 form a group, connected with the Tomb of Midas. No. 1 is engraved on the rock above the tomb, No. 2 on the carved work at the right-hand side: it runs



vertically from top to bottom.<sup>1</sup> Both read from right to left, and the letters are of great size, deeply and squarely cut. All the lines are beautifully regular and fine.

1. *ates arkiæFais akenanolaFos midai laFallæi Fanaklei edaes.*

*Ates* is doubtless the nominative singular of the stem *atu* or *attu*, the name of the chief Phrygian god. It occurs as a personal name in the Lydian royal family: it was the regular official name of the high-priest of Pessinus. *Atô* occurs as a feminine name in Phrygia. Phrygian cities are often called "Town of *Attu*," so *attaia* (for *attaFia*), *attoudda* (cp. *Aloudda*, *Clan-noudda*). *Attea* of Mysia is also doubtless derived from *attaFia* or *atteFia*. The termination *-ês* is common in Phrygian, e.g. *Tottês*, *Onnês*, *Iês*, *Hyês*, *Attês*.

*arkiaæFais*. The combination *æ* occurs frequently. It may be a device to represent a vowel sound unexpressed by the Greek alphabet.

*akenano-laFos* may be compared with *Doru-laFos* or *Dorulas*, a Pontic name, implied in the Phrygian town *Doru-laF-io-n*, and with the Greek *Ἀχιλεύς*, *βασιλεύς*. *AkenanolaFos* is a genitive, and the accusative occurs in No. 6 as *akinanolaFan*. The word therefore belongs to the consonantal declension, the termination *av* in the Greek third declension is known in several dialects, especially Cypriote. We have an exact parallel in the very common Phrygian name *Akulas*; this is evidently the same as the Lydian *Akelês* or *Ἀχελῆς*, a river god and hero, and the original of the town-name *Akkila-io-n* for *ἈκκιλᾶF-io-v*, known from coins. *Akulas*, *Akeles*, or *Acheles* is evidently the Greek *Ἀχιλεύς*, or *Ἀχιλλεύς*, and *Akkilaion* the same as *ἈχελῷF-io-s*, *Ἀχελῷος*.

<sup>1</sup> It does not read upwards, as Leake says: a mistake on Leake's part is hardly known, but I had his book in my hand before the Tomb.

*Midai* is evidently the dative of Midas, which was one of the two common names for the kings of Phrygia.

*lavaltaei* is perhaps the dative of an *-i* stem, like *πολημ*: the stem is apparently the same as that of the Greek hero-name Laertes.

*Fanaktei* is the dative of the word which appears in Greek as *ἄναξ*; here it must obviously agree with *midai*, and it thus becomes *lavaltaei*, which is a dative, and a second name of Midas. It is probable that two other examples of the double name occur on this tomb, see No. 2.

*edaes* is evidently third personal singular of a verb. The original termination *-ti* of the present tense could not have become *-si* or *-s* in Phrygian as it did in Greek, for it remains in the later Phrygian inscriptions in the form *addaket*; *edaes* must therefore be a past tense. The *ae* is perhaps a long vowel sound, and we have in *edaes* the original *adhât*, Greek *ἔθη(τ)*; where the vowel *ae* is a sound between *a* and *e*. *addak-et* is then the third person singular present of a stem *dhak*, which is seen in the Greek *θήκη*, *ἔθηκα*, etc., and it is compounded with a preposition *ad*. Phrygian, like Latin, has no aspirates.

The meaning, so far as we can guess it, is therefore, Ates . . . placed to Midas Laertes, the king.

2. *Baba memeFais proitavos ḵ izanaFazos sikeneman egaes*. Along with this inscription we must take No. 5. *Bba memeFais proitavos ḵ ↑ ianaFazos akaralasun egaes*.

The two inscriptions are evidently duplicates, except that *sikeneman* in No. 2 is replaced by *akaralasun* in No. 5. There are three slight variations: *Baba* in No. 2, *Bba* in No. 5; *̱* in No. 2, *↑* in No. 5; *z*, which occurs in the fourth word of No. 2, is omitted in No. 5.

The first three words, *Baba memeFais proitaFos*, offer an exact parallel to the first three words of No. 1, *ates arkieFais akenanolaFos*, and it cannot be doubted that a similar explanation applies to both. *Proitavos* is the genitive of a stem *proitav*, which reminds us of the Argive King Proitos

and his daughters the Proitides: the nominative must be either Proitu-s or Proitas (like *akulas*). *Memevais*, *arkiaevais*, are nominatives going with the opening personal names; the similar termination suggests that they are adjectives: Schmidt thinks that they are examples of double name—Baba, ὁ καὶ Memevais, son of Proitu: the double name is characteristic of Phrygia in later time.

*Baba* is a form of the common personal name Babas or Ouauas, on which see Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882, pt. i., "Inscriptions from Nacoleia."

*Sikeneman* and *Akaralasun* are evidently accusatives governed by *egaes*. The termination is probably neuter; see No. 7, *onoman*. *egaes* must be distinguished from *edaes* of the inser. No. 1. There is no doubt about the reading. Moreover, *edaes* has a dative after it, but there is here an accusative instead. We must look for a root *ga*, not for a root *gha*, which would in Phrygian rather become *sa*. Can this root be connected with the transitive sense of the root *gam* or *ga* seen in some parts of the Greek βαίνω, and perhaps in the title βασιλεύς?<sup>1</sup>

3. This inscription is engraved along the three walls of a rudely-formed cave in the rock on which the Midas tomb is cut. The cave is close to the carved front of the tomb on the city side. It is about five feet in breadth, and two and a half feet deep. At the left-hand side it is now about six feet high, at the right-hand side four and a half feet high; the roof slopes down from left to right. The inscription begins on the left-hand wall at the front, and runs along it in a horizontal line to the back. Then it continues along the back wall, not horizontally, but sloping, so as to be parallel

<sup>1</sup> If we consider the situation of these two inscriptions, one on the carved work of the Midas-tomb, the other facing the spectator as he ascends a flight of steps surrounded by rock-sculptures and rock-altars, the possibility suggests itself that both refer to the construction of the monuments around: then the inscription over the tomb of Midas (No. 1) is the dedicatory formula, that at the side is the record of the building—"the artist's signature." *Sikeneman* is then the designation of the tomb; *akaralasun* of the place where most of the interesting rock-monuments of the city are collected. No. 5 is carved on a panel, which has been left simply to strike the eye of the spectator; it has no connexion either with an altar or a tomb, but stands upright and isolated at the side of the steps. I need hardly add that this is a suggestion to which I attach no special value.

to the line of the roof. On reaching the right-hand wall, it is continued along it horizontally. The letters are about eighteen inches high, and have been cut one and a half to two inches deep in the rough stone. They have been cut apparently with a square chisel, about an inch broad, so that the sides of the cut are parallel.

The inscription reads: *as tugleniz ae esurzozoz totin*, and another word which is hopelessly gone. It consists either of four letters or five; if it has five, the first is certainly *i*. The second may be either *e* or *F* or *l*, but as the third is almost certainly *r* (it is possible that it is *b*), we can hardly suppose that the second is *l*. The fourth letter is probably *a* (*g* is possible, but we can hardly suppose it in this place). The last letter is either *i* or *z*, probably the latter. The admissible readings therefore are *ieraz*, *iFraz*, *Fraz*, *eraz*; it is barely possible that *r* and *z* should be changed to *b* and *i*.

There is room for *i* on the stone between *l* and *e* in the second word, and the surface is worn, but I could see no sign that it had existed. Mordtmann has *i* in his copy,<sup>1</sup> but his authority ranks very low.

The curious word *ae* occurs also in the very doubtful inscription 13; and *aez* probably occurs in 8.

*Totin* is, as Schmidt saw, the accusative of *Tottes*, the name of the Phrygian who, along with *Onnes*, brought the mysteries of the Cabeiri to Miletus. It is doubtless related to the personal names *Tatias*, *Tattion*, *Tata*, *Tataia*, and the name of the lake *Tatta*. *Tatias*:*Tatas*::*Marsuas*:*Masses*::*papias*:*papas*::*aineias*:*aini*. *Tatas* and *Tottes* are variants like *Atreus* and *Otreus*, *Attalos* and *Ottalos*, *Anes* and *Onnes*, etc.

4. This inscription is engraved on a rock above an altar; but great part of it has been broken away, and there was probably a line above, and certainly a continuation of this line to the right. The fragment reads *abasimanakio*. It is probable that the words in this inscription were not divided by marks of separation, and that these twelve letters do not

<sup>1</sup> I had his copy before me, and compared it with the stone to verify this point.

all belong to one word ; but Schmidt's attempt to read it of course falls to the ground when the position of the fragment is explained.

5. Is engraved on a large square vertical panel cut in a rock. This and the last inscription are within a few yards of one another, just below the rock sculptures described in the Journ. Hell. St. 1882, pt. i. "Rock Cemeteries of Phrygia." The reading has already been considered. The letters are about five inches high, and not finely and deeply cut like the first four inscriptions.

6. This inscription is engraved on one side of a very remarkable rock monument of religious character inside the Midas city (described *l.c.*). It is impossible to say whether the inscription is complete, but I think it is. The letters, about seven inches high, are unfortunately much worn, and some are very uncertain. It probably reads *akinanolaFan tizes mogro?anak a?arz.*

The first two words are quite certain. The third is perhaps *mogrolanak* or *arak* ; final *k* occurs also in No. 8. The fourth word is probably *aFarz*, possibly *agarz*.

7. Reads probably *zosesait materez eFeteksetiz oFeFin onoman la γ it lakegokoz FenaFtun aFtaz materez.*

This inscription is engraved on the uncut rock over a tomb which is carved in a slightly sunk niche. The letters are very large, deeply and squarely cut : as on the tomb of Midas they are beautifully shaped, the round letters perfectly circular, the straight lines perfectly straight. No. 8 is engraved, except three letters, on the carved front of the tomb, No. 9 is partly on the side of the niche, at right angles to the face of the tomb, and partly on the carved front. I have tried to mark by means of the dotted lines on the plate the difference of level between the uncut rock and the face of the tomb within the niche.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription apparently falls into two parts, each of five words, and each beginning with a verb in the third person singular present. Each part contains the word

<sup>1</sup> Texier's plates make it easier to understand the character of this tomb and of the Midas tomb.

*materex*, each contains an accusative *oFeFin*, *FenaFtun*, and a word ending in *z*, *eFeteksetiz*, *gakelokez*.

*materex* is some case of the word that means mother, which occurs in No. 11 as *matar*: it is perhaps plural. With the vowels in *matar*, *materex*, compare Greek *μητήρ*, *μητέρα*. The second *a* in *matar* is remarkable, and may be compared with the Elean *πατάρα*. In a late Phrygian inscription of the class described at the end of this article, I find *etittetikmenos asti* instead of the usual *etittetikmenos eitu*. If Schmidt is right in making *eitu* the imperative, *asti* is the indicative, of the substantive verb, Greek *ἔστι*. The vocalisation in both *asti* and *matar* conflicts with the prevalent theory about the history of the vowel *e*. The resemblance of *onoman* to the Greek *ονομαρ* is striking, but perhaps delusive; the termination *-man*, however, is doubtless the same as *-ματ*, both going back to the original *-mant*. A similar remark applies to the resemblance between *aFtaz* and *αὐτός*, Naxian *ἀφυτός*, Pamphylian *ἀπτός*, i.e. *avutos* (see "*Pamph. Inscr.*" in *Journ. Hell. St.* i.).

8. *Frekun tegatoz gostutut?? aemnoz akenanolaFos aez materan arezastin bonok akenanolaFo[s]*.

This inscription, like the last, seems to fall into two parts of five words each. Each part ends with the word *akenanolaFos*, each contains an accusative *Frekun* and *materan arezastin*. If a verb could be discovered among the other words, it might be easier to understand the construction of the sentence.

*Frekun* is perhaps accusative of the Phrygian name, which is represented in Greek as *Φορκυς*, leader of the Phrygians at Troy (*Iliad*, ii. 862).

9. *atanizen kurzanezon tanelertoz*. As Nos. 7, 8, and 9 are on one tomb, it is possible that they should be read continuously; in that case 8 probably gives the beginning and 9 the end. The inscription seems metrical.

10. *Apela? opekasteFanos*. The first word is either *apelai* followed by punctuation, or *apelar*, or *apelan*. It is not quite certain that punctuation marks are employed in this inscription. The letters on the prepared part of the rock are finely

and deeply cut, after the fashion of the inscriptions 1-3. Those at the right-hand side are much worn and difficult to read with certainty. Apelan may recall Doric Apellon or Etruscan Aplun.

11. *matar kubile.....tozen*. This inscription was the only one that we found in the necropolis at Ayazeen. It is cut in the rock above a rock altar; the whole being placed in a deep oblong niche, about fourteen feet broad and eight in height. About forty letters in the middle have been purposely defaced by human hands. The last five letters, which are more sheltered than the first, are cut with the same deep square fashion as inscriptions 1-3.

It is very tempting to see here a place of worship of the Phrygian Cybele, and over the altar to read the invocation "Mother Cybele."

12. I did not observe, till too late, that this inscription, taken from Steuart, is a poor copy of that given above, under No. 6.

13. Is cut on a rock at the marble quarries of Docimion. It is doubtless Christian, like all the other rock inscriptions in and near the quarries.

About an hour west from Tricomia, now Kaimaz, on the road to Nacoleia, now Seidi-Ghazi, is a deserted cemetery. In it are two broken columns of Docimian marble, very like others in the cemetery of Kaimaz.<sup>1</sup> Each of these two has on one side the name of Saint Thekla, in badly-shaped Byzantine letters. On the other side one of them has the inscription:—

ΑΔΙΑΜ  
ΟΛ

the other has the inscription:—

ΔΙΑΜ  
ΟΛΑ

The word *Mandalo* written from right to left is very remarkable. It is evident that there was a church of Agia Thekla

<sup>1</sup> Mordtmann saw one of these columns.

at or near Tricomia, but why *Mandalo* was inscribed retrograde on the columns of her church is difficult to explain. Mordtmann's idea cannot be entertained, that *Mandalo* was the Phrygian name of Thekla; it is improbable that the Phrygian language persisted to such a late period.<sup>1</sup>

Mordtmann gives two inscriptions, No. 7 and 8 in his order. They are rude graffitti scratched on the rock of the Midas Tomb, and I have not thought it worth while to give them.

The formula of cursing the violator of the tomb was often added on tombs of the Roman period in the native language, probably as being more holy and efficacious with the gods (see M. Schmidt, *Neue Lyk. Stud.* p. 132). I have found several new examples, but shall not give them as yet, as no one is quite perfect, and there is a hope that a decisive instance may be found. The protasis of the formula, however, may, I think, be counted quite certain in reading: *ios ni semun*<sup>2</sup> *knouman* (or *knuman*?) *i kakun addaket*. *Ni* is once replaced by *ke*, and once omitted. *ios*=*yos*, Skt. *ya-s*, Greek *ὄς*. *Semun* (also occurring *semon* and *simun*) perhaps accus. sing. neut. of a stem that appears in Latin *seme-l*, *simi-lis*, Greek *ἄμα*, etc.: it is used in Phrygian as a demonstrative. *knuman* may probably mean 'tomb': perhaps cp. *sikeneman* in No. 2. *addaket* has already been treated. *ke* may mean 'and': it occurs after a sentence of Greek: or,<sup>3</sup> *ni* and *ke* may correspond to *ἄν* and *κέν*. *kakun* may possibly be the Greek *κακόν*: or *ikakun* may be a single word.

<sup>1</sup> The Lydian language had disappeared in Lydia before the time of Strabo, though still used in the remote district of Cibyra (p. 631).

<sup>2</sup> Rendered in Greek letters of course *σῆμον*.

<sup>3</sup> As Prof. Sayce suggested.





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Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 5 (1884), pp. 241-262

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## SEPOLCHRAL CUSTOMS IN ANCIENT PHRYGIA.

THE monument represented on the accompanying plate (No. XLIV.), is situated near the village of Liyen,<sup>1</sup> and is familiar to the natives of the surrounding district under the name Arslan Kaya, Lion Rock. It is about seven miles west-north-west of the cluster of monuments at Ayazeen, described in this Journal, 1882, p. 1 ff, and several less important archaic tombs exist at Bei Keui and other places between Liyen and Ayazeen, so that this whole series may be grouped together and distinguished from the other series which surrounds the tomb of Midas. It is probable that the two groups belong to two distinct Phrygian cities of great antiquity—two of those cities whose former existence was known to Strabo (p. 567), but which had ceased to exist long before his time. It will be convenient, in want of the ancient names, to distinguish these two ancient cities by reference to the Roman towns which stood near them—Meros at Kumbet, near the Midas-tomb, and Metropolis south of Ayazeen.

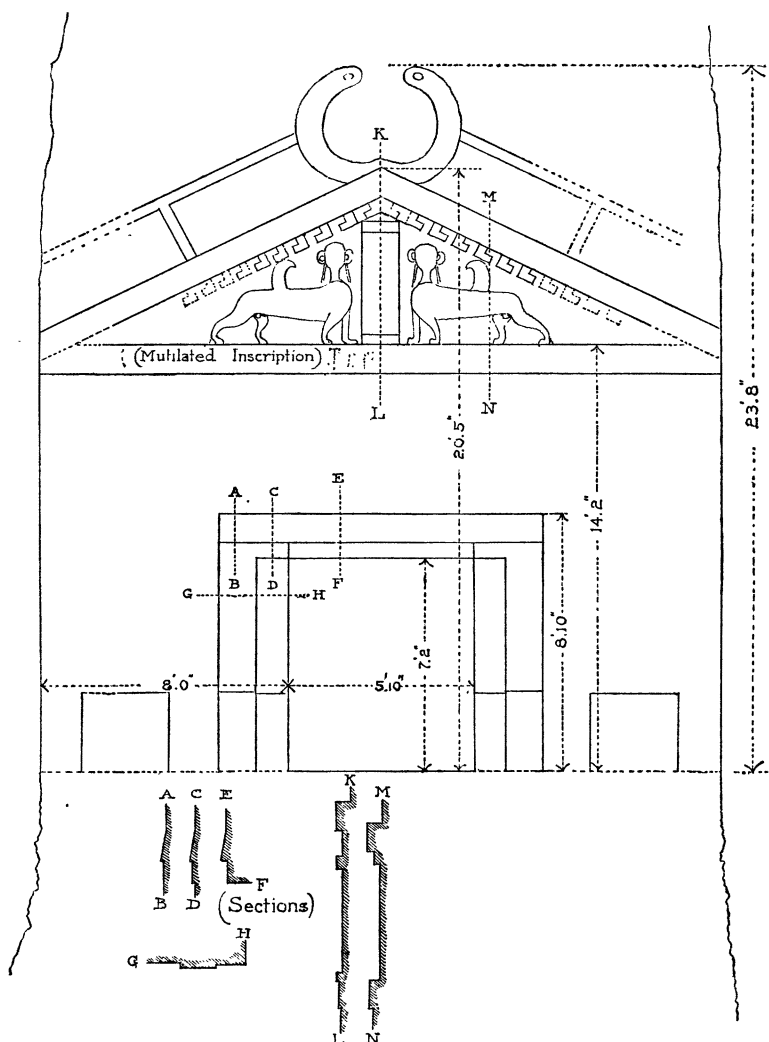
Arslan Kaya is a tall conical rock, of sugar-loaf shape, standing quite isolated on a steep grassy slope.<sup>2</sup> The mass of the rock, higher than ten feet from the ground, is a fine soft conglomerate, the same in which the majority of the Phrygian tombs are carved. Between ten and five feet above the ground

<sup>1</sup> Liyen is not marked on Kiepert's map, where the whole district in which the Phrygian monuments are situated is almost a blank. It is a village on the road from Afium Kara Hissar to Kutayah, seven hours from the former, eleven hours from the latter, and about two hours south-east of Doghan Arslan

which is indicated on Kiepert's map.

<sup>2</sup> The total height is probably about fifty to sixty feet; but it is difficult to judge. The drawings on Pl. XLIV. have unfortunately been made too tall. My sketches on the spot were restricted to the sculptured part of the rock.

is a layer of sandstone, horizontally stratified. Below this again is a soft conglomerate. The monument is carved entirely in the upper conglomerate.



The rock has been cut on three sides, so as to present three smooth vertical faces at right angles to each other, looking

respectively east, south, and west. The southern or central face is the most important. It is similar in style to the class of monuments of which the Midas-tomb is the type. A flat rectangular surface, ornamented in a geometrical pattern, and having a doorway in the lower part, is surmounted by a pediment, with a quaint acroterion over the apex. The geometrical pattern has suffered so much from the weather that it cannot now be properly understood : but an occasional fragment shows that it was an arrangement of squares or maeanders and crosses, such as is usual in these monuments.<sup>1</sup> The whole is carved in exceedingly low relief. On the band that divides the pediment from the rectangular surface, an inscription in the tall narrow Phrygian characters was engraved : but it is not decipherable at the distance from which a spectator who has no ladder must contemplate it.<sup>2</sup>

The pediment is not plain, as in the other monuments of this type, but is sculptured in relief, like the pediment of the tomb at Kumbet, engraved by M. Perrot, *Explor. Archéologique en Galatie*, &c., pl. vii.

Two sphinxes of very archaic character stand in the two angles, turned towards each other, but separated by the supporting column which always occupies the middle of these pediments. Their faces are directed outwards, the ears are very large, but the features are now hopelessly obliterated.<sup>3</sup> A long curl hangs down in archaic style over the shoulder of each. On the day which I spent drawing the monument I did not observe that the sex was indicated ; but on the following morning, when we returned to compare each detail of the drawings with the original, it appeared to me, and I think also to Mr. Sterrett, that the left-hand sphinx was characterised as male. Such a detail was visible only in a favourable light, and in the worn state of the surface is very uncertain.

A band of maeander pattern runs along the two sloping sides of the pediment.

<sup>1</sup> Arslan Kaya has suffered more from the weather than any other of the great monuments in Phrygia : the others are protected by projecting parts of the rock overhead.

<sup>2</sup> On a later visit I observed that the

inscription is hopelessly obliterated.

<sup>3</sup> The sphinx on the right is much more dilapidated than that on the left. It seemed better in drawing to restore it exactly on the analogy of its better-preserved neighbour.

The acroterion is very remarkable: it is distinctly intended to represent two serpents' heads.

The doorway in the lower part of monuments of this class has in the examples hitherto met with been shut. In the present case however the two valves of the door are thrown wide open, and merely represented in relief against the sides of the little chamber into which the door gives admittance. On each wing of the door there is a horizontal row of little round knobs near the top, showing that it represents a wooden door studded with iron nails. On the right wing is a defaced ornament which may be a lock or possibly a knocker.

The form of the doorway should be compared with those of the Midas-tomb and of the monument at Delikli Tash. M. Perrot<sup>1</sup> has already observed the peculiar form of the lintel in these cases. I know no analogy to the curious projecting members in the lower part of the door, nor to the faint lines above the pediment.

I have already suggested (*Journal*, 1882, p. 27), that the outer face of the monuments of this class is intended to imitate the oriental carpets which were sometimes in Greek temples hung in front of the holy figure of the temple-deity to conceal it from profane eyes: thus, in the temple of Cora at Mantinea, the priestess ἐσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια, hanging in front of them an oriental carpet. 'The dead man too is a god, and his sanctuary is hidden from view behind the carpet of rock.'

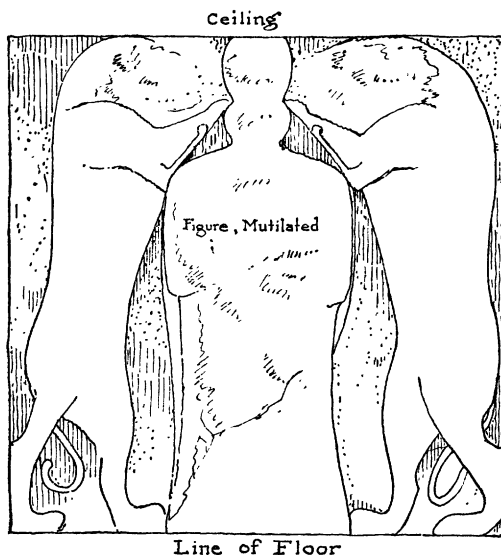
The present monument appears to me to justify completely the words which I used two years ago. Through the open door we penetrate behind the veil into the sanctuary. Carved in relief on the back of the little chamber, we see the two rampant lionesses,<sup>2</sup> which are the favourite device in Phrygian monuments. But in this case they do not rest their paws against a column: they lay them on the shoulders of the goddess herself, and place their heads lovingly against hers: εὐφρων καλὰ δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων. This position constitutes a new variety of the well-known hieratic *schema* called the 'Persian Artemis.'

The lionesses are represented in profile, and only one of the

<sup>1</sup> Compare his account of Delikli Tash and his note on the Midas-tomb.

<sup>2</sup> The sex is doubtful, owing to mutilation of the surface.

forepaws is visible. There is a curious marking on the fore-leg, perhaps intended to indicate muscles. Both hind legs and the long curling tail are visible. The image of Cybele was carved in very high relief on the back of the chamber. It was similar



in style to those archaic terra-cotta idols, the upper part of which imitates the human figure, while the lower part is a mere cylinder growing wider towards the bottom, so as to afford a broad and secure basis for the idol to stand. This figure was represented in relief fully a foot high; but the soft conglomerate was unsuited for a relief standing out so boldly, and the front part has fallen off, leaving an uneven surface. On the other hand the two lionesses are in very low relief and are therefore in excellent preservation except the heads, in which the relief is rather higher, and the surface of the abdomen.

A similar idol, much ruder and smaller than this one, stands in a little niche about three feet high, near the Lion-tombs.

The figure of Cybele occupied the whole height of the wall, *i.e.* seven feet two inches. The arms were pressed against the

sides, the elbows were bent and the hands placed in front of the body, the right hand over the bosom, the left hand over the middle;<sup>1</sup> the attitude is familiar from Oriental idols and Greek statues of Aphrodite. On her head she wore a *polos*, the outline of which on the wall is barrel-shaped. A long veil or garment seems to hang on both sides of the body. This rude image is the Mother-Goddess, who is indicated by her attitude as the producer and nourisher of the life of earth. We know her name in this old Phrygian home of hers. Only a few miles away, close to the other lion monuments, is an altar cut in the rock, and above it is an inscription written *boustrophedon* in Phrygian characters. The middle of the inscription has been broken away, but the beginning fortunately remains—*Matar Kubile*.

Matar Kubile was the name by which the Phrygians invoked the goddess. It is interesting that the nearest city of the Roman time to these old monuments was named Conni Metropolis; in the Byzantine time the heathen name of 'Meter' was changed to that of the Christian saint Demetrius, and the city is called in lists of bishoprics Conni Demetrioupolis. This observation gives the long-sought site of the northern Metropolis of Phrygia, which has been placed in many different situations. It stood on the Roman road from Nacoleia to Eucarpia, near the modern village Beuyeuk Tchorgia.<sup>2</sup>

But though Conni was nearer than any other city to the Lion-tombs, it is probable that they were in the territory of the important city of Prymnessos.<sup>3</sup> Midas appears on coins of Prymnessos, which may be taken as a proof that these old monuments were in the Roman time associated with the ancient kings of Phrygia.

The face of the monument which looks to the east is entirely occupied by a large rampant lion. He stands quite upright, and

<sup>1</sup> This detail can be gathered from the difference of angle at the two elbows, though the bad preservation of the image makes it difficult to be certain.

<sup>2</sup> I formerly attempted to identify Metropolis with Augustopolis, a site nine miles S.E. of Tchorgia: I wish here to correct the error. See *Mittheilungen Instit. Ath.* 1882, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Conni seems to have been an insignificant town under the empire; no coins are known, unless some *ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ* belong to it. Prymnessos was at Seulun, three miles S.E. of Afium Kara Hissar. It was certainly a city of importance, and perhaps exercised some authority over the neighbouring Metropolis.

places his fore-paws on the angle of the pediment on the southern side. The lines of the figure, like those of the two lionesses in the shrine, are exceedingly fine and spirited. The sex is certain, whereas that of the animals in the shrine remains uncertain. Analogy points to the opinion that the latter are female: this is the case with the pair of animals on the Lion-tomb near Ayazeen and with those over the Lion-gate at Mycenae. In later monuments the case is different: at Kumbet (see Perrot, Pl. vii.) and at Ayazeen (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Pl. XXVI., XXVII.) the pair consists of a male and a female. I was exceedingly careful in drawing the toes of the lion's left hind foot, the forms of which are peculiar: the paws of the two lionesses are different, less carefully cut, and more like the form usual in archaic sculpture. Only one forepaw is shown in each of the lionesses, a true archaic characteristic, whereas both forepaws of the lion are distinctly visible: but the marking on the forepaws of the lionesses does not appear on those of the lion.<sup>1</sup> This marking may be compared with that on the hind-leg of a deer found in a tumulus near Kertch, a product of Ionian art of a later period.<sup>2</sup>

On the western face of our monument there is a gryphon, *passant* to the right. His head is much injured, but was probably a simple eagle's head without ears or any other prominent feature, and with the mouth closed (Type C of Furtwängler, *Bronzefund*, p. 47). The wings, like those of the sphinxes, are curled round in the archaic style.

I hope to take an early opportunity of discussing the bearing of this and other monuments on the history of Ionian and generally of Greek art, but I will here state my opinion as to the date of the Arslan Kaya. As I have stated in previous papers, I believe that Phrygian art stands in the closest relations with the Ionian colonies of the Euxine coast. Now if we compare the gryphon and the sphinxes with the earliest known specimens of Ionian decorative art, the general resemblance is obvious, while the exceedingly ancient character of the Phrygian monument is equally clear. Every detail in these

<sup>1</sup> On a second visit I convinced myself that these are the facts: the lines on the forepaw of each lioness do not indicate a pair of paws.

<sup>2</sup> Furtwängler, *Goldfund von Vetttersfelde*, p. 16, who refers to *Antiq. du Bosphor.*, Pl. 26, 1.



two types on the Arslan Kaya is early archaic, and a careful examination proves that they can hardly be later than the early part of the sixth century, and are probably earlier. But the lions of the Arslan Kaya are quite different in character from those of the Vetttersfeld ornaments.<sup>1</sup> The latter show the type of the lions on the tomb at Kumbet and on other later Phrygian monuments (see especially the single Vetttersfeld lion on Pl. iii. 1), whereas our lions are of a far grander type, bolder and finer in outline, more natural and life-like. This type is quite lost in the later monuments. Artistic considerations therefore force back the date of our monument to the seventh century. Now on historical grounds it is improbable that any very great monument in Phrygia belongs to the period 670—600. During this time we know that the Cimmerians overran the country, and that in Phrygia alone they achieved complete success, being finally expelled by Alyattes between 610 and 590. The Arslan Kaya is therefore earlier than 670, while on the other hand the presence of the inscription in characters, which as I have elsewhere shown were learned from the Greek colonists of Sinope, proves that the monument is later than 730.

The only trustworthy way of representing a monument like this is by photography, and I hope to be able soon to publish a photograph. But it would be almost necessary to publish a drawing along with a photograph, as it is so difficult to see every detail from one point of view. It seemed, however, advisable to make known a monument so important as this, even by the imperfect and insufficient medium of drawings, and trust to the future to supplement them by photographs. I knew that I should never be able to make better drawings than when inspired at first by the discovery of the monument, and it was exceedingly doubtful whether I should ever have the opportunity of taking a trained draughtsman to the place.<sup>2</sup>

The measurements were made, with Mr. Sterrett's help, by means of a rope thrown over the shoulder of the rock.

I do not at present intend to make any general remarks about the art of Phrygia. I will only say that each new monument

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler, *l.c.*

<sup>2</sup> I am responsible for every curve and every other scientific detail: the

delicacy of the drawing is due to a more skilful hand than mine.

affords new and more striking resemblances to archaic Greek art. Hitherto no example was known in Phrygia of the composite animals, such as the sphinx and the gryphon. In Phrygian art we are not impressed as in Phœnician art with isolated points of resemblance to Greek amidst a general diversity of character. We see substantially the same race, affected by similar influences from the East, and producing works whose whole spirit and character have something of the true Greek feeling.<sup>1</sup>

Amid the diversity in details, what a close resemblance in spirit is there between the Phrygian tale of Marsyas and the Greek tale of Orpheus! There is the same melancholy tone, the same devotion to music, the same close relation to an orgiastic worship, and finally a terrible death.

The question arises—what was the purpose of this monument? There is no appearance, no possibility of supposing that a grave ever existed in the chamber: but I feel convinced that the monument is sepulchral. In that case the actual grave was in the ground, and the monument is merely the tombstone, so to speak. In support of this view we must remember that almost all the many hundreds of rock monuments known in Phrygia, are obviously sepulchral. Moreover, I shall here place together some facts about Phrygian graves and sepulchral inscriptions which make it probable that even the doubtful rock-monuments are sepulchral, and which will throw some light on the ideas of death and the future world entertained by the persons who made those graves.

As almost all my arguments are drawn from inscriptions of the Roman period, it is necessary to state beforehand that I believe these late authorities may with proper caution be used as evidence for the true ancient beliefs of the Phrygian people.

A varnish of Graeco-Roman civilisation was spread over the country in the second and third centuries after Christ; western Phrygia was affected fifty to a hundred years earlier than the eastern country. Especially Hellenic mythology took the place of the native legends: I have given examples of the tendency to substitute Greek names and tales for the native Lydian or

<sup>1</sup> With the Phrygian use of the maeander pattern compare *Arch. Ztg.* 1884, Pl. ix., Figs. 2, 5.

Phrygian in this Journal, 1882, p. 64, 1883, p. 64. But the old religion continued unaffected in substance, though Hellenised in name, and customs sanctioned by religion, especially funeral usages, must have been very slow to alter. For example, in the valley of the river Tembris,<sup>1</sup> which runs along the western border of the district in which the old Phrygian monuments lie, the regular decoration of gravestones in the Roman period is the old heraldic type of the pair of lions facing each other in a pediment. Again, Moritz Schmidt rightly recognised in some barbarous formulas appended to Greek sepulchral inscriptions of the Roman period, a curse in the native tongue against violators of the tomb. Why should this one part of the inscription be in the native tongue, and the rest in Greek? Either the belief was that the old Phrygian tongue was more holy, and more efficacious with the gods of Phrygia, or the fact was that the Phrygian language was more generally intelligible than Greek. Either alternative shows the strength of the old native feeling in the country; in spite of Graeco-Roman dress and foreign language, the Phrygian character is not hidden.

Two kinds of sepulchral monument were commonly used in Phrygia in the Roman time. One is a slab of marble or other stone carved to imitate a doorway. The doorposts, the two valves, the lintel, and generally a pointed or rounded pediment above, are all indicated: one or two knockers are usually carved on the door, and symbols referring to the ordinary life of the deceased person are often represented on the panels, a basket, a strigil, a mirror or something of the kind. The door is often surmounted by a pediment, triangular or semicircular, which is sometimes plain, sometimes sculptured. In the Tembris valley the sculptural decoration, as has just been stated, is almost always the ancient heraldic device—a pair of lions. The inscription is placed sometimes above the pediment, sometimes beneath it, rarely on the door itself. I have seen many hundred gravestones of this kind, in every part of Phrygia, in Galatia, and in Pisidia. This class of tombstone recalls to mind the ancient monuments in which a door is a prominent part.

<sup>1</sup> Tembris on a coin of Midaion, Pliny (*N.H.* vi. 1) and in an unpublished inscription. Thymbres in Livy, Tembrogus in

The second kind of tombstone is equally common and widespread. It is a square pillar with very simple pedestal and capital. In many cases the epitaph on such a tombstone is expressed in the form—ὁ δεῖνα τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν. The regular name of the monument was therefore 'the Altar.' It is probable that several old Phrygian monuments, in which nothing is apparent except an altar with or without an inscription, are really sepulchral.

 No. 1.<sup>1</sup>

At Ishekly, the ancient Eumeneia, on a tombstone of the βωμὸς type in the modern cemetery :

ΘΥΡΑ

There has never been any other inscription.

## No. 2.

At Eumeneia in the court of the Konak : on a tombstone similar to the last : on one side

ΖΩΤΙΚΟCΑΝΤ  
ΩΝΙΑΘ ΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚ  
ΙΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΜΝΗCΧ  
ΑΡΙΝ

Ζωτικὸς Αὐτ-  
ωνία τῇ [ιδ]ία γυναικ-  
ὶ καὶ ἑαυτῷ μνή[μη]ς χ-  
άριν.<sup>2</sup>

on another side

ΘΥΡΑ

## No. 3.

At Eumeneia, in the modern cemetery, on a tombstone of form like the preceding : on one side

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1 and 3 were copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company, No. 2 by me alone. <sup>2</sup> The engraver has omitted two letters in line three.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΕΑΥΤΗ	Ἰουλία ἑαυτῇ
ΚΑΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΔΑ	καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Δα-
ΜΑΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑ	μᾶ καὶ Ἰουλια-
ΝΗΤΗΟΥΓΑΤΡΙ	νῇ τῇ θυγατρὶ
5 ΚΑΙΓΑΙΩΤΩΓΑΙ	καὶ Γαίῳ τῷ γα[μ-
ΡΩΚΑΙΣΕΒΗΡΕΙ	β]ρῷ καὶ Σεβηρεί-
ΝΗ ΗΟΥΓΑΙ	νῇ [τ]ῇ θυγα[τ-
ΡΙΜΝΗΜΗΕΧΑ	ρὶ μνήμης χά-
PIN ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΕ	ριν. Εἰ δέ τις ἔ-
10 ΤΕΡΟΝΕΠΙΧΕΙ	τερον ἐπιχει-
ΡΗΣΕΙΘΙΝΑΙΤΙ	ρήσει θῖναί τι-
ΝΑΘΗΣΕΙΙΣΤΟ	να, θήσει ἰς τό-
ΝΦΙΣΚΟΝΧ'ΑΦ	ν φίσκον (δην.) αφ.

on the other side

#### ΘΥΡΑ

The second and third inscriptions probably belong to the first (or the beginning of the second) century after Christ: this date is gathered from the Latin names, Julia, Juliane, Antonia, &c. They belong therefore to a comparatively early time among the inscriptions of this district.

#### No. 4.

At Kara Hodja, a village in the Haimaneh, about an hour and a half south-east of the hot springs of Myrikion, now the Merkez of the Haimaneh,<sup>1</sup> in ancient Galatia. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself.

<sup>1</sup> Merkez in Turkish means 'head-quarters': the seat of government of the Haimaneh was established here two years ago, having previously been at the village of Sivri. There was no

village at the baths, till the spot was selected as the Merkez of the Haimaneh, and when we visited it, in 1883, there were only about fifteen new houses around the government offices.

ΕΤΟ Ε Μ ΝΟΣΞ  
 ΑΙ ΔΙΚΟΥ  
 ΟΣΓΕ/ ΪΟΥΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙ  
 ΙΔΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΝΕΣΤΗ  
 ΝΒΩΜΟΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΘΥΡΑ  
 ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΕΝ  
 ΜΗΛΛΗΕΧΑΡΙΝ  
 ΣΤΑΤΙΛΙΑΖΩΕΑΠΡΟ  
 ΝΟΥΣΑΠΑΡΑΘΗΚΗΝ  
 ΕΔΩΚΙΤΙΝΙΕΡΕΑΝΠ.  
 ΕΙΝΟΝΚΑΙΨΕΛΛΙ ΔΥ  
 ΟΑΡΓΥΡΑΚΛΙΜΗΑΠΟ  
 ΔΙΔΗΟCΙΟΝΔΙΚΕΟΝ  
 ΗΛΙΕΚΥΡΙΕΥΜΕΙCΕΚΛΙ  
 ΚΗCΑΤΕΑΥΤΗΝΝΕΚΡΑΝ  
 ΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΖΩΝΤ

Like all the inscriptions which we found in the Haimaneh, this is merely scratched in a rude way on the stone: it is the work of an unskilful engraver and an uneducated writer. Graeco-Roman civilisation had not thoroughly established itself at Myrion when the epitaph was composed, and the native customs of burial and worship of the Pessinuntine Cybele remained unaffected. It was exceedingly difficult to decipher the faint and ill-formed letters, and equally difficult to understand the meaning.

Ἔτο[ν]ς . . . , μ[η]νὸς Ξανδίκου [. . . . .]ος Γε[λλ]ίου Στατειλί[α] ἰδία γυναικί ἀνέστη[σε τὸ]ν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν θύρα[ν] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν μνήμης χάριν.

Στατειλία ζῶσα [φ]ρονοῦσα παραθήκην ἔδωκε[?] τινι (?) ΕΡΕΑΝ π[ρά]σινον καὶ ψέλλι[α] δύο ἀργυρᾶ, καὶ[ν?] μὴ ἀποδιδῆ, "Ὅσιον Δίκεον, "Ἡλιε Κύριε, ὑμεῖς ἐκ[δ]ικήσατε τὴν νεκρὰν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντ[α].

"Ὅσιος Δίκαιος is a standing epithet of the deity in Anatolian inscriptions; here it appears to be used as a proper name, and, regardless of grammar, two deities are invoked to avenge the dead Statilia and her living children, if the pledge which she deposited with some unnamed person is not returned. ἡ πρᾶ-

σινος is an emerald: the word before it has not been deciphered: *προνοῦσα* is probably due to Galatian pronunciation. *ἔδωκε* is certainly the reading on the stone.

The four inscriptions published above are all engraved on simple *βωμοί*, yet in one case the monument is called *ὁ βωμὸς καὶ ἡ θύρα*: and in the others, the name *θύρα* is placed on the monument apart from the regular inscription, as if to specify a point that was not clear to the beholder.

The last inscription explains the others. The son of Gellius places the altar and the door for his dead wife. It appears then that according to Phrygian ideas there were two necessary elements in the sepulchral monument, an altar and a door. When a plain altar was placed as a tombstone, it was sometimes thought necessary to add expressly the word 'Door.' Even where only the one name is given, we may understand that the fundamental idea was the same. The door was the passage of communication between the world of life and the world of death: the altar was the place on which the living placed the offerings due to the dead.

It is unnecessary to follow this idea through the elaborate funeral monuments with numerous parts, each called by a special name, which were often used by rich men. A sarcophagus is commonly used at Hierapolis and in Ionia and Lycia; but the sarcophagus is only the receptacle in which the body is placed, and we often find the door and the altar indicated besides.

These two elements, the door and the altar, occur regularly in the early monuments. In many cases the altar indeed is not expressly carved in the rock; but when the monument has the form of a temple or a shrine, the altar is an implied accompaniment. In other cases the rock-altar is the most important part of the whole monument.

Among the early monuments one class, of which the Midas-tomb or the Arslan Kaya is type, especially attracts our attention as being so peculiarly characteristic of Phrygia: in it we see the door and the veil in front of the shrine. In one case alone the door is opened, and we are admitted to contemplate *τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*. We see here, not a sarcophagus, no place or room for a dead human body, but the Mother-Goddess and her favourite animals.

May we not infer from this that the mere custody of the body was not the sole nor even the chief intention of the funeral monument in Phrygia? The intention is to show that the dead has returned to his divine mother. It is a similar idea when the Lydian chiefs and kings are buried on the shores of the Gygaean lake Coloe; and we know from Homer that the Maeonian chiefs are the sons of the lake or of the Naiad Nymph who bears them beside the lake.

The natural inference is that the Phrygian religion considered the dead as identified with the divine nature: the sepulchre of the dead was a monument or shrine of the Mother-Goddess. In that case the construction of a grave was an act of piety and of homage to the deity, with whom the dead person was identified. Can we find in inscriptions any test to prove or disprove this inference?

I shall give first an inscription, imperfectly published, C. I. G. No. 3810; the editor has wrongly altered the copies, accurate so far as they go, of Pococke and Kinneir.

No. 5.

Dorylaion, in the bridge over the Porsuk Tchai, the ancient Tembris: on a marble slab imitating the front of a temple or *heroon*. Copied by me.

MENANΔΙΟΥ ΠΩ	Μένανδ[ρος Ἰπ]πω-
ΝΟΚΑΙΑΜΕΙΑΣΤΕΙ	νος καὶ Ἀμείας Τεί-
ΜΩΝΙΘΡΕΠΤΩΚΑΙ	μωνι θρεπτῶ καὶ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	Ἀπολλώνιος
ΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟCCYN	καὶ Διονύσιος συν-
ΤΡΟΦΩΥΠΕΡΤΩΝ	τρόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν
ΙΔΙΩΝΔΙΙΒΡΟΝ	ιδίων Διὶ Βρον-
ΦΤΩΝΤΙΩ	τώντι.

This inscription is, to judge from the nomenclature, probably not later than the first century after Christ. It has been engraved on the tombstone of Timon by his master and his mistress,



and by his fellow-slaves, Apollonius and Dionysius.<sup>1</sup> These four persons make the grave of the dead man, and consider this act as a homage to Zeus Bronton on behalf of their own family.

## No. 6.

At Kara Bazar, on the road from Dorylaion to Nacoleia, on a marble *βωμός*. On the capital is carved a vine-branch with a bunch of grapes, and over the inscription is a wreath. Copied by me.

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣΚ-ΠΛΟΥ	Περσεὺς κὲ Πλού-
ΣΙΟΣΦΑΙΝΙΠΠΩ	σιος Φαινίππῳ
ΠΑΤΡΙΚ-ΜΗΤΡΙ	πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝΤΙ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶντι
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχῇν.

This is the epitaph on a tomb erected by two sons for their parents. The sons consider that the act of erecting the tombstone is equivalent to discharging a vow to Zeus Bronton. To judge from the names the inscription is of a *comparatively* early time; but, as the district is one remote from civilising influences, it can hardly be earlier than the second century after Christ.

## No. 7.

Near Kara Bazar, at the Devrent, on a *βωμός*: on the capital is carved a star, and over the inscription three bulls' heads. Copied by me.

ΑΥΡΔΙΟΔΩΡΟ	Αὐρ. Διόδωρο-
ΣΜΕΤΑΣΥΝΒΙ	ς μετὰ συνβί-
ΟΥΤΥΧΗΖΩΝ	ου Τύχῃ ζῶν-
ΤΕΣΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ	τες ἑαυτοῖς
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶν-
ΕΥΧΗΝ	τι] εὐχῇν.

This inscription is placed over the grave which Diodoros and his wife prepared for themselves. They regard this act as the

<sup>1</sup> Menandros and his wife had therefore three *θερετοί* or *θρέμματα*.

payment of a vow to Zeus Bronton. The inscription belongs to the third century after Christ.

On the analogy of these and similar inscriptions, which I need not quote here, it may be unhesitatingly maintained that a large number of dedications in the district round Nacoleia and Dorylaion, in which the sepulchral reference is not so explicit, are in reality gravestones. Of such inscriptions, published and unpublished, I know about a hundred. They are generally addressed to Zeus Bronton, or to Zeus Papas, or to Papas simply. Papas, as Arrian says, was the Bithynian name of Zeus; it occurs frequently in inscriptions of Nacoleia. The following is a specimen.

No. 8.

On a small stele of common stone found in a field near Nacoleia. I copied the inscriptions from six similar stelai, all found in the same field: the owner said that the ground around was full of them. They are all evidently gravestones of common people: the top is ornamented in the style of a pediment, and there is a plain pedestal ending in a projecting spike to stick in the ground. The one which is here published differed from the others in having a representation of the god on it: the god is apparently intended to be androgynous, like the Carian Zeus, but in such rude work, the point can hardly be asserted positively.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΑ

ΒΙΣΠΑΠΑΕΥΧΗ

N

Οὐλπία Σά-

βις Παπᾶ εὐχῆ-

ν.

The other inscriptions from this field are similar in style: the field was doubtless a cemetery of the poorer classes.

In this Journal, 1882, p. 124, I spoke about Zeus Bronton or Papas, the god of Nacoleia. I have no alteration to make in the views there expressed, except to lay much greater stress on the Chthonian character of the god. Almost every inscription in which he is mentioned is a gravestone. The area within which he is worshipped is a narrow one, including only the

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district between Nacoleia, Dorylaion, and Trocnada or Tricomia.<sup>1</sup> Outside of this district, I know only of three, one at Cotyaion, one at Ancyra of Galatia, and one in Rome erected by a Greek named Aur. Poplius. Poplius clearly belonged to this district of Phrygia, and went to Rome either as a visitor or a settler.<sup>2</sup>

The district in which Zeus Bronton was worshipped, lies along the east and north edge of the mountainous country in which the ancient Phrygian monuments are situated. On the west side of these mountains, we find that Zeus Bennisos is worshipped. Numerous inscriptions in his honour occur, and the important town of Bennisos was named from his worship. A curious inscription in the Phrygian village of Serea shows what the people themselves thought of the relation between Zeus Bronton and Zeus Bennisos.

## No. 10.

On a stele at Kuyujak, a village three hours north-west of Nacoleia; copied by Mr. Sterrett.

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ	Μάρκος
ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Μάρκου
ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	Διὶ Βροντῶν-
ΤΙΚΑΙΒΕΝΝΕΙ	τι καὶ Βεννέϊ
ΣΕΡΕΑΝΩΣΤ	Σερεανῶ στ-
ΕΦΑΝΟΝ	έφανον.

No. 9.

<sup>1</sup> The word Tricomia shows that the country of the Trocnades or Trocmades, Rege-trocnada, contained three villages: the use of the word in an unpublished inscription from a different district is decisive as to the sense.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a memorial of the visit of another Nacoleian to Rome.

ΘΕΩ	ΥΨΙC	Θεῶ ὙψίC-
ΤΩ	ΕΥ	τῷ εὐ-
ΧΗ	ΝΑΥ	χῆν Αὐ-
Ρ-ΙΑΙ	ΟC	ρήλιος
ΑΣΚΛ	ΑΠΩ	Ἀσκλάπω-
ΝΗΝ	ΟΜΟ	ν, ἦν [ὦ]μο-
ΛΟΤΗC	ΕΝCΙ	λό[γ]ησεν ἐ[ν
ΡΩΜ	Η	Ῥάμῃ.

In the *tekke* of Seidi Ghazi, on a little slab of marble. It has been published unintelligibly by Mordtmann (*Sidi Ghazi und Nacoleia in Münch. Gel. Anz.*, 1861). Copied by me, and afterwards by Mr. Sterrett.

Here it is evident that Benni-s, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side, and Papas or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.

The numerous inscriptions of which these are specimens show clearly that the making of a grave was regarded as the payment of a vow to the god of the district. I do not maintain that every stone in the district which records a vow of the god is sepulchral: *e.g.* the votive tablet of Aur. Asklaḡon, quoted above, has not the appearance of a gravestone. But the gravestones which I have seen in the district where Papas was worshipped, are, with scarcely an exception, inscribed in this style. One stone, which I believe to be sepulchral, explains the meaning of the custom.

No. 11.

On a marble cippus at Kutayah, in the possession of an Armenian stone-cutter who had brought it from Karagatch Euren, near Altyntash. Above the inscription there are carved in relief a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiated head of the sun-god. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company.

ΔΙΙ ΒΕΝΝΙΩ	Διὶ Βεννίῳ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣΥΠΕΡ	Διογένους ὑπὲρ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΠΑΠΠΟΥ	Διογένους πάππου
ΚΑΙΚΛΑΧΡΥΣΙΟΥ	καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου
ΜΑΜΜΗΣΚΑΙΤΩΝ	μήμης καὶ τῶν
ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ	κατοικούντων
ΕΝΙΣΚΟΜΗΚΑΘΙΕΡΩ	ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρω
ΣΕΝ	σεν.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΙΣΓΕΡΕΑΝΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσγερειανὸς ἐποίηι.

This inscription belongs most probably to the second century after Christ. The reference to the inhabitants of the village is a specially common feature in inscriptions of this district; the name of the village seems to be Iskome. The artist is a native of Isgereia.

I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennios. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus. Diogenes might have expressed the epitaph in the formula, *πάππῳ καὶ μάρμῃ καὶ Διὶ Βεννίῳ*: the meaning would have been the same.

It is not always easy to determine in these inscriptions who is buried in the tomb. For example

## No. 12.

On a stele similar to No. 8, and found in the same place. Copied by me.<sup>1</sup>

ΔΑΔΑΚΑΝ	Δαδα Καν-
ΚΑΡΟΥΝΟΥΝΑ	καρου Νουνα-
ΔΟΚΟΥΕΚΡΟΚ	δος Οὐέκροκ-
ΩΜΗΤΙΣΣΑ	ωμήτισσα
ΔΙΙΠΑΠΑ	Διὶ Παπᾶ
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχῇν.

The names on this stele are so purely Phrygian that it is hard to tell how they are to be divided. Probably Dada was daughter of Kankaros Nounas, who had according to Phrygian custom, two names, and her native village was Vekrokome. It is impossible to determine whether she was burying one of her relatives or preparing her own last resting-place. The latter is more probable: more than half of the Phrygian epitaphs known to me include a provision for the burial of the erector.

In all the epitaphs which have been quoted, the dedication is to a god. The following is to the Mother-Goddess.

## No. 13.

On a marble *βωμός* at Doghalar, a village two hours north of Altıntash, on the western edge of the Phrygian mountains. Defaced reliefs on the back and on one side of the altar. Copied by me.

<sup>1</sup> As I remarked above, this stone is quite certainly sepulchral.

ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΙ-Ε	Πατροκλῆς [Ἀπολ-
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΜ-ΙΤ	λωνίου Μητ[ρὶ Θε-
ΩΝΖΙΝΓΟΤΙ-Ν-Κ	ῶν Ζινογοτηνῇ κατ-
ΑΚΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΤΙ-ΕΘ	ὰ κέλευσιν τῆς Θε-
5 ΑΣΥΠΕΡΕΑΥΤΟΥ	ἃς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ [κὲ τ-
ΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΚ-ΤΗΕΚΩ	ῶν ἰδίων κὲ τῆς κώ-
Μ-ΕΖΙΝΓΟΤΟΕΚΩΤΗ	μης Ζίνγοτος σωτη-
ΡΙΑΚΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝ	ρίας τὸν βωμὸν [ἀ-
ΝΕΚΤΗΕΝ <sup>1</sup>	νίστησεν.

I believe that this stone marks the grave which Patrokles intended to be occupied by himself and his family. He dedicates the spot to the Μητῆρ Θεῶν, just as the maker of the ancient tomb described in this paper made it a shrine of the Mother-Goddess.

The idea that the dead person has thrown off his own nature and become identified with a divine or heroic personage, can be traced in some rare cases in Greek inscriptions, while it apparently underlies certain classes of archaic sepulchral reliefs. I do not refer to cases where the dead man is worshipped as a hero, but where his personality is merged in that of an independently existing hero or god. Such is the explanation of a relief and inscription from Pergamon, now in my possession, which I described before the Archaeological Society in Berlin, February 5, 1884. The monument was interpreted, as I believe quite wrongly,<sup>2</sup> by Dr. Belger in the *Berl. Philol. Zft.* March 1st. The relief is of a common sepulchral type. The left and the centre are occupied by a horseman, turned to the right: the man has the reins in his left hand and with his right holds out a patera towards a serpent which drinks from it. The serpent is coiled round a tree in front of the horse. On the extreme right stands an adorant of the usual type. Beneath the relief is the inscription

ΛΝΙΟΥΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣΑΘΗ  
ΟΥΗΡΩΙΠΕΡΓΑΜΩ<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 5 ΠΕ, in 6 ΤΗΕ, in 7 ΤΗ  
*ἴδε.*

<sup>2</sup> As a votive relief belonging to a shrine of the Hero Pergamos.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable, but not certain, that the *iota adscriptum* was expressed in Γεργάμω. The name Ἀσκληᾶς is of course supplied merely *exempli gratia*,

'Ασκληᾶς? 'Απολλ[ωνίου νεωκόρος] 'Αθη[νᾶς Νικηφόρου] "Ηρωι Περγάμω. Another method of supplying the gap was suggested by Dr. M. Fränkel, but it does not seem to me satisfactory: 'Ασκληᾶς? 'Απολλ[ωνίου νεωκόρος] 'Αθη[ναίω Νικαί?]ου "Ηρωι Περγάμω. The person to whom the grave belongs is treated as identified with the eponymous hero of the city, and his original name is not mentioned.<sup>1</sup> The relief belongs probably to the latter part of the third or beginning of the second century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

A similar case occurs in the Sabouroff Collection, and has been correctly interpreted by Dr. Furtwängler (Pl. xxix.: Κ]αλλιτέλης 'Αλεξιμάχῳ ἀνέθηκεν), who expresses the doubt whether Aleximachos is the original name of the deceased or a new heroic name.

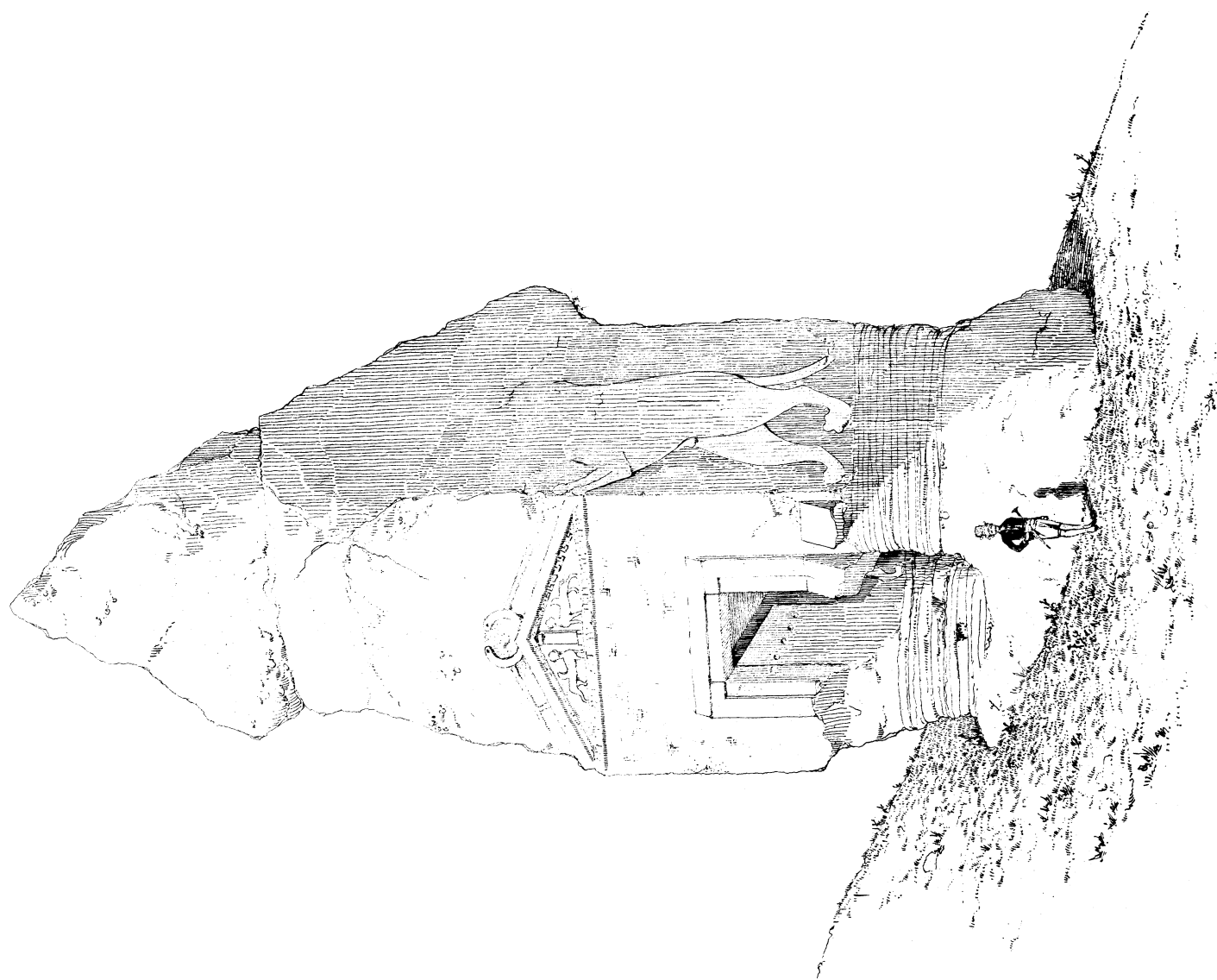
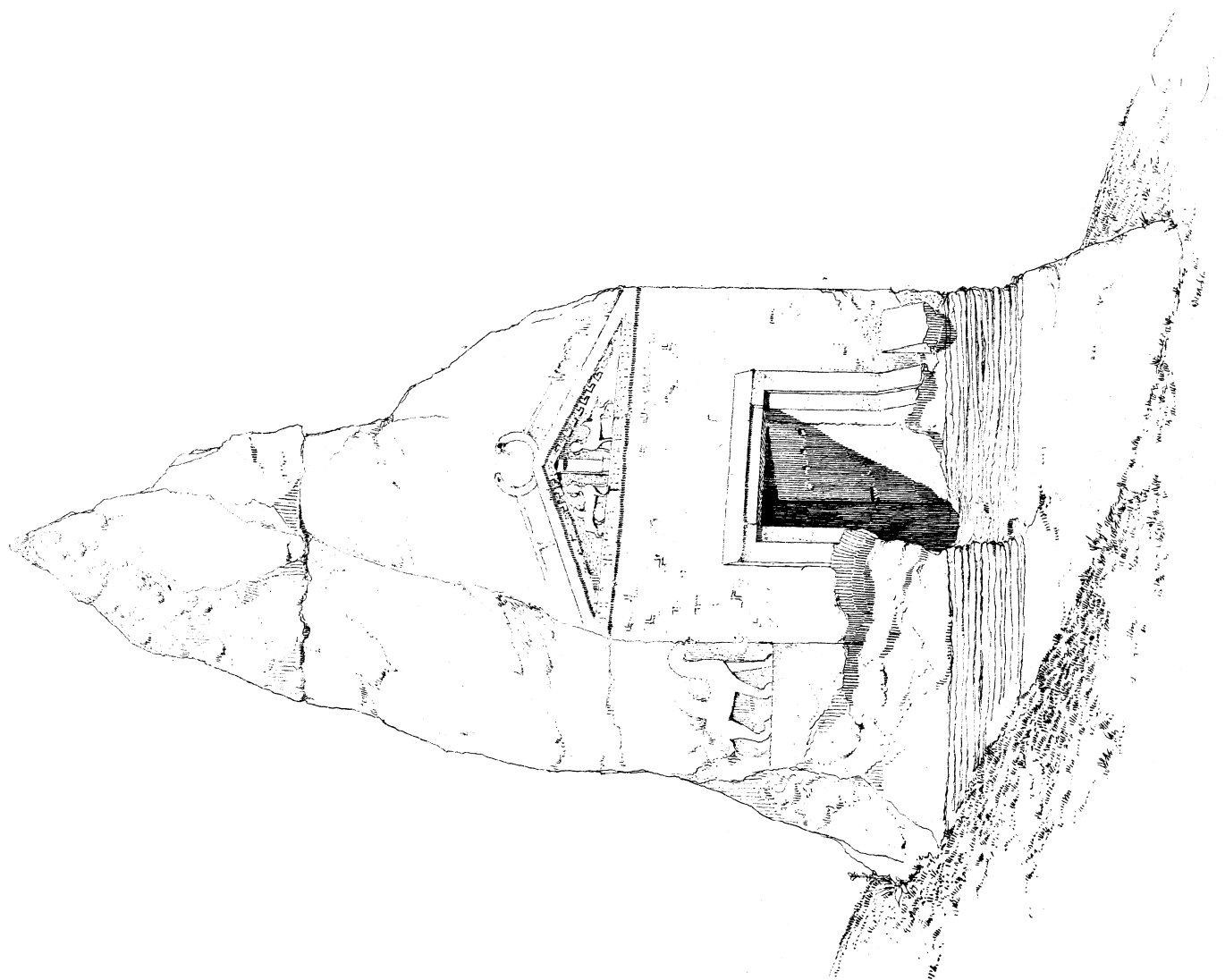
W. M. RAMSAY.

as being nearly of the length required for the gap. The first line ends with H.

relief seems otherwise the same as that given here.

<sup>2</sup> A came into use quite as early as

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fränkel's interpretation of the 200 B.C.







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Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 1, No. 2/3 (Apr. - Jul., 1885), pp. 138-151

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

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## NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASIA MINOR.

### I.—THE SOCIETY OF GANYMEDEITAI AT SMYRNA.

The following inscription is engraved on one of the lower blocks in a finely built Greek wall, made of large well-cut blocks fitted together without mortar, on the lower slope of Mount Pagus, a little way up the street that ascends from the Basmakhaneh Station, and close to the line of the Byzantine wall. After I had spent some money to induce the Turkish owner of the house, whose courtyard is bounded by part of this wall, to dig up an inscribed stone which he declared to exist at the bottom of the wall, he disclosed the inscription now published. When I began to clear out the letters with my knife, he interfered in dread lest I might injure the treasure concealed in the stone; and, saying that he had only bargained to show me the stone, not to let me handle it, he refused to let me see it except from a distance. This was in the winter of 1880–1, when I was fresh and inexperienced in the ways of Orientals, and was somewhat awestruck at having penetrated into the interior of a Turkish household. I therefore was foolish enough to comply with the conditions he imposed, the result of which is that the inscription is of doubtful reading on one important point. The block is in its original position in the wall, the inscription is calculated for it, and is almost certainly coëval with the building of the wall.

ΜΑΡΚΟCCEPTΩΡΙΟC  
Α/ΙCΤΟΛΥΚΟCΤΗΝCΤΙ  
/////ΔΑΝΕΖΗΡΤΙCΕΝΓΑ  
/////ΗΔΕΙΤΑΙCΕΚΤΩΝ  
/////ΩΝΕΠΙΤΑΜΙΟΥ  
////////ΥΑΠΙΟΥΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ

*Μάρκος Σερτώριος Ἀ[ρ]ιστόλυκος τὴν σι[λ]εῖ[θ]αν ἐξήρτισεν Γα-  
[νυμ]ηδείταις ἐκ τῶν [ιδί]ων ἐπὶ ταμίῳ [Γαί]ο[υ] Ἀπίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.\**

\* "Marcus Sertorius Aristolykos, under the treasurership of Caius Appius Julianus, erected this wall for the association of the Ganymedites at his own expense."—A. E.

The symbols  $\omega$ ,  $o$ ,  $\sigma$ , and sometimes  $\epsilon$ , are very small. The letters are clear, bold, and deeply cut, and are not unlikely to be of a good, rather than a late, period. I should not be disinclined to place them as early as the first century after Christ, and should feel averse to suppose that this wall was built, or the letters engraved, later than 150 A. D. The character of the names also favors an early date, if we could trust the second, Appius Julianus: it is however possible that the name of the *ταμίας* was [*M. O*]ϐ[*λ*]πίου Ἰουλιανοῦ, but as my copy has *A* for *Δ*, and as there is a wide gap at the beginning of the last line, I cannot accept this reading, unless a new copy of the inscription should confirm it.<sup>1</sup> The reading would fix the date about 130 to 160 A. D., if it could be accepted.

The restoration *στειλεῖδαν* for *στυλεῖδαν* from *στυλὶς* seems highly probable. The form is known only in C. I. G., 3293, where it is differently spelt, *Θράσων Διογένους τήνδε ἀνέστησεν στυλλεῖδαν υἱῶν* (*δυοῖν*), *κτλ.*, accompanied by a relief given in Caylus, *Rec. d'Antiq.* Tom. I., P. II., tab. 76. The inscription is conjecturally referred to Smyrna, and the earthquake mentioned in it is supposed to be the great earthquake of 178 A. D. The word *στειλεῖδαν*, apparently a form of the accusative of *στυλὶς*, *στυλῖδα*, may, perhaps, mean "the upright boundary wall" of the sacred precinct of the *Ganymedeitai*.

The restoration *Γα[νυμ]ηδείταις* appears certain. The *Ganymedeitai* are one of the religious associations of Asia Minor, described by Foucart (*Des Assoc. Relig. chez les Grecs, Paris, 1873*). Of none of these societies does the name pique our curiosity more than that of the *Ganymedeitai*. We should gladly know whether they practised some really ancient rites of the deity Ganymedes, or whether they were merely a society of late formation, in which case the evil reputation of the name Ganymede in later Greek time suggests no good character for the society. It is at least probable that the existence of this *hieron* of the worshippers of Ganymede suggested a detail in the topography of Ilion to a native of the valley of Smyrna, Quintus Smyrnaeus, XIV., 325–6, a passage of which the reading is unfortunately disputed, but which shows that the poet conceived Ganymedes to have a temple in Troy opposite the temple of Athena.

<sup>1</sup> In this and the other inscriptions of this paper, *alpha* has the form *A*.

ἐγγὺς ἑοῦ δόμοιο, παρὰ Γανυμήδεος ἱρὸν  
 δώματα, καὶ νηοῦ καταντίον Ἀτρυτώνης.<sup>2</sup> \*

The name of Julianus may be added to the list of *tamiai* of Smyrna, given by M. Pappadopoulos Kerameus in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1878, p. 28.

## II.—THE PORTERS OF SMYRNA.

The portage of Smyrna is done by a class of men who come down from Konia, the ancient Ikonion, work for a time in Smyrna till they have acquired a little money, and then return to live in ease at home. Two Greek inscriptions of Smyrna refer to guilds of porters, and we should have been glad to learn a little more about them than the scanty references teach.

The first of these inscriptions was published by Dr. Hermann Roehl in his *Schedae Epigraphicae*, Berlin, 1876, p. 2, but (what is rare indeed in his work) both inaccurately in text and incorrectly in explanation. The inscription, which I have read on the original marble in Oxford,<sup>3</sup> should be as follows :

Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. Ψηφισαμένης τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς καὶ ἐπικυρώσαντος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀνθυπάτου Λολλίου Ἀουεῖτου ἐδόθη ἐδόθη φορτηγοῖς Ἀσκληπιασταῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνε[δ]ρίου βάθ[ρ]α τὰ ἐξῆς τέσσαρα · ταμειούντος Αὐρη(λίου) Ἀφροδεσίου. †

The stone has ἐδόθη twice and Λολλίου instead of Λολλιανοῦ. M. Waddington (*Bull. Corresp. Hell.*, 1882, p. 291) has shown that the proconsul is Lollianus Avitus, towards the end of the reign of Severus.

For βάθρα τὰ the stone has ΒΛΘΒΑΤΛ, which is of a piece with the many other faults in the engraving, but this has misled Roehl

<sup>2</sup> So Koechly. The common text reads ἱρὰ Δώματα, and Hermann proposes ἱρὸν Δῶμα, τὸ καὶ κτλ.

<sup>3</sup> At the Ashmolean Museum.

\* "Near his house, hard by the sanctuary and the hall of Ganymede, and over against the temple of Athena Atrytone."—A. E.

† "With the grace of Fortune. By vote of the most excellent Council and by authorization of the most illustrious Proconsul Lolli(an)us Avitus, the Porter's Association of Asklepiasts was presented with these four pedestals from the Session Chamber. Done in the treasurership of Aurelius Aphrodeisios."—A. E.

into reading ἐκ τοῦ ἐν[πο]ρίου βάθβατα ἐξῆς τέσσαρα. He explains φορτηγοὶ Ἀσκληπιασταί as "mercatores qui Smyrnae circa templum Aesculapii . . . habitabant," and understands the whole inscription as recording that "quaterna bath olei ex emporio publico sunt data" to these merchants.

Considerable traces of *E* and *Δ* in ἐν[εδ]ρίου are visible on the stone, so that the restoration is absolutely certain. The stone has doubtless been brought from the theatre of Smyrna, and records that a certain set of places in the theatre were appropriated to the porters attached to the Asklepion.

The second inscription which mentions the porters of Smyrna has also been published already, but only in cursive and with two slight faults in the reading. I have read it on the original marble. It is engraved in very ornate letters of the second century after Christ, and probably dates about 150 to 180, A. D. The text has been published in cursive in the *Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς*, Smyrna, 1875, No. β.

ΠΟ.ΑΙ.ΝΕΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟ	Πό(πλιος) Αἰ(λιος) Νεικόστρατος
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΤΟΜΝΗ	κατεσκεύασε τὸ μνη-
ΜΕΙΟΝΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙ	μεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναι-
ΚΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΕ	κὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐ(γ)
5. ΓΟΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΘΡΕΜ	γόνοις αὐτῶν καὶ θρέμ(μ)-
ΔΙΚΑΙΜΗΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΝΕΙ	ασι · καὶ μηδενὶ ἐξὸν εἶ-
ΝΑΙΠΩΛΗCΑΙΜΗΤΕΕΞ	ναὶ πωλῆσαι μήτε ἐξ-
ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩCΑΙΕΙΔΕΤΙC	αλλοτριῶσαι · εἰ δέ τις
ΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΟΗCΕΙΑΠΟ	παρὰ ταῦτα πο(ι)ήσῃ, ἀπο-
10. ΤΕΙCΕΙΤΟΙCΦΟΡΤΗΓΟΙC	τείσει τοῖς φορτηγοῖς
ΤΟΙCΠΕΡΙΤΟΝΒΕΙΚΟΝ	τοῖς περὶ τὸν βεῖκον
*CΝΤΟΥΤΟΥΔΕΤΟ	(δηνάρια) σν' · τοῦτου δὲ τὸ
ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΠΟ	ἀντίγραφον ἀπό-
ΚΕΙΤΑΙΕΙCΤΟΕΝC	κεῖται εἰς τὸ ἐν Σ-
15. ΜΥΡΝΗΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ	μύρνη ἀρχεῖον *

\* "Publius Aelius Nikostratos constructed this monument for himself, his wife, children, descendants and *familiares*. Let no one sell or alienate it. If any one disregard this stipulation he shall pay to the guild of street-porters a fine of 250 denaria. A copy of this is deposited in the Archive of Smyrna."—A. E.

Lines 4 and 5 are quite complete on the stone, so that the original spelling is ἐγόνους and θρέμασι.

These street-porters, οἱ περὶ τὸν βεῖχον φορτηγοί, were evidently organized in a guild, to which fines are made payable in a legal document. The very small amount of the fine, 250 denarii, shows that the tomb was probably a poor one; fines for violation of a tomb are sometimes as large as 10,000 denarii, and 250 is the smallest fine that I have observed. The "*hamal*"<sup>4</sup> to whom this tomb belongs, P. Aelius Nikostratos, was probably born under Hadrian and named after the emperor.

### III.—A PHRYGIAN EPIGRAM.

The following inscription was copied by me at Dokimion (Istcha Kara Hissar) in May, 1881: it was on a piece of marble in the wall of a house. I did not see it at my second visit to Dokimion in 1883.

Dokimion was occupied by a colony of Macedonians, and the legend

ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

is frequent on its coins. The personal name *Μακεδών* is therefore common in its inscriptions.

ΕΝ  
ΜΟΙΑ  
ΤΗΔΕΠΑΤΗΡΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ  
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΝΑΙΔΟΙΗΝΠΑΙΔ /// ΦΟΙΡΑΜΕΝΟC  
5. ΚΑΙΤΥΠΟΝΕΝCΤΗΛΗΤΕΧΝΗCΑΤΟΠΑΙΔΟCΑΓΑΛΜΑ  
ΕCΜΝΗΜΗΝΖΩΟΙCΙΚΑΙΕΙCΑΡΕΤΗΝΦΘΙΜΕΝΟΙCΙ  
ΓΝΩ ΙΝΤΕΟΨΟΓΟΝΩΝΗΝΤΙΝΑΤΥΝΒΟCΕΧΕΙ  
ΕΙΔΕΤΙCΕΙCΤΗΛΗΝΗΤΥΝΒΟΝΤΗΝΔΕΑΛΙΤΗΤΑΙ  
ΑΙΕΙΟΙΓΕΝΕΗΤΕΚΑΙΟΙΚΟCΤΗΜΑΤΕΧΟΙΤΟ  
10. ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕΝΗΠΙΑΧΟΥCΠΑΙΔΑCΟΔΥΡΑΜΕΝΩ

Εν

αν

Μοι α

Τῇδε πατήρ Μακεδών [στήλῃν καὶ τύμβον] ἐτευξεν,  
Παρθένον αἰδοίην παῖδ' [όλο]φ(υ)ράμενος.

<sup>4</sup> *Hamal* is the Turkish name, used also in Greek, for a porter.

5. *Καὶ τύπον ἐν στήλῃ τεχνήσατο, παιδὸς ἀγαλμα,  
 Ἐς μνήμην ζωοῖσι καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν φθιμένοιαι  
 Γυνῶ[σ]ιν τ' ὀψ(ε)γόνων ἡγνινα τύμβος ἔχει.  
 Εἰ δὲ τις εἰ(ς) στήλῃν ἢ τύμβον τήνδ' ἀλίτῃται,  
 Αἰεὶ οἱ γενεή τε καὶ οἶκος πῆματ' ἔχοιτο,  
 Πάντοτε νηπιάρχους παῖδας ὀδυραμένω.* \*
- 10.

## IV.—THE GOOD FORTUNE OF ANTIOCH.

One of the most interesting of the inscriptions that have been found of recent years in the interior of Asia Minor, has lately been published by Mr. J. R. S. Sterrett, in his *Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Journey made in Asia Minor* in 1884, p. 13, but I should differ from him in the interpretation of it.

ΤΥΧΗΝΕΥ  
 ΜΕΝΗΤΗ  
 ΚΟΛΩΝΕΙ  
 ΑΤΙΒΕΡΙΟ  
 ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΠΑΠ  
 ΗΝΩΝΟΡΟΝΔΕ  
 ΩΝΒΟΥΛΗΔΗΜΟC  
*Τύχην Εὐμενῇ τῇ Κολωνείᾳ  
 Τιβεριοπολεῖτῶν Παπ[π]ηνῶν Ὀρονδέων  
 βουλῇ δῆμος.*

Mr. Sterrett, who gives the inscription only in uncials, understands it to be engraved by the three cities, Colonia Tiberiopolis<sup>5</sup> (=Antiocheia), Oroanda, and Pappa, though it is hard to see how the sentence is to be construed in order to get this interpretation. The inscription has evidently been placed on the basis of a statue of

<sup>5</sup> There is not the slightest foundation for Mr. Sterrett's statement that Colonia Tiberiopolitōn means Colonia Antiocheia.

\* "Makedon, this one's father, erected her beautiful tomb here,  
 Mourning the loss of his child dead in her virginal prime;  
 And in relief on the column he carved of his daughter this image,  
 To the departed an honor, a record, to those who are living;  
 So may posterity know who in the sepulchre lies.  
 Should a defiler presume to despoil the tomb or the column,  
 Woe let his race and his house unto all eternity suffer;  
 And may he ever bewail children in infancy dead."—A. E.

the "Good Fortune of Antiocheia" by the Senate and People of Tiberiopolis Pappa. Mr. Sterrett gives no information as to the form of the stone, on which this most interesting text is engraved. We may conjecture that it was a (large?) pedestal, with marks on the top showing where a statue of the Tyche of the Colonia, *i. e.*, Antioch of Pisidia, was placed. It would have been interesting to know what was the form of the statue, whether an imitation of the well-known statue of Antiocheia on the Orontes by Eutychides, or a reproduction of the Roman type of Fortune, so common on coins of Asia Minor.

M. Waddington first discovered a coin of Pappa in the cabinets of the British Museum, where it had been misread and assigned to Tiberiopolis in Phrygia. It is thus described by him in the *Révue Numismatique*, 1853, p. 43.

"Obv. ΑΥ·ΚΑΙ·ΑΔΡ·ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. Tête laurée d'Antonin-le-Pieux.

Rev. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΕΩΝ·ΠΑΠΠΗΝΩΝ.\* Le dieu *Men* debout, un croissant sur les épaules, la main droite appuyée sur une haste, et tenant de la gauche la pomme de pin; son pied droit est posé sur une tête de boeuf ou de bœlier. Æ. 4½."

Two similar coins, size 6, are in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

It is satisfactory to have, at last, the correct name of the Pisidian people Orondeis, who are called Orondikoi by Ptolemy and Oroandeis in the received text of Polybius. Their territory contained two cities, Mithia and Pappa, but an error of Livy and Pliny has been perpetuated among all modern writers, that there was a city Oroanda. There is no good authority for the existence of such a city, and the evidence of all well-informed writers and of the Byzantine lists is quite conclusive. The origin of the error is easily seen. Polybios, xxii. 25 and 26, uses the expressions ἐξἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς Ὀροανδῆς ("sent him off to the Oroandians"), and τὰ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν Ὀροανδέων ("the money from the Oroandians"). Livy, in relating the same circumstances, mistranslates his authority *L. Manlio . . . Oroanda . . . misso* ("having sent Lucius Manlius to Oroanda"), and *ab Oroandis rediit* ("returned from Oroanda"), (xxxviii. 37 and 39). Pliny, v. 24, speaks of *oppida Oronda*,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Sillig's text has Oroanda, but one MS. reads Oronda, another Aronda.

\*"Aurelius Caesar Adrianus Antoninus. (Coinage of) Tiberiopolis Pappa."



*Sagalessos*, ("the towns of Oronda, Sagalessos") which also is doubtless due to a misunderstanding of some Greek writer.

Mr. Sterrett rightly regards this inscription as a proof that Pappa is to be looked for south-east of Antioch on the west side of the Sultan Dag, but I cannot agree with any other of his remarks on the topography of the district (except, perhaps, that on the site of Anabura). He publishes, on p. 13 of his report, an interesting inscription of Anabura, in apparent ignorance that this inscription had been published in the *Mittheilungen des D. A. Institutes in Athen*, 1883, p. 71. A study of the remarks there appended would have relieved him of some difficulties about Anabura and Neapolis. Anabura is mentioned by Strabo as a town of Pisidia, and I have there shown that it disappears from history about the middle of the first century, while Neapolis rises at the same time, and have drawn the obvious inference that Neapolis is a foundation of one of the early emperors on or not far away from the site of Anabura. The preservation of the name Anabura to the present time, which Mr. Sterrett acutely notes in the village Enevre, decides in favor of the second alternative. Neapolis then was near enough Anabura to throw it entirely into the shade, but probably not exactly on the site of the older town. Mr. Sterrett has doubtless discovered the exact site at Tcharyk Serai.

The name Tiberiopolis, on which the Pappeni prided themselves, makes it probable that a re-organization of the district took place in the reign of Tiberius, and that the foundation of Neapolis belongs to the same period.

The Orondeis with their two towns, Misthia and Pappa, are paralleled by a Phrygian people, the Mozeani, whose territory contained two towns, Dioklea and Hierocharax; both these towns coin money with the legends

ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΝΩΝ ΜΟΙΕΑΝΩΝ \*

and

ΙΕΡΟΧΑΡΑΚΕΙΤΩΝ ΜΟΙ †

There remain to be placed on their precise sites in this district the two towns of the Orondeis, Pappa and Misthia. The former was in Byzantine Pisidia, the latter in Byzantine Lykaonia. It is pretty clear that the Orondeis inhabited the western slopes of the Sultan

\* (Coinage of) "Dioklea of the Mozeani."

† (Coinage of) "Hierocharax of the Mozeani."

Dagh, south-east of Antioch, and we must hope that Mr. Sterrett's journey of 1885 will show what is the exact site of Pappa, whether Kara Kuyu or Bachtiar; it is certainly in that neighborhood.<sup>7</sup> As to Misthia, the site is easier to determine. Mr. Sterrett is, like myself in the paper just quoted, under the mistaken impression that Kereli retains the name of the ancient Carallia. The resemblance is however purely accidental, and M. Waddington, in his papers on the coins of Isauria and Lykaonia, in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1883, p. 36, ff., has shown that Carallia must lie very much further to the south. With this correction a great simplification is introduced into the topography of the district, and Misthia may be placed with confidence at Kereli, or rather at the ancient site in the neighborhood of the modern town (Mr. Sterrett says at one hour's distance, *i. e.* three miles).

Vasada, which was a bishopric contiguous<sup>8</sup> with Misthia, is perhaps to be placed at Yunaslar, a village on the road to Konia, about four or five hours east of Kereli, and not far west of Kizil Euren. Sir Charles Wilson and I observed there in 1883 the ruins of a very large and fine Byzantine church.

#### V.—M. APONIUS SATURNINUS, PROCONSUL OF ASIA.

In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883, p. 416, I published an inscription of which my restoration was neither complete nor correct. Partly through a correction of M. Waddington, partly through my observing that certain fragments published long ago by M. Waddington (Lebas, No. 750, 751) relate to the same person who is honored in my inscription, I can now give the entire text, even the name of the Roman tribe being certain.

(1) In a fountain on the road between Islam Keui and Ahat Keui; on a fragment of entablature: published in Lebas, No. 751, correctly in epigraphic text, but with incorrect restoration in the cursive text: recopied by me in November, 1881. The fragment contains two lines: the first is

[δέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῶν κληρονο]μικῶν δικαστηρίων, ταμία[ν] δήμο[υ]  
'Ρωμαίων ἐπαρχείας Κύπρου]:

<sup>7</sup> Then Pappa must probably be placed at Bachtiar.

<sup>8</sup> See Wesseling's note to Hierocles, *ad loc.*, and the passage which he quotes from S. Basil.

the second is

[οἱ γον]εῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἡρώων κατεσκεύασαν.

My restoration of both lines differs from that adopted by M. Waddington. That of the first line is of course now certain: in the second M. Waddington reads [οἱ Ἀκμον]εῖς αὐτοῦ χ.τ.λ. The order of the words αὐτοῦ τὸ ἡρώων seems to me to be discordant with the analogy of Phrygian inscriptions, and I look for a restoration which will give αὐτοῦ a backward connection.

(2) The following fragments probably belong to the same inscription, or refer to the same person. One has been published, Lebas, No. 750,

ΜΙΛΙΑΚΟΙ  
ΑΝΤΑ—

(3) The other was copied by Mr. Sterrett,<sup>9</sup> when travelling along with me on the expedition connected with the English Asia Minor Exploration Fund in 1883. It is, like the last two, on a fragment of entablature, but there is no note of the size of the letters. It was found in the cemetery at Susuz Keui.

ΡΑΤΗΤΟCΠΡΕCΒΕ

In Lebas' fragment, No. 750, both lines are said by M. Waddington to be 0.05m. high, whereas in No. 751 the upper line is 0.07m. high and the lower 0.05. It is hard to see what is the relation between these fragments. There is, however, great probability that they at least relate to the same person, and that several inscriptions in his honor were engraved on the magnificent tomb erected to him by his [parents]. Lebas' fragment probably ran in this fashion:

. . . . . Αἰ[μίλι]α Κο[ρνοῦτον] . . . . .  
. . . . . ζήσ[αντά] [τε κοσμίως καὶ] . . . . \*

In Mr. Sterrett's fragment at least one correction is necessary:

στ[ρατηγ]ός, πρεσβευ[τῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος]

<sup>9</sup> On this expedition Mr. Sterrett was serving his apprenticeship to exploring work. His expedition of 1884, in which he has done very important work, was of course on a quite different footing, entirely unconnected with the English Fund and with me.

\* "Aemilius Cornutus . . . whose life was of good repute and . . . ."

On the analogy of the other inscriptions, I feel inclined to read here *στρατηγόν*, but, as this involves a more violent correction than that of *Γ* for *T* (which I consider certain and have put in the text), I dare not adopt it.

From these fragments the text of the inscription is thus restored :

1. ἡ πόλις] ἐ[τείμησεν  
*Λούκιον Σερουήγιον Λο[υκίου υἱόν*  
*Αἰμ]λίην Κορνοῦτον, δέ[χανδρον*  
*ἐπ]ὶ τῶν κληρονομικῶν δικα[στηρίων,*
5. ταμίαν δήμου Ρωμαίων ἐπα[ρχείας  
*Κύπρου, ἀγορανόμον, στρατηγ[όν,*  
*πρεσβευτήν καὶ ἀντιστρατηγ[όν*  
*Μάρκῳ Ἀπωνίῳ Σατουρνείῳ Ἀσι[ας*  
*ἐπαρχείας, τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην \**

M. Aponius Saturninus was a prominent partisan of Vespasian in the war against Vitellius. Tacitus calls him *consularis*, but the date of his consulship is unknown. He probably was proconsul of Asia under Vespasian, and is perhaps to be placed as 96th or 97th in M. Waddington's list (*Fastes des Provinces d'Asie*).

The family name Serenius Cornutus is known both at Akmonia (see Franz, *Fünf Inschriften und fünf Städte*) and at Ankyra of Galatia (see Mordtmann, *Marmora Ancyrana*). Now there is an inscription at Akmonia, on a fragment of entablature, copied by Hamilton (C. I. G., 3858, add.), and recopied by me in November, 1881,

τὸ κοινὸν Γαλατῶν

It is difficult to see what the *κοινὸν Γαλατῶν* ("the Galatian nation") had to do at Akmonia, but the connection of a distinguished person like L. Serenius Cornutus with both cities may have induced the *κοινὸν* to put an inscription on a monument in his honor at Akmonia.

One more fragment may perhaps relate to the same person : Lebas, No. 765,

\* "The city decreed this honor to Lucius Serenius Aemilius Cornutus, son of Lucius, Decemvir of the Probate Courts, Quaestor of the Roman People in the province of Cyprus, Aedile, Consul, Legate and Proconsul to Marcus Aponius Saturninus, Proconsul of the province of Asia, in recognition of his benefits."—A. E.

ΝΕΠΑ  
ΑΤΟΙΡΝΟΥ  
ΟΓΕΙΖΗ

The first line might be [ταμίαν δήμου Ρωμαίων] ἐπα[ρχείας Κύπρου] ("quaestor of the Roman People in the province of Cyprus"); but I do not see any explanation of the other two lines. It is possible that the second line is badly copied, and should be Σ[ατο[υ]ρ[υ]ν[ιν]ου].

#### VI.—THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASSOS.

In reading over the Inscriptions from Assos,<sup>10</sup> I have made a note of some necessary additions and corrections. In view of a possible republication of these Inscriptions in the hoped for account of the excavations, it may be useful to print the following remarks, omitting the discussion of several points which I have noted as requiring too much time.

I. The reading seems to be Ἀριστάνδρου κ[. . . .

IV. Line 17, εἰς τὰν ἀγ[οράν].

V. In l. 7, for ἔχουσι, the aeolic ἔχοισι is demanded by the uncial text.

XI. In l. 10 [χ]ρῶνται is clearly wrong; read [ῶ δὲ προαί]ρῶνται. In l. 6 the restoration [᾽Ασσ]ω cannot be accepted without a proof that the Assians deposited public documents in the temple of Zeus. We should expect that the temple of Athena would be used for this purpose, or, as in No. IV., the Agora.

XII. The statement in the last line of the remarks should be erased. Some place in the territory of Assos, called Rhodi[on] or Rhodi[kon], is doubtless referred to.

XIII. ὕπατο[ν τῆς Ἀσίας] is an absolutely inadmissible restoration, and, if the expression were allowable, it certainly could not be, as in the appended translation, taken as equivalent to Proconsul of Asia. Caius Caesar was never Proconsul of Asia, nor had he anything to do with the province of Asia, except in so far as he had power over all the provinces of the east. He was sent to the east to direct the war against the Parthians, and there is not the slightest evidence that he ever touched at any point on the mainland of Asia Minor till he was returning from Syria in A. D. 4. Mr. Sterrett

<sup>10</sup> *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. I., p. 1, ff.

seems to have been misled by some odd remarks in Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*, p. 633, a passage to which he refers, and has thus been led into some quite incorrect statements. Merivale, in his *History*, says that Caius went to the east in B. C. 1, and entered on his consulship A. D. 1, while actually in Syria. As Caius was consul in A. D. 1, and is styled consul in this inscription, the natural inference is that the inscription belongs to that year.

XIV. The parts I. and II., with their numerous misspellings ('Ρομαῖοι, Ἀθηνᾶς, πόλεος, πολειτίαν), and with their numerous ligatures and other signs of lateness in the lettering, cannot possibly be assigned, as Mr. Sterrett wishes, to the pre-Augustan period. They belong rather to the end of the second century after Christ, or even to the third. The argument by which Mr. Sterrett supports his early date seems to me to be invalid. The restoration [Ἐλ]λῶ[πις] is inconsistent with the space as shown in the drawing: there is only room for one letter in place of πικς.

XVII. Mr. Sterrett says that Antiochis is a Roman surname. This cannot be accepted without proof, and the Latin inscription which he quotes in a note certainly refers to Greeks, Julia Euhemeris and Julia Antiochis.

XIX. The person honored is obviously Livia Augusta. The second line is

θεὰν Α[ε]ρουῖαν Ὁραν ν[έαν, σεβαστήν]. \*

In the last line instead of [ἰέρειαν] read [γυναῖκα ἀνέθηκαν].

XXIV. Mr. Sterrett repeats M. Waddington's antiquated explanation of υἱὸς πόλεως. He will find a later treatment of the subject in Perrot, *Mém. d'Archéol.*, p. 175, and in a paper of Hirschfeld in a recent volume of the *Zeitschr. f. die oesterreich. Gymnasien*.

XXV. This inscription may be restored in the following terms. The canon of Godfrey Hermann in such inscriptions is to suppose the smallest possible lacuna, and this principle is accepted by the best epigraphists (v. Dittenberger in the *Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, Berlin, 1884, p. 293, and Köhler in *Mittheilungen des D. A. Institutes in Athen*, 1884, p. 118). I will therefore suppose a lacuna of 4 or 5 letters only. The first line I find hopeless, and suspect the reading; I have tried in vain to make a part of ἐσιδῶ come in at the end of

\* "The divine Livia Augusta, the new Juno."

the line, δι' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐστιάσαντα ("feasted them for the whole year"). The rest is easy :

σιτο- or ἑλαιῶ] τε δωρεὰν διανείμαντα  
 πρῶτ]ον καὶ μόνον, καὶ τὸν σειτω-  
 νίας] πόρον πληρώσαντα ἐκ τῶ[ν  
 5. ἰδίων εἰς θηνάρια μύρια · σειτωνή-  
 σαντα] δὲ πολλάκις, καὶ ἀγοράσαντα  
 τοῦ σ]ίτου τὸν μέδιμνον θηναρί-  
 ων ἰά?], καὶ ποήσαν[τα . . . . . \*

The price *per med.* in l. 8 is filled up *exempli gratia*.

XXXI. *Ad finem* read "ad solacium la(b)oris [et] festinationis [causa]. *ae* in l. 9 is probably incorrectly copied.

XXXII. It is quite an inadmissible supposition that a person of the exceedingly common name Σατορνῖλος [so accented in C. I. G. *passim*] or Σατορνύνος, who made a vow in Assos, is to be identified with a person of the same name who was *Comes domesticorum* in the reign of Theodosius II. It is still more inadmissible to conjecture that this Saturnilos may have been Proconsul of Asia (p. 90).

XXXV. For *θε(έ)* read *θε(ός)*. I see no reason for attributing even to an Assian of the Byzantine time such a vocative as *θεέ*. Moreover the contraction *Θε̄*, i. e., *Θ(ε)ός*, is quite as common as *Θε̄*, i. e., *θε(ός)*.

LXXI. In l. 5 I should read *πλὴν τῆς γυναικός*, and *παρὰ τῆς θεμαι τὸ μὴνῆμα* [*Δ*]ῆμ[ητρι, *Κ*]όρη, *Πλούτωνι* (" . . except my wife, . . I place this sepulchre under the care of Demeter, Kore, and Pluton").

LXXIII. This should certainly be *ἐπιμε[λε]ίας Ἑλλαδίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*. It is not a sepulchral inscription, but records that some ornamentation or repair of the church was done "by the care of Helladius and his son Lucian." A proper name, Epimēnias, is in the last degree improbable.

W. M. RAMSAY.

\* "who first and alone distributed (corn or) oil gratuitously, and paid the cost of supplying the people with corn out of his own means to the amount of 10,000 denaria, (\$1,500.00), and often had charge of the corn importation and procured wheat at the rate of a denarius (\$0.15) a bushel, and made . . . ."—A. E.

N. B.—Prof. Ramsay not having furnished translations of the inscriptions cited, and it being impossible to receive any from him in time, Dr. Emerson has kindly supplied them.—Ed.



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Corrections to W. M. Ramsay's "Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor"

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Oct., 1885), pp. 385-386

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/496421>

Accessed: 23-03-2015 13:23 UTC

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## NOTES.

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### NOTE ON J. R. S. STERRETT'S "INSCRIPTIONS OF ASSOS."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the corrections proposed by Mr. Ramsay to the inscriptions from Assos (*Journal*, I. p. 149 and foll.), I would add a remark referring to No. XIII. Dr. Sterrett reads [πατρὼ]να τῆς νεότητος. This translation of the latin title *principem juventutis* is unknown to me; inscriptions and authors give only πρόχρητος τῆς νεότητος and ἡγεμὼν νεότητος, as I have observed in my *Traité d'épigraphie grecque*, p. 533. In consequence, I propose to restore [ἡγεμό]να τῆς νεότητος. Compare *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ed. Mommsen, p. 52: ἱππεῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίων σύγπαντες ἡγεμόνα νεότητος ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν προσηγρόρευσαν.

SALOMON REINACH.

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### CORRECTIONS TO W. M. RAMSAY'S "NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASIA MINOR."<sup>2</sup>

#### II.

In these inscriptions on p. 140, where Dr. Roehl read ΕΝ<sup>π</sup>ΠΙΟΥ, I read ΕΝΕ<sup>δ</sup>ΠΙΟΥ: I understood that the otherwise unknown word ἐνέδριον might denote the rows of seats in the theatre, and interpreted the inscription as recording that "four benches, reckoning from this point, were appropriated to the Porters who unite in the worship of Asklepios." After the paper was in print, it occurred to me that the first letter was not E but C with a small upsilon within it: I again consulted the stone, and found that this is certainly the case. The unparalleled word ἐνεδρίου is therefore dismissed, and συνεδρίου takes

<sup>1</sup> *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. 1, 1885, pp. 1-90.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, I. pp. 138-151.

its place. *Συνέδριον* can have nothing to do with the theatre : it must be the Senate-house. My interpretation therefore falls to the ground. *Βάθρα* may denote either benches, or pedestals similar to the square block on which the inscription is engraved, and the latter sense must probably be accepted in this case.

## IV.

Mr. Sterrett's recent journey has thrown a flood of light on the topographical points discussed here, and on many others besides : and, if he performs the work of publication as well as he has that of exploration, his account of his journey will be one of the most important events in the study of Anatolian Antiquities.

## VI.

In xxxi it would require less correction of Mr. Sterrett's copy to read a[c] for [et]. I omitted inadvertently two other necessary corrections in the text, Fl(aviis) for f(elicibus) I(mperatoribus), and [p]iis for diis.

W. M. RAMSAY.



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Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor (II)

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1886), pp. 21-23

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/496034>

Accessed: 23-03-2015 13:26 UTC

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## NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASIA MINOR.

### VII.—HADRIANOPOLIS—STRATONIKEIA.

Stratonikeia, a city on the borderland between Lydia and Mysia, or, to use the nomenclature of late Roman and Byzantine custom, between Lydia and Hellespontos, has, through a curious fate, almost disappeared from the knowledge of modern geographers. It was a place of some note: it struck coins, it has left some inscriptions. But it has been completely merged in the more important and famous Karian Stratonikeia: its coins have been attributed to the Karian city; the surname Hadrianopolis, with which Hadrian honored it on his first journey through Asia Minor, has been applied to the Karian city, which Hadrian in all probability never saw: and an inscription found at Kirkagatch in the valley of the Kaikos, on or near the actual site of the northern Stratonikeia, has exercised the ingenuity of its editor to explain how it travelled so far from Karia.<sup>1</sup> The inscription, Lebas and Waddington, No. 1043, is as follows:

*Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀδριανοπολειτῶν Στρατονικέων Διόδωρον Νεικάνδρου Φιλομήτορα . . . . . ἐτείμησαν;*<sup>2</sup> to which the following note is added: *Stratonicée en Carie avait pris le nom d'Hadrianopolis . . . . . On ne voit pas pour quel motif cette inscription a pu être placée dans un édifice public de Germé . . . . Il est possible qu'il y ait quelque erreur dans la note communiquée par Borrell.*

The correct interpretation of the inscription is, that there were two cities named Stratonikeia, one in Karia and one in Lydia. The inscription shows (1) that Stratonikeia of Lydia was at or near the modern village of Kirkagatch, (2) that this northern Stratonikeia, and not the Karian city, assumed the name Hadrianopolis, and struck coins with the legend

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the very few cases in which later research has found a mistake in the admirable commentary from which I quote.

<sup>2</sup> "The Senate and the People of Hadrianopolis Stratonikeia . . . . honored Diodoros Philometor, son of Neikandros."

The *Notitiae Episcopatum* mention Stratonikeia regularly as in the province of Lydia, and the lists of bishops present at the Councils of Chalkedon (451), Ephesos (431), etc., include the bishop of the Lydian city. Le Quien alone among modern writers correctly distinguishes the two cities. Hierokles appears to omit the Lydian city, but he gives it in the province of Hellespontos. Kirkagatch is near the frontier of the two provinces, and was by Hierokles included in the northern province. The name in Hierokles is very corrupt, for the great part of his list of Hellespontos is so disfigured that the names are hardly recognizable. Some *Notitiae* mention the bishopric *Στρατονικείας ἡτοι Καλάνδου*, showing that Kalandos and Stratonikeia were neighboring towns, administered by the same bishop.<sup>3</sup> In Hierokles the two names have been corrupted to *Σκέλεντα*, i. e., *εἰς Κάλανδα*, and *Εἰος Τράδος*, i. e., *εἰς Στρατον[ίκειαν]*. Both are in Hellespontos.

Ptolemy and Strabo omit the Lydian Stratonikeia entirely, and the epitomizer of Stephanos Byzantios mixes up the cities in one confused note: *Στρατονίκηια πόλις Μαονίας πλησίον Καρίας*. There is no doubt that the epitomizer has here confused the account of two cities given in the original work, and that he would have more correctly represented the original, if he had said *Στρατονίκηια, πόλις Μαονίας · β' Καρίας πλησίον Μυλασοῦ*.

I shall not here try to show that the Lydian Stratonikeia lay on the route taken by Hadrian on his first journey through Asia Minor, and that probably he did not pass near the Karian city on either of his journeys. Even without this proof, which I shall give elsewhere, the inscription just quoted is sufficient evidence that the coins of Hadrianopolis-Stratonikeia must be classed to the Lydian city. This city also struck coins with the simple legend *Στρατονικέων*, for Mr. B. V. Head informs me that the river-god ΚΑΙΚΟΞ appears on a coin of Stratonikeia in the cabinets of the British Museum.

I may add that Germé, which M. Waddington considers to have been situated at Kirkagatch, was in all probability on the northern side of the Kaikos: the river was almost certainly the boundary between the two provinces, Lydia and Hellespontos, and Germé belonged to the northern province.

<sup>3</sup> A good example of the custom is given by Hirschfeld, *Reisebericht*, in BERL. MONATSBER. 1879, p. 315.

## VIII.—A HYRGALEAN VERB.

I found the following inscription engraved on a small marble stele in the village of Khanchallar, a mile and a half north of Demirdji Keui, which is the chief town of the Tehal Ova. This part of the Tehal Ova is, as has been proved in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1883, p. 386), the *Hyrgaletici campi* of Pliny (N. H., v. 29), or according to the native fashion τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ Ὑργαλέων πεδίου.<sup>4</sup>

ΜΕΛΤΙΝΗ ΚΑΙ  
ΓΛΥΚΩΝΚΑΙΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ  
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΩΠΑΤΡΙΓΛΥ  
ΚΥΤΑΤΩΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ  
ΕΙΔΕΤΙCΤΗΝCΤΗΛΗΝ  
ΚΑΘΕΛΕΙΗΜΑΝΙCΕΙΕΞΕΙ  
ΤΟΥCΘΕΟΥCΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΥΞ<sup>5</sup>

*Μελτίνη καὶ Γλύκων καὶ Ἐλεύθερος Μενάνδρῳ πατρὶ γλυκυτάτῳ μνη-  
ίας χάριν· εἰ δέ τις τὴν στήλην καθελεῖ ἢ μανίσει, ἔξει τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἐναντίους.*

The only point of interest in the inscription is the verb *μανίζω*, of which I find no other example. The adjective *μανός* is not uncommon: it is said to be Attic for *ἀραιός*. The sense appears to be "make less, injure." The future *ἐλῶ* occurs in later Greek.

The inscription is probably not later than the first century after Christ; at a later date we should hardly find so many names purely Greek with no mixture of Roman.

I may add that one more mention of the very rare name Hyrgalea occurs in an inscription published by M. P. Paris in the *Bulletin de Correspond. Hellén.* 1884, p. 248. M. Paris reads Ὀργαλεύς, and refers it to a hypothetical *petite ville riveraine de l'Orgas*, a small tributary of the Maeander close to Apameia. He should have read Ὀργαλεύς, a by-form of Ὑργαλεύς.

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>4</sup> "The Federation of the Hyrgalean Plain."

<sup>5</sup> "Meltine and Glykon and Eleutheros (erected this stele) to their sweetest father Menander *in memoriam*; and if any one shall destroy or injure the stele, he will have the Gods against him."



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Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor (III)

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1886), pp. 123-131

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/495838>

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

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VOL. II.

No. 2.

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## NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASIA MINOR.

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### IX.—MANUEL'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TURKS, A. D. 1176.

In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1883, p. 402) I have shown that the small town of Sibia or Sublaion, which struck a few rare coins under the Roman Empire, and which was a Bishopric in Byzantine times, was situated where the modern village Homa stands. One of the most tragic events in Byzantine history, the battle which finally laid the Empire prostrate and helpless before the Seljuk Turks, took place beside Sibia, though as yet no one has ever suspected that the pass of Homa was the scene of the fight.

In the twelfth century the plain of Sibia and the pass which leads from it across the mountains into the province of Salutaris and the East, rose into importance from the peculiar conditions of the time. The history is obscure, and has never yet been properly explained. The key to it lies in the clear exposition of a name which occurs for the first time in historians of the period, and which has lasted till the present time: that name is Khoma,—or Homa, as the Turks still call the village which occupies the site of Sibia.

The name Khoma is mentioned several times during the twelfth century. It denotes a district or province guarded by certain troops, who are often called Khomatenoi or οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χώματος. The passages in which it occurs are as follows:

ὅποσοι ἐκ τοῦ Χώματος ὄρμηγντο, Anna Komnena i. 131 (Bonn edition).



τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Χώματος, Anna I. 134, 170, 178.

τῶν Χωματηνῶν ἑξαρχον, Anna I. 29.

τὸν Βοῦρτζην τοπάρχην ὄντα Καππαδοκίας καὶ Χώματος, Anna I. 171.

(From Laodikeia on the Lykos) διὰ τοῦ Χώματος διελθὼν τὴν Αἰάμπην κατέλαβε . . . ἐφθαλὼς δὲ εἰς τὸ Πολύβοτον, Anna II. 96.

From Apameia-Kelainai εἰς τὸ Χῶμα ἐλθὼν τῷ Μυριοκεφάλῳ ἐφίσταται, Niketas Chon., p. 231.

Ducange has correctly described the meaning of the term Khoma in writers of this late period,<sup>1</sup> though he has erred in supposing that Lykia was part of the Theme and that the Lykian Khoma was the central city in it. None of the later writers have taken any notice of the Theme Khoma.

The passages just quoted show that the Theme of Khoma lay east of Laodikeia, and that the road to Polybotos<sup>2</sup> passed through it. They also prove that the Theme existed when Alexios Komnenos ascended the throne A. D. 1081, but no older evidence exists to show at what time this new Theme was constituted. It is obviously a part of the older Anatolic Theme, as described by Constantine in the tenth century. Between the time of Constantine and that of Alexios Komnenos a vast change had come over the Anatolic Theme: great part of it, including the eastern and southern and much of the central regions, had been occupied by the Seljuk Turks and formed into a hostile monarchy. The Seljuk sovereigns had formed alliances with more than one of the Byzantine emperors or pretenders, and a condition of any such alliance necessarily was the recognition of the Seljuk suzerainty over that part of the Anatolic Theme which they claimed.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, a remarkable change is observable in the road-system of this district, when the wars of Alexios and Manuel make it possible, after many centuries of obscurity, to look again into the means of communication. The great highway, the path indicated by nature,

<sup>1</sup> See his note on Anna Komn. II. p. 486, where he corrects the old false interpretation of the word.

<sup>2</sup> Polybotos or Polyboton is the modern Bolwadun.

<sup>3</sup> Finlay has correctly described the character and conditions of these alliances between the weakest Byzantine Emperors and the warlike Seljuks. The cession of territory is disguised or omitted by the Byzantine historians. It can be proved that Apameia-Kelainai and the country between it and Laodikeia *ad Lycum* was ceded in this way to the Seljuks.

from Laodikeia to the east, has often been described,<sup>4</sup> but in these late wars it is not employed. In 1092 Dukas marched from Philadelpheia in pursuit of the retreating Turks by way of Laodikeia and thence through the district Khoma by Lampe<sup>5</sup> to Polybotos. All the operations of Manuel in his fruitless attempt to drive back the tide of Turkish expansion in the years 1176–8 were directed on Sibliā (Homa), and on points between Laodikeia and Sibliā. The reason why this line of communication became so important about 1100 to 1200 A. D. is that the line of the old and natural highway lay in Turkish territory.<sup>6</sup> Laodikeia, Apameia, and the line of country between them were Turkish, and the plain of Sibliā was an outpost of the Byzantine power, bordered on the south and the east by Seljuk territory. Close to Sibliā a pass, called now Duz Bel, crosses the mountains which at that time divided the Byzantine from the Seljuk dominion. The pass over the Duz Bel then became an important *kleisoura* between Turkish and Byzantine territory, the fortress commanding it on the Byzantine side became a central point in the defence of the frontier, the routes leading to it became important military roads, the policy of the emperors who defended the frontier was concentrated on the maintenance of this border fortress, and the organization of the whole district was conducted with a view to this end. Such was the origin of the new Theme of Khoma.

The origin of the name Khoma as applied to this Theme is a point on which I can throw no light. The explanation advanced by Ducange (*l. c.*), that it is derived from the Lykian city Khoma, is inadmissible. It is hardly possible that the Theme Khoma can have included any part of Lykia. The passage quoted from Anna Komnena (i. 171) shows that the Theme of Khoma was conterminous with the Theme which in the twelfth century was dignified with the name of Kappadokia, and that the two Themes were under one general, Burtzes. Other passages (Anna ii. 325 and 327) prove that Kappadokia at that period meant the plains north and north-east of Amorion: hence it is clear that the two Themes embraced the whole frontier-defence against the Seljuk kingdom of Ikonion.

<sup>4</sup> E. g., *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1882, p. 345. It goes by Apameia.

<sup>5</sup> Anna ii. 96, quoted above.

<sup>6</sup> I must assume the results of my study of the local history of southern Phrygia, which is already in MS. ready for print.

Anna Komnena and Niketas, the only two writers who use the term Khoma, denote by it the district which I have described. The term, by an easy transition, was applied to the central fortress on which the defence of the whole district mainly depended, and in this sense the name has lasted till the present day. The village on the site of Sibia is called by the Turks Homa. The term *Thema* in Byzantine writers means (1) the troops who guarded a province, (2) the country or province which they guarded, (3) the main fortress where they were stationed. The *κάστρον Χαρσιανόν*, the central fortress of the Thema Kharsianon, had in all probability a distinct older name.<sup>7</sup>

When Manuel resolved to make one great effort to break the Turkish power, he began by refortifying a point on each of two great roads between Ikonion and the Byzantine territory. One point was Dorylaion, formerly an important military station, a *θέμα* and an *ἀπλῆκτον*, on the direct road from Constantinople to Ikonion: the other was Soublaion or Sibia, the central fortress for the defence of the Theme of Khoma. He chose the latter route for delivering his great blow, wintered at Khonai (now called Honas), and in the following spring (A. D. 1176) marched directly against Ikonion.

In describing the subsequent operations, Niketas, our sole authority, uses two names, which are known only from this passage: MYRIO-KEPHALON and the TCHYVRIJI KLEISOURA. Close to Homa or Sibia, an important pass crosses the neck connecting the Ak Dagħ with the Djebel Sultan Dagħ: this pass is now called the Duz Bel, "Level Neck."<sup>8</sup>

Leaving the plain of Sibia, the road climbs the grassy hillside by an almost perpendicular ascent of 1500 feet or more. After this first steep climb, the pass lies before us straight and open, whence the name, "Level Neck." About two miles further east the road forks, one branch leading to the Tchul Ovasi (Metropolitanus Campus)

<sup>7</sup> It is probably the almost impregnable rock of Mushalem Kale.

<sup>8</sup> The pass is not marked in any map, and seems not to have been traversed by any modern traveller till we crossed it in 1883. At the present time a traveller from Ala Sheher (Philadelphia) to Konia would probably, and a traveller from any part of the higher Maeander valley would certainly, be recommended by the muleteers to cross the Duz Bel. By a fortunate accident I was led to choose this route, otherwise Manuel's campaign against the Turks would still be unintelligible to me.

goes to the right down a long narrow defile called Turrije Boghaz; the other turns to the left and descends another more open defile towards Sandykli.<sup>9</sup>

Such was the pass which the emperor Manuel crossed on his ill-fated expedition. He reached a ruined fort named Myriokephalon, and had then before him a long defile, the Tchyvriji Kleisoura, (*αἱ κλήσουραι τοῦ Τζυβροίτζη κατονομάζονται ὅς καὶ ἡμελλον* 'Ρωμαῶσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Μυριοκεφάλου παρῆναι ἀπαρσιν, Niket. Chon. 231). Against the advice of his officers, he marched into this defile with his whole army in long scattered array, without any precaution; and the Turks, who occupied the heights on each side, slaughtered the Byzantine troops without difficulty or danger.

The description suits the Turrije Boghaz excellently, as far as I can judge from its appearance.<sup>10</sup> The very name may be the same which Niketas writes *Τζυβροτζή*, obviously a Greek rendering of a Turkish name.<sup>11</sup> Myriokephalon then was a fort on the Duz Bel: and we were informed at Homa that ruins existed on the Bel, though in our rapid march we did not observe them. It is probable that, when the Iconoclast Emperors organized the defence of the empire against the Arabs, they built the fortress of Myriokephalon, which was a ruin in the twelfth century. This pass could have become an important one only during the long wars against the Arab marauders.<sup>12</sup>

After Manuel's army had been almost annihilated by the Turks, the Seljuk sultan, Kilij Arslan, offered him peace on condition of destroying Dorylaion and Soublaion; and he returned again, necessarily by the same road, to Khonai, dismantling the lately restored fortifications of Soublaion as he passed (*τὸ Σούβλαιον ἐπιπαριῶν . . . . . καθαίρει*, Niket. Chon.). From this time onward, the valley of Sibia has been in Turkish hands, and the population has adopted the Mohammedan religion.

<sup>9</sup> I have traversed only the second defile: the first is the main road to the East.

<sup>10</sup> I looked down the pass from the Duz Bel, and also looked up the pass from its other end south of Kizil Euren.

<sup>11</sup> *τζη* is the Greek rendering of the common Turkish ending *ji*.

<sup>12</sup> It is important only in defence against an enemy from the East.

## X.—FINES SAGALASSENSIUM.

In June, 1884, I found the following inscription in the cemetery of Deuer, a village at the south end of the lake of Buldur. It is engraved very roughly and carelessly on a large block of unsmoothed limestone. The surface of the stone is exceedingly uneven, and the letters are very faint. Seeing its importance, I spent the great part of two days working at it, but the reading of l. 16 is still uncertain. I am indebted to a most ingenious restoration by Prof. Mommsen of lines 13 to 15, the interpretation of which baffled me while I was studying the stone. While working at this inscription, I was just recovering from a sharp attack of fever, and on the first day was hardly able to stand upright: and, as the stone was buried in the ground upside down, I suffered much from the great heat and the constrained position which I was obliged to occupy: an examination under more favorable conditions may yet give the reading of l. 16.

ε \_ ΕΤΙCΤΟΛΙΙ ▯ ΘΕ  
 ΟΥ ▯ C Ε Β Α C ▯ ΟΥ  
 ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ ▯ ▯ ICAPOC  
 ΚΟΙΝΤΟCΤΕΤΡΩΝΙ  
 5 ΟCΟΥΜΒ ▯ ΤΡΕCΒΕΥΘΗC  
 ΚΑΙΑΝΤΙCΤΡΑΘΓΟCΝΕΡΩ  
 ▯ ΟCΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΚΑΙCΑΡΟC  
 CΕΒΑCΤΟΥΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ  
 ΛΟ ▯ ΟCΤΡΟΥΠΙΟCΤΡΑΙ  
 10 CΗ ▯ ΤΡΟΤΟCΝ ▯ ΩΝΟC  
 ΚΛΑ ΙΟΥ ΑΙC ΟCCE  
 ΟΥΓΕ ΜΑΝΙΚΟΥΩ  
 ΡΟΟCΤΗC ΑΝΤΑΜΕ Ι  
 ΔΕ ΙΑΕΙΝ/ ▯ ΛΑCCEΩΝ  
 15 ΤΑΔCΕΝΑ ΤΕΡΑΚ  
 ΑΟ ΤΥΜΒΡΙΑΝΑC  
 ΚΛΑΥ ΑΙCΑ  
 ΕΡΜ

Throughout this inscription there is hardly a single letter which is clear and certain: it was deciphered, symbol by symbol, with hesitation and laborious comparison. Hence, in the difficult line 16 there is no letter except N of which I am positively certain, and the horizontal stroke of the T is very much extended on the right, though I

could see no trace to warrant the reading Π. In line 2 the word *θεοῦ* is engraved over the erased name of Nero. In l. 5 the impossible reading BOB appeared, after frequent examination, to be on the stone.

Ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς θεοῦ Σεβαστ[τ]οῦ Γερμανι[χοῦ] Καίσαρος Κοίντος Πετρώνιος Οὐμβ[ερ]ος πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστρατηγὸς Νέρω[ν]ος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ [καὶ] Λο[ύ]κιος Πούπιος Πραῖσις ἐπιτροπος Ν[έρ]ωνος Κλαυδίου [Κ]αίσαρος Σε[βαστ]οῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὠροθέτησαν τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἐν[αι] Σαγαλασσεῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερῇ . . . . . [Νέρωνος] Κλαυδίου Κ[αίσαρος] Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ.

"In accordance with a rescript of the Emperor Nero [the name *Nero* has been erased, and the word *God* substituted] Germanicus Caesar, Quintus Petronius UMBER, lieutenant with power of praetor of the Emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus, and Lucius Papius Praesens, procurator of the Emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus, fixed the boundary, that what lies on the right should belong to the Sagalassians, and what lies on the left should belong to the . . . [estate] of the Emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus."

In the village of Deuer I found another inscription, which is a companion to the preceding. It is engraved on a block of limestone which has been hollowed out to form a large mortar. Only a few letters remain at the ends of the lines, along the edge of the stone on the right.

	/	10	▨
	OC		II
	C		▨ ▨
	KAI		C C
5	NOC		Ω
	POC BAC	15	ΕΡΚ
	OY I KAI		OC
	CTTPAI		YOYE
	PΩ		AAAC

In line 13 the second C is probably part of O or Ω, and in line 18 the Λ is very doubtful. The first ten lines of this inscription were identical with eleven of the preceding: the rest probably contained a similar formula in reverse order. The word [Σαγαλασσεῶν] seems to be the end of the whole.

A third inscription was discovered in the same village by Mr. A. H. Smith, who visited Deuer on the day before I passed through it.

I also copied it. It shows that in the reign of Diocletian this district was still part of the territory of Sagalassos.

These inscriptions prove with definite certainty that, throughout the Roman period, the whole valley along the east and south of the lake of Buldur belonged to Sagalassos. It is, of course, obvious that this state of affairs existed before the Roman supremacy began, and was permitted to continue under their government. Therefore we may consider it certain that, in the second and third centuries before Christ, the country lying along the east and south of the lake was included in "finis Sagalassensium."

This discovery throws a new and utterly unexpected light on the passage of Livy which describes the route of the consul Manlius in his expedition against Galatia. Hitherto, it has been exceedingly difficult to see how Manlius passed through the territory of the Sagalassians. The furthest point to the south-east which Livy mentions is Termessos: a glance at the map shows how far Sagalassos lies out of the natural route from Termessos to Galatia. An acquaintance with the natural features of the country makes it still more difficult to understand how Manlius could have gone through Sagalassos. The mountain barrier north of that city would force him, as it had before forced Alexander, to turn westward and march along the north-eastern end of lake Askania (lake of Buldur).

Professor G. Hirschfeld<sup>13</sup> saw clearly the apparently insuperable difficulties which are occasioned by the supposition that Manlius marched from Termessos by Sagalassos. He recognized, what is indubitable to one who knows the country, that, if Manlius passed through the valley of Sagalassos, he must have been marching not from Termessos, but from Pamphylia proper, the country adjoining Perga, Attaleia, and Aspendos. On the other hand, Livy never mentions the advance of Manlius beyond Termessos; and the words of Polybios<sup>14</sup> are opposed to such a supposition. But we now see that there is no necessity to suppose that Manlius ever went into the valley of Sagalassos; and, if we read Livy without that prejudice in mind, his account is clear, simple and accurate.

Manlius returned from the neighborhood of Termessos, crossed the river Istanos (Tauros), passed by Alifachreddin Keui (Xylene

<sup>13</sup> *Reisebericht*, published in BERLIN. MONATSBER., 1879; also *Gratulationschrift der Königsberg. Univers. für d. archæol. Institut in Rom*, 1879.

<sup>14</sup> Polyb. xxii, 18, ὁ δὲ Γνάριος συνεγγίσας τῇ Τερμησσῶ.



Kome), marched past Andeda and Pogla through the pass leading to the Gebren valley in several days (*continentibus itineribus*), sacked Kormasa in the Gebren valley, and then proceeded along the southern and eastern side of the Buldur lake (Askania, *παρὰ τὴν λίμνην*), through the territory of the Sagalassians. At the north-eastern end of the lake the road which he took joins the road from Sagalassos, by which, according to Prof. Hirschfeld's supposition, he would have travelled. Thus, we see that Manlius, after his interference in Pamphylian affairs, marched towards Galatia by the easiest and straightest way, which is marked out by nature as the proper road for a traveller. From the N. E. end of the lake Askania to the Campus Metropolitanus, I have, in a former paper,<sup>15</sup> traced the route of the Roman army. I have only one addition to make to the reasoning in that paper. In it I proved that the *Rhotrini fontes*, mentioned by Livy, are the beautiful springs, called Bash Bunar, in the valley behind Apameia, and that the violent alteration of the text into *Obrimæ fontes* could not be accepted. I did not observe that the true reading must be *Rhocrinus fontes*. The Greek name of the fountains is, as I then proved, *πηγὴ Ἀβροκρηνὴ* or *Ἀβροκληνὴ* or *Ἀβροκρηνὴ*: and the last form, with omission of the initial vowel-sound, gives the Latin form.

I may make one more slight alteration in the text of Livy.—From Kormasa, Manlius advanced to Darsa. On the route just described, Buldur would be the next town after Kormasa. Now Buldur is, as I shall hereafter try to prove, the ancient Durzela, Zarzila, or Zorzila. The change from Darsam to Darsilam is not great.

I have mentioned that the lake along which Manlius marched must be the Buldur Göl. Leake stands almost alone among modern geographers in holding this opinion: it is always pleasant to find new proofs of his marvellous sagacity in divining what has required many years to prove.

The inscriptions published above show that, during the first century after Christ, the district was included in the Roman province of Galatia. It was afterwards, when the province Lycia-Pamphylia was constituted, transferred to the latter, and it appears so in Ptolemy.

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>15</sup> *Metropolitanus Campus*, in the JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES, 1883.





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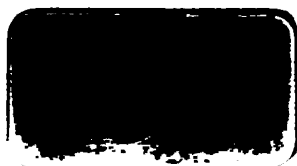
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# Modern athletics and Greek art, notes on the Borghese ...

William Mitchell  
Ramsay (sir.)







With the writer's  
compliments

# MODERN ATHLETICS AND GREEK ART

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## NOTES

ON THE BORGHESE GLADIATOR

AND THE APOBATES-RELIEF OF THE ACROPOLIS

BY

W. M. RAMSAY

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1885

172. e. 47







## MODERN ATHLETICS AND GREEK ART.

THE influence exerted on the development of Greek Sculpture by the gymnasium and the palaestra is a trite subject, but I do not know that anyone has yet pointed out how necessary an acquaintance, however slight, with athletics is to the modern interpreter of Greek Art. I shall spend a few pages in proving this statement by giving one or two examples of the results produced by the lack of such acquaintance; and *experimentum ne fiat in corpore vili*, I shall begin with one of the first authorities in France, a writer to whom we owe many most instructive pages of subtle criticism, Monsieur O. Rayet. I shall examine the interpretation which he has given of a well-known statue, 'the Borghese Gladiator<sup>1</sup>.' I ought to apologise for spending so many pages in expounding that this statue does not represent a runner, as no one who had ever placed his body in the attitude of running, or who had ever seen a man running, could for a moment imagine that the 'Borghese Warrior' is running. The one convincing method in such an undertaking would be to place a series of instantaneous photographs of a good runner alongside of a photograph of the statue; but as my object is rather to trace the genesis of M. Rayet's errors than to prove that he does err, I must examine his arguments in detail.

M. Rayet begins by proving the untenability of the commonly accepted view that this statue represents a warrior in conflict with a mounted Amazon, and he does this by showing the absurd consequences that follow on such an interpretation of the statue. 'The shield was raised in the air, and its outer face was inclined backwards. It would have protected against a blow directed from above downwards only

<sup>1</sup> Monuments de l'Art Antique, Livr. III, Pl. V, VI. There is a cast of the statue in the University Galleries.



the head, the shoulder, and the left arm, leaving exposed the half of the back, the loins, and the thighs.' If an enemy were directing a blow against the head or shoulder, I should like to learn why the 'Warrior' was bound to hold his shield to protect his loins, or any other part of his body except that which his enemy struck at. The sculptor of the 'Borghese Warrior' believed that his subject threw up his shield so as to turn off the blow from the upper part of his person, and allowed his loins to defend themselves. If he had been fighting with a six-armed Geryon, he would certainly have been in a perilous position; but in fighting with a warrior endowed with the ordinary number of hands, the warrior's loins and thighs are never in a safer position than when he is warding off a blow from his head. All that M. Rayet's argument proves then, is that the 'Borghese Warrior' was not fighting with a Geryon. But his argument gives an instructive view of his false ideas about fighting: he thinks that a warrior places his shield in such an extraordinary position as that of the statue with the simple-minded intention that his opponent should strike at it, and he never dreams of the real fact that the warrior only moves his shield in order to catch a blow actually being directed at him. This want of acquaintance with the nature of fighting prevents M. Rayet from catching the point of the situation, which lies in the position of advantage occupied by a combatant at the moment when he has successfully warded off a heavy blow. His adversary has to recover a defensive attitude, and in the brief moment which he needs to recover, the 'Borghese Warrior'—does what the sculptor conceived him as doing.

M. Rayet's next argument is directed to show that the position of the supposed enemy, the Amazon, according to the usual interpretation, is an absurd and impossible one. The Amazon must have already passed to right of the 'Warrior,' and at the moment of the action she is striking a blow at him from behind. To do so she turns half round in her stirrups, and in delivering her blow carries her arm across her body towards the left. The 'Warrior,' on the other hand, cannot reach his adversary at all, without completely chang-

ing his position : as she has already passed him, his blow could reach only her horse's hind-quarters, and barely even that.

It is certain that the position and action of the 'Warrior' are absurd, if the Amazon is behind him on his left side, but this absurdity is entirely of M. Rayet's creation. So far as I can see his only ground for inferring that the Amazon had passed and got behind the 'Warrior' lies in the fact that the latter's shield is slightly inclined backwards. He thinks that the 'Warrior' would place his shield to meet fair and full the blow of his adversary. An Amazon's weapon was a battle-axe, and no shield that was ever made would stand the blow of a good axe wielded downwards by a strong arm, if the blow came on it fair and full. Modern engineers have not yet succeeded in making the defensive armour superior to the offensive power. Even allowing that his shield could stand the blow, his defence would certainly be beat down by it. If an Amazon struck at him, the 'Warrior' would of course do what was doubtless taught in every heroic school of defence as the exercise of withstanding Amazons, and what his mother-wit in any case would suggest to him, viz., catch the blow on an oblique shield and turn it off. There is not the slightest reason to think that the 'Warrior's' adversary must be behind him, supposing that he is a 'Warrior.' This is the crucial point of M. Rayet's case, and if he could prove this, his conclusion that the statue does not represent a Warrior would be quite certain. He ought to have directed his main argument to proving this, but instead of that he merely assumes it, and leaves the reader to guess what his reasons are for thinking so. He appears to have been led to this extraordinary misconception of the 'Warrior's' relation to the supposed adversary entirely through his wrong idea of the way in which a man would use his shield to meet a blow. After disposing of his fundamental error, I need not deal with the arguments that are founded on it. But I must not pass over one of his statements, which shows how he catches at any argument in favour of his view without stopping to examine into its validity. He supposes an imaginary objection to the arguments which he founds on the idea that the Amazon has

passed the 'Warrior' and got behind him: to the supposed objector he replies that "whether the ('Warrior's') weapon is a sword or a lance, its point is lowered and not directed against the enemy." When the 'Warrior' was found at Antium, he had no right arm: the whole hand and arm from the shoulder is a modern restoration. Without even stating that he believes the restoration to be correct, M. Rayet founds an argument on it. We might have fancied that in such investigations the rule was absolute, forbidding any argument from the position of the hand of a restored arm.

M. Rayet's last argument against the current interpretation of this statue as a Warrior is derived from the expression of his face. 'The eyes are not sufficiently open, the look not fixed enough, the muscles of the cheeks not sufficiently contracted<sup>1</sup>.' The mouth is decisive against the current opinion. Tyrtaeus describes a warrior in battle as 'biting his lip with his teeth,' and, 'in fact, a man in a situation so terrible, if he has not his mouth open to cry out, will hold the teeth firmly set and his lips quite closed. Between these two alternatives there is no possible third.'

Can M. Rayet give any example in the art of any race whatsoever, where a man engaged in a deadly struggle, with his life staked on the give and take of a few seconds (*qui joue sa vie dans une passe de quelques secondes*), opens his mouth to cry out? The idea of this being one of the two possible positions for the mouth of a fighting man is too ludicrous. Almost more comic is the remark that the emotions of a fighting man in this deadly struggle are 'anger mingled with anxiety squeezing his throat.' Any man who is capable of screwing up pluck enough to get involved in a

<sup>1</sup> This criticism, combined with all that M. Rayet says about the face, gives me the impression that he has never placed himself in the position of an antagonist to the 'Warrior.' If he did so, I feel pretty sure that he would modify his statements. The face has all the intense, yet slightly worn appearance of a man fatigued with a long arduous fight, rousing all his powers of mind and body for one stroke. It has a certain nobility of character when seen from a slightly higher elevation—the nobility conferred on common features by well performed work and resolute eagerness to finish the work well. Omitting M. Rayet's negatives, one who places himself in the proper position will say, 'the eyes are open, the look fixed and intense.'

fight, even though he may have been forced into it by mere fear of death, any man who has the nerve once fairly to face his enemy, feels no anxiety during the excitement of the contest. 'Anger mingled with anxiety' may perhaps squeeze the throat of a man running away from the fight with a lot of brigands after him, though I doubt if anger plays a prominent part in his mind at the time. But if that same man is run down, and if he has the nerve to face and fight his enemy, I feel very sure that there is not a trace of either anxiety or anger in his mind, when once blows have begun to pass: his whole soul is absorbed in the action of the moment.

But let us look a little more into this question of the open mouth. There is a natural tendency to open the mouth, to draw in or to expel the breath with a slight hissing sound, according as the motion of the arms expands or contracts the chest<sup>1</sup>, in harmony with a great effort; and this tendency is all the stronger, when there is a feeling that the effort is successful and final. The action is somewhat vulgar, the emotion that prompts it somewhat common and low; and therefore the true older art of Greece never admits this opening of the mouth in any of its nobler figures. But look at the Centaurs: certainly several of those on the Phigaleian frieze, and (as far as I could judge in English light or want of light at so great a distance) some in the Parthenon metopes, open their mouth as they heave up a stone or make some other exertion. The Centaurs are conceived and represented as ignoble figures: natural and even vulgar emotion is expressed in them. But the observance of such natural emotion, which the true old art of Greece confined to its ignoble figures, was carried by later Greek art to a much greater extreme. The best part of M. Rayet's criticism of the 'Borghese Warrior' is his analysis of the character of the head. *La tête—est copiée sur la nature; c'est un portrait, et le portrait d'un homme du commun, aux traits incorrects et matériels.* The open mouth is quite in keeping with his features and character.

<sup>1</sup> If the arms are raised or moved backward, the chest and lungs are expanded, if they are moved forward and downward, the chest is contracted.

We now turn to M. Rayet's explanation. The statue represents a victorious runner in the armed race (*ὀπλιτοδρόμος*). I will not here touch on the paragraph in which he shows that, beginning from some date a little later than 414 B.C., the runners in this race ran perfectly naked, carrying only a shield on the left arm. It is hardly conceivable that a person who had ever seen a runner could imagine a person in the attitude of the statue to be running; but running is a rare phenomenon in France, and almost confined to young children. M. Rayet in the first place describes the attitude of a runner, and then shows that the attitude of the statue agrees therewith. The length of the ordinary short race was a stadium (600 feet): that of the armed race was two stadia, and the extra weight carried by the runner obliged him to move more like a runner in the long race. The hoplitodrome, 'burdened as he was by his shield, could not have a very rapid pace. He was compelled to place his feet more flat than the ordinary runner, not to raise his hind foot before he had firmly planted the front one, and while making the steps as long as possible, to keep a certain fixedness (*une certaine assiette*). He had to walk rather than run, *οἷον διαβαίνοντι*, as Philostratus says in speaking of the champions . . . of the *δόλιχος*.' This description of the action of running, as it presents itself to the imagination untutored by actual view of the strange phenomenon, is very interesting. The time of the fastest on record *δόλιχος* is not known; but I fancy the action of the man who ran it had more analogy with that of an English runner who does the mile under  $4\frac{1}{2}$  minutes than with any walking. It is however rather hard on Philostratus to press him in by a mistranslation as a witness that a Greek long runner walked round the course.

'Now this is precisely the attitude of our statue. Inclined at an angle of  $45^\circ$ , he has his centre of gravity vertically over the right foot, that is to say, as far forward as he can carry it without losing his balance. He advances with steps as long as possible.' M. Rayet can very easily convince himself of the falsity of his theory by simply assuming the position in question, and then trying to make another step in advance.

In truth a man running holds his body almost perfectly upright, and if he has a weight to carry he is all the more obliged to hold himself upright. Certainly a runner carrying a shield could not possibly do a more absurd thing than to extend the shield-bearing arm to the utmost possible stretch in front of his body.

The statue has the left foot placed nearly at right angles to the direction in which the body has been moved forward, and only the tips of the toes touch the ground. This position is absolutely impossible in running, but it is precisely the position assumed in making a lunge forward to the fullest stretch of the body. Yet M. Rayet appeals to this position of the left foot as telling in favour of his interpretation.

It is almost incomprehensible that M. Rayet did not say anything about the position of the right arm of his 'Runner.' Of course the right arm is restored, and the fact that it has been restored in a position absurd and impossible for a runner does not affect the point in dispute. But it shows how false M. Rayet's idea of the action of running is, that his explanation of the statue does not lead him to doubt the correctness of the restoration. He boldly labels the statue, with its right arm extended as far back as possible, 'Hoplitodrome Vainqueur,' without a thought as to the absurdity.

Having settled the interpretation of the statue, M. Rayet proceeds to examine whether it is related to any work of the earlier art. In a passage of Heliodorus, *Ethiopica* IV. 1-4, he finds a description of a runner in the armed race at the Pythian festival, which seems to him to correspond exactly with the attitude of our statue. It is not probable that the Bishop of Tricca, a native of Emesa in Syria, had ever seen a runner, or had the slightest conception of what good running is. M. Rayet indeed does not attach any importance to Heliodorus's own knowledge of the motions of running; but he considers that the bishop has modelled his description after some famous statue which he had seen. The statue in question cannot have been the 'Borghese Gladiator,' which, having been found at Antium in the ruins of an imperial villa, had doubtless been there for centuries before Heliodorus wrote.

There must therefore have been some famous original, which was familiar to the bishop, and which served as a model to Agasias of Ephesus. This original was probably a bronze statue by Lysippus, representing a celebrated hoplitodrome, Callicrates of Magnesia *ad Maeandrum*.

The words of Heliodorus are, Ὀλίγον ἐπιστρέψας καὶ ὑποβλέψας τὸν Ὀρμενον, ἀνακουφίζει τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς ὕψος, καὶ τὸν αὐχένα διεγείρας, τὸ βλέμμα τε ὅλον εἰς τὴν Χαρίκλειαν τείνας, καθάπερ βέλος ἐπὶ σκοπὸν ἐφέρετο.

The last four words are, according to M. Rayet, a description of a man walking round the course.

Theagenes glances at his rival, then fixes his eyes on his sweetheart and makes a spurt. The resemblance to our statue is certainly a slender basis on which to re-construct a bronze statue of Lysippus. The strength of a chain of evidence is not exactly proportionate to the ingenuity required to bring together the scattered links. But M. Rayet seems not to have read the context in Heliodorus. Theagenes puts on the full armour of a hoplite before he begins the race (*πανοπλίαν ἐνδύς*). If Heliodorus is describing a statue of a hoplitodrome, it must therefore have been full armed; and it is impossible that both he and Agasias imitated the same statue.

Still more extraordinary is the fact that M. Rayet conceives the 'Borghese Warrior' as now looking at his sweetheart. She must have been a bold person to be pleased with such a glance. Lest I be accused of doing injustice, I will quote M. Rayet's own words: 'N'est il pas vrai que ces traits s'appliquent presque tous, avec une surprenante exactitude, au personnage d'Agasias? Lui aussi se retourne légèrement: lui aussi dresse la tête et regarde les spectateurs.' A study of the context would have shown M. Rayet that Charicleia is standing at the goal, and not among the spectators at the side of the course. He has entirely mistaken the action described by Heliodorus. Theagenes glances at his competitor, then turns his face forwards, and fixing his eyes and soul on Charicleia, speeds like an arrow to the goal; then pretending to be unable to check his course, he falls on her bosom.

So far for mere negative criticism. In respect of con-

structive criticism it is not possible to write from the only sufficing point of view without some actual experience of the appearance and action of a man fighting with sword and shield. In fact the most competent critic of such a work of art will, *ceteris paribus*, be the man who knows by personal experience this kind of combat. But, after criticising so unfavourably M. Rayet's interpretation, it is only fair that I should propound some positive view. It appears to me obvious that the attitude of the statue is the momentary attitude of a man just in the act of delivering a blow. He throws forward the body to the greatest stretch of which it is capable, and the right foot sustains almost the entire weight. In thus throwing forward his whole weight, he adds enormously to the force of his blow, which is delivered not merely with the strength of his arm, but with the additional momentum imparted by the motion and weight of the body. How then did he hold his right arm? The present restoration of this arm has found general acceptance, but it appears to me to be quite wrong. This position of the hand and arm is as inconsistent with any conceivable action of a well-trained fighting man as it is with the action of a runner. The sword<sup>1</sup> in the 'Warrior's' hand must have been of a kind suited for thrusting, and he is, I think, now actually making a thrust. But, so far as one can judge without experience, it appears to be in the last degree awkward that such a sword should at any stage of a combat be held pointing away outwards and downwards, as it is in the present restoration. Unless then I have entirely misconceived the weapon with which the 'Warrior' is fighting, he is in the momentary action of delivering a blow with the full force given by the forward impetus of the entire body; whereas in the restoration he has not yet begun his stroke, and must make it without gaining any additional force from the momentum of the body. The position of the shoulder gives the attitude of the arm as far as the elbow: so far then the restoration is certain, but I am convinced that the arm was bent at the elbow, and the sword was in the act

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me, as to almost every other person that has written on the subject, that the 'Warrior' is armed with sword and shield.



of being thrust forward and slightly to the left against the 'Warrior's' adversary, I dare not however defend my conviction without knowing whether any of the biceps muscle on the arm in question is ancient. Rayet's language leads me to suppose it is not, whereas Overbeck's words (*Plastik*, II. 399) point to the opposite opinion.

Another argument may be brought against the present restoration—this position of the arm is unfavourable to equilibrium. One who throws himself into the attitude of our statue will observe that the balance of the body is very much facilitated if the arm is held more forward.

How are we to conceive the adversary, against whom the blow is directed? This is not a question of opinion, but one of measurement. The 'Warrior' looks a little upwards, but in the attitude which he has assumed his eyes are 16 inches lower than they would be if he were standing upright. A straight line from the level of his eye to the left heel measures 6 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches: but a plumb line from the bridge of the nose to the ground on which he stands measures only 4 feet 8 inches. If we allow that the extremely strained position of his left leg has added  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches<sup>1</sup> to the distance of his eye from his heel, we find that his eyes are 16 inches lower than they would be if he were standing upright. The adversary against whom he is fighting was no doubt conceived as a well-matched figure; therefore if he were standing upright, his eyes would be 16 inches higher than those of the 'Warrior.' The question remains—what part of his adversary does the 'Warrior' fix his eyes on? In the provincial school of fence at which my youthful hands were trained, the first instruction given to a beginner was that he must keep his eyes fixed on his adversary's eye. I have no doubt that the 'Borghese Warrior' obeyed the same rule. He who would rightly conceive the attitude of the 'Warrior's' opponent then must place himself so that his eyes are 6 feet above the ground on which the 'Warrior' stands, and then contemplate the action of the statue. He will then find that, as he stands before the 'Warrior' at a little distance to his left, he looks directly into the latter's eyes, which are fixed on him.

<sup>1</sup> Certainly an extreme allowance.

To this supposition that the 'Borghese Warrior' was opposed by an adversary of the same real height as himself, and therefore standing, to appearance, 16 inches taller, it would not be any objection that the principle of isokephalism is violated. In a frieze, where the figures are placed between two long parallel lines, isokephalism is necessary, but in a free group it is out of place, and is not observed. The Pergamenian 'Freeing of Prometheus'<sup>1</sup> gives a very different conception of the grouping of figures,—and shows that the laws of frieze-grouping did not guide the arrangement in the free groups which were a remarkable feature of the late Greek art. This Pergamenian group is imitated in a Roman sarcophagus<sup>2</sup>, where the parallel lines of the oblong side make isokephalism obligatory, and the effect is ludicrous. In the Pergamenian original Heracles was placed on a lower level than Prometheus, and looks upwards towards him: on the sarcophagus the two stand on the same level with their heads in a line.

I believe then that the 'Warrior' was conceived as fighting with an enemy on foot, of his own size, and not with an Amazon. Moreover, if the blow which he is warding off were struck by a horseman wielding a battle-axe, it would descend perpendicularly on a footman. Now a man in warding off such a blow catches it as near as possible on the centre of his shield. It follows then that the blow of the Amazon, which the 'Warrior' is warding off, would if he let it alone descend in front of and quite clear of his body. His adversary therefore cannot be a horseman wielding a battle-axe, i.e. an Amazon.

But, in the position which I suppose, the 'Warrior' cannot see his adversary's face, which is entirely concealed by his shield. This seems to me not to constitute any real objection. So far as an opinion is allowable without actual experience, it appears that the use of a shield must occasionally interfere for the moment with the view of the man who uses it. If his

<sup>1</sup> The group was discovered and arranged by Milchhöfer, *Befreiung des Prometheus*, 42nd Winckelmann-Programm. The arrangement in the Berlin Museum varies very slightly from that given in Milchhöfer's plate.

<sup>2</sup> Milchhöfer, *Befreiung des Prometheus*, p. 1.; Museo Capitol, iv. 25, &c.

adversary strikes at his head or face, he must in catching the blow on his shield place it for a moment so as to impede his view of his adversary. But it is only for a moment, and I have no doubt that, while his shield is in this position, his eyes continue to look in the same line in which they were directed the instant before.

It is a far more serious objection that, if the 'Warrior' is fighting with an enemy armed like himself, he has placed himself so that his blow must be directed against his foe's left side, which is far more readily and quickly defended by the shield on the left arm. But it seems necessary to conceive that the 'Warrior' has made this sudden side motion in order to surprise his adversary and take him off his guard. Moreover the same position of the shield which prevents him from seeing his adversary's face prevents the latter from seeing his arm. To speak again without any experience of this kind of fighting, I should imagine that a man who fought with sword and shield was taught in the school of arms to try to deliver his blow in such a position that the action of his right hand was hid from his enemy. To bring himself into such a position he must make a cross-step, so as to bring his left side well round towards his enemy. Now it is plain to anyone standing before the statue that this is a very hazardous situation, and that a man dare not venture on it, unless he feels not only that he has his enemy's blow safe on his shield and has thereby gained a moment free for action, but also that there is a fault in his enemy's guard. It is obvious that if he fails in his stroke, he will be entirely at his enemy's mercy, for it takes time to recover from such a position, and in trying to recover he is placed sideways before his enemy. To make this stroke possible for a well-trained swordsman, there must therefore be needed a concurrence of circumstances, and we must suppose either that the favourable moment was explained more clearly by the companion statue, or that if the 'Borghese Warrior' was a solitary figure, the nature of the situation was familiar to the minds of all who were trained to this style of combat.

M. Rayet rightly says that if the 'Borghese Warrior' was a

solitary statue of a fighting man, whose antagonist is left to the imagination of the spectator, the action in which he is represented must be such 'that it inexorably compels the spectator to picture to himself the adversary, and enables him to discover without hesitation the latter's position and action.' Only one reservation must be made: the position and action of the adversary may be quite clear and evident to one who is familiar with sword play, and yet be entirely hidden from one who can take a swordsman for a prize-runner. If I have rightly caught the action of the 'Warrior,' he is making a show stroke, one of great difficulty and hazard to any but a skilful swordsman, and one which is possible only in a rare conjuncture of circumstances: the attitude of the single statue would then inexorably force the trained spectator to picture to himself that attitude of the adversary which makes the stroke possible.

It would be an interesting task to review in detail the older representations, on vases and in reliefs, of warriors in an attitude similar to that of the 'Borghese Gladiator,' and to show how much simpler is the situation in each of them than in our statue. The latter is the elaborate product of a more artificial art, when the highest technical skill looks about for a complex situation in which it can display its knowledge of the human frame and its power of execution. Absolutely the only master of the older Greek Art who could have chosen such a strained situation is Myron. But the task which I have indicated is far too great for the narrow limits of this paper. I will only refer to one figure in the Amazon frieze of the Mausoleum, as a particularly instructive parallel to our statue, instructive both in its points of agreement and of difference. It is midway between numbers 15 and 16 of the Museum arrangement, and is execrably engraved in Overbeck, *Plastik*, fig. 111 h: also in *Monum. Ined. d. Inst.*, V. pl. xx.

One is sorry to see that M. Rayet's interpretation of the 'Borghese Warrior' has been adopted by Mr. A. S. Murray in his *History of Greek Sculpture*, II. p. 370. But every one who reads Mr. Murray's book must be struck by the difference of his treatment of the Greek Art earlier than 300 B.C., which

abounds in sympathetic and characteristic views, from his discussion of later Art. With the late schools Mr. Murray has no sympathy; he hurries over the works of this period, doing little more than find fault with them. The qualities which give value to the greater part of his work—intimacy, sympathy, and meditation—are absent from the concluding chapters, and the somewhat careless tone in which he refers to the interpretation of this statue suggests that he hardly thought the subject worth looking into, but took M. Rayet's opinion on credit as that of the best authority who has treated the statue in recent times. If the statue had been a work of the fourth or fifth century, I do not think Mr. Murray would have made this mistake.

Out of many other examples in support of my thesis that a slight acquaintance with active exercises is desirable in the interpreter of Greek sculpture, I shall take just one more. It is from the writings of M. Collignon, once a distinguished member of the School of Athens, and now Professor of Archaeology in the Faculty of Arts at Bordeaux.

Every one who has jumped on or off an omnibus or a tramway-car in motion knows by actual experience the different action in the two cases. In jumping off a car in motion, one extends the lower foot a little in front of the vertical line that passes through the centre of gravity, in order that it may be in position to support the body, which continues to be propelled forward by the impetus due to the motion of the car. In jumping on the car in motion, the lower foot is *behind* the rest of the body, and is drawn upwards and forwards on to the car. In the act of descending, the foot which last leaves the car is behind the foot extended to reach the ground: in the act of ascending, the foot which first reaches the car is in front of the foot that is last raised from the ground to be placed in the car. But in France it is strictly forbidden to ascend or to leave a tramway-car while in motion. I have myself been compelled by a strict conductor, when I had violated the law by ascending a moving car, to descend again, and desired to enter at a point further on where the car stood. We may suppose then that M. Collignon has never had any practical experience

as an *apobates*, and this want of training is painfully apparent in his treatment of a little relief of the fourth or third century B.C.<sup>1</sup>, which was found in a late wall on the Acropolis of Athens, and which has probably been removed recently into one of the museums. It represents a quadriga with a *heniochos* and *apobates*. The ἀποβατῶν ἀγών was in use only in Athens and Boeotia; and M. Collignon is probably right in supposing that the little relief was part of the decoration of a monument erected in commemoration of a Panathenaic victory in this race. While the *heniochos* holds his horses well in hand, the *apobates* has his right foot resting on the floor of the car, extends his left well in front below the car, has his right hand lightly laid on the upper rim, and will in the next moment have descended and be running behind the car. The great forward stretch of the left foot shows that the car is in very rapid motion. But M. Collignon thinks that the *apobates* is jumping into the car. The way in which he has been misled is interesting. As the car is represented in the relief in rapid motion towards the left, with one wheel concealing the other, the foot which is thrust forward between the two wheels seems to touch the left wheel. But this necessity of relief work, which we might have thought simple and easily intelligible, has led M. Collignon to fancy that the *apobates* places his foot on the inner rim of the wheel in order to help him in jumping on the car. This strange misconception suggests to him a passage in Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.*, I. p. 426, 30, in which an explanation of the term ἀποβατῶν ἀγών is given: ἀμα θεόντων τῶν ἵππων ἀνέβαινον διὰ τοῦ τροχοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν δίσκον καὶ πάλιν κατέβαινον. The lexicographer seems to M. Collignon to assert that the *apobates* placed his foot on the rim of the wheel, and then jumped on. Ingenuity never went to a greater extreme in perverting the possibilities of nature. Even if the lexicographer did say this, M. Collignon would have done well to consult his own common sense, and treat his authority as incapacitated by lateness of date from understanding the action he describes. But it is not very difficult to discover

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, 1883, p. 458, and plate xvii.

that Bekker or some one else has placed a wrong accent on τροχοῦ, and reduced the passage to nonsense. The proper reading is διὰ τοῦ τροχού, 'at intervals in the course,' which gives a satisfactory and obviously correct sense. The distinction between τροχός and τροχός is well known. At the top of the same page in Bekker the phrase ἀποβατικοὶ τροχοί occurs. We need not wonder whether this means 'wheels apt to jump off a car,' or 'wheels on which an *apobates* places his foot to jump into a car,' but we read τροχοί and understand 'races of *apobatai*.'

I should regret to give the impression that I think these fair specimens of M. Rayet's and M. Collignon's work. Especially for M. Rayet's tasteful interpretation of Greek Art in many cases I entertain a high admiration; and I find it advisable to read carefully everything that he writes. Where his interpretation is correct his reasoning is correct and most felicitously expressed. His argument however is guided entirely by his foregone conclusion: it depends for its validity on his perception, and not on its own necessary sequence from the facts. But if archaeology is to be a science, its reasoning must be self-dependent and self-sufficient: it should follow clearly and necessarily from the known facts. The facts may at the moment be too few to justify a precise and definite conclusion, and in that case the reasoning may have to stop short, and leave the matter to be cleared up in the light of future discoveries. In a science where the store of facts is at present so small, and where it is growing so rapidly, we may be content to wait for light in many questions.

*Printed at the University Press, Oxford*

*By HORACE HART, Printer to the University*







Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period

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Source: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, 28. Bd., 4. H. (1887), pp. 381-400

Published by: [Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht \(GmbH & Co. KG\)](#)

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*ca*, also glosse *be::ca*, wobei ich unentschieden lasse, ob nach *e* zwei oder mehr buchstaben abgeschnitten sind. Neben der letzten zeile steht rechts scharf abgeschnitten *deba*, was Stokes irrthümlich als glosse betrachtet. Erinnert man sich, dass der text 183 a, 2 mit „rece“ schliesst und 183 b, 1 mit „ab eis“ weiter geht und die betreffende stelle (apostelg. 19, 12) wirklich lautet *saudaria et semicintia et recedebant ab eis languores*, so ist klar, dass auf dem rande das ausgelassene „debant“ nachgetragen war, welches beschnitten von Stokes zu einer irischen glosse *debai* gestempelt wurde, wobei er noch gelegenheit fand, die wirkliche glosse zu *semicintia* einem anderen worte zuzuweisen.

Greifswald.

H. Zimmer.

## Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period.

The class of inscriptions which I here give was first made known by Pococke's copy of an epitaph from Orcistos, published in C. I. G. 3822\* (below, XIX).

Hamilton, in his *Researches in Asia Minor* gives the text of four similar inscriptions. Mordtmann<sup>1)</sup> first called attention to these inscriptions, and he was followed by Gosche,<sup>2)</sup> who agreed with Mordtmann in reading them as Armenian. M. Schmidt (*Neue Lyk. Studien*, p. 132—136) showed their true character as formulas of execration, expressed in a language closely akin to Greek, i. e. in Phrygian.

My attention was directed to these inscriptions before I began to travel in Phrygia, and in my wandering I have always been on the outlook for them. Fragments I have found in abundance, but a really good example such as Hamilton met with several times has never fallen to my lot. Such as they are I give them here, adding all other known examples, in order to make the material complete. I feel very doubtful about the correctness of Hamilton's readings in some places, and the Greek text that accompanies one of them is certainly very far wrong.<sup>3)</sup> In May 1882, as I travelled from Apollonia

<sup>1)</sup> Münch. Sitzungsber. 1862, p. 12.

<sup>2)</sup> Verh. Meissner Philolog. Versamml. 1864, p. 91.

<sup>3)</sup> I should be the last to express discontent with Hamilton. He was

to Antioch, I tried in vain to find his No. 449 (XXV), and in Sept. 1883, I took a six hours ride to find his No. 393 (XII), but without any success.

Many of these inscriptions are engraved on gravestones of the type which represents a door (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884, p. 250). Hamilton remarks about his No. 27, which I have not seen, that it is obviously sepulchral. Two reasons are conceivable why a curse against the violator of the tomb should be expressed in Phrygian, while the rest of the epitaph is in Greek: either the former was thought more religious and more likely to be efficacious with the gods of Phrygia, or it was more intelligible to the mass of the people. Whatever is thought on this point, the following inscriptions prove that in some districts Phrygian was understood by the persons who engraved them.<sup>1)</sup>

None of these Phrygian inscriptions have as yet been found in the parts of Phrygia which were most exposed in earlier time to Greek influence, i. e. in the districts adjoining Laodiceia, Philadelphia, Apameia, and Eumeneia. Beyond these parts, in the northern and eastern districts I believe that the Graeco-Roman civilisation had not begun to affect the rural population before 100 A. D.; only the great cities, Cotiaion, Synnada etc., being grecised. It penetrated slowly and gradually to the east, and was only beginning to make itself felt in Petinessos in the middle of the third century. I shall give the complete list of the inscriptions of Petinessos, both Phrygian and Greek, in order to show how ignorant and uneducated the inhabitants were. I have described the character of the Graeco-roman civilisation, as it can be traced about 225 A. D. in a rural district of northeastern Pisidia (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883, p. 20): I believe the same description would apply to Petinessos or

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not a professed archaeologist, but a geologist; and we owe his numerous and often important inscriptions to the natural interest of an educated man in things that lay out of his proper sphere. In this respect he stands in strong contrast to Tchihatcheff, who has travelled more widely in Asia Minor than any other man, and yet seems never to have observed that the country contained anything but plants and geological specimens.

<sup>1)</sup> Some of the texts might be explained as traditional formulas, but the variations in certain others, and the length of one or two, prove that they were expressed in a spoken language.

any other remote district of Eastern Phrygia. One of the first signs that a little town in a rural district has begun to be pervaded by the Graeco-roman civilisation is that it begins to strike coins. Soon after that, the series of its inscriptions begins.

The diffusion of Christianity was probably a strong agent in spreading the use of the Greek language. Petinessos was equally ignorant of Greek and of Christianity. Christians were, during the third century, accustomed to use the formula *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*.<sup>1)</sup> Phrygians who had entirely adopted the Graeco-roman manners but had not become Christians, seem to have thought the Phrygian formula rustic, and to have used the Greek threat of a fine. Only a very small number of people use the Phrygian formula of execration. In most of the following examples the first part of the epitaph, giving the names of the persons buried in the tomb, is in Greek, while the curse which follows is in Phrygian.

Before giving the Phrygian texts, I shall give some examples of the formulas of execration in the Greek language, which are most commonly used in Phrygia. The commonest is in verse, and occurs with slight variations in several districts.

*ὅστις προσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον, οὕτως*<sup>2)</sup> *ἀώροις περιπέσοιτο συμφοραῖς*. It is obvious that *οὕτως* is a mere metrical makeshift, and that *οὕτος* would have been preferred if it would scan. The very fact that this formula is in metre proves that it cannot be a literal translation of the Phrygian, while its frequent occurrence in districts where the Phrygian formulas also occur shows that it has probably the same general sense.

The following is a fragment of a long inscription from Prymnessos, a neighbourhood where the Phrygian formulas abound. It was copied by Hamilton (No. 175 cp. C. I. G. 3882<sup>1)</sup>) and was recopied by me in August 1884. *τίς ἂν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶν*<sup>3)</sup> *προσποιήσῃ, ἢ ἕτερον π[τ]ῶμα*<sup>4)</sup> *ἐπισκομίσει ἢ τῆς δούλης μου Κοσμίας, ἀποτείσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ δηνῶρια ,αφ', καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστω τέκνων τέκνοις ὑποκατά-*

<sup>1)</sup> Journ. Hell. Stud. 1883, p. 401.

<sup>2)</sup> *τέκνων* sometimes for *οὕτως*.

<sup>3)</sup> Hamilton reads *κακόν*.

<sup>4)</sup> Hamilton reads *σῶμα*.

ρατος. The protasis with its non-Greek character at once arrests our attention, and a glance at the Phrygian formulas given below will show that it is literally translated from the regular Phrygian protasis.<sup>1)</sup> We may therefore feel fairly confident that the second part of the apodosis is literally translated from some of the Phrygian formulas, which vary very much in the apodosis. Another execratory formula also probably from Prymnessos (Hamilton, Nr. 166; C. I. G. 3882<sup>b</sup>) is worthy of note: *καὶ ὅστις ἂν τῷ ἡρώῳ τούτῳ κακῶς ποιήσῃ, ὑποκατάρατος ἔστω*. These two inscriptions occur in a district where the Phrygian inscriptions abound, and as I believe give a fairly literal translation of the fundamental Phrygian formula, which is, as M. Schmidt rightly recognised,<sup>2)</sup> *ιος νι σεμονν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ, ειτετικμενος ειτον*. Schmidt explained *ειτον* as 3<sup>rd</sup> person sing. imperative corresponding to the Greek *ἔστω* (which is corroborated by the Prymnessian formulas), and *ειτετικμενος* as a participle. He did not venture to suggest any explanation of the protasis, or of the sense of the apodosis.

I should propose the following interpretation of the formula.<sup>3)</sup> *ιος* is the nominative singular of the Phrygian relative, Greek *ὅς*, Sanskrit *yas*. *σεμονν* is a case of a demonstrative stem, which is found in the Latin *semel*, *similis*, Greek *ὁμός*, etc. *κνουμανει* is the dative singular of a noun, masculine or more probably neuter, *knouman*, meaning tomb. *σεμονν* then must also be dative singular masculine or neuter, in agreement with *κνουμανει*. Examples given below (*σορον XXI*, *του X*, *σεμου XIX*) seem to prove that the dative sometimes ended in *ον*, as well as in the longer form *ουν*. There occurs another similar case: in I *θαλαμειν* occurs, and in IV *θαλαμει*, both apparently in the dative singular feminine. Therefore either a movable suffix might be attached to the dative case in Phrygian, or the inflexional system had degenerated so far that the cases had become quite mixed up. It is certain that the old Phrygian civilisation entirely disappeared in the later centuries before Christ (the final destruction being as I believe caused by

<sup>1)</sup> *κακων* occurs in one Phrygian protasis, see XI.

<sup>2)</sup> He did not however think that *κνουμανει* forms only a single word, but reads *κνουμαν ει κακουν*, Neue Lyk. Stud., p. 132.

<sup>3)</sup> Many of the following suggestions were made by me in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1883. p. 135.

the Gauls), and that the peasantry were absolutely rude and unlettered till the Graeco-roman civilisation affected them.

The verb of the protasis is generally *αδδακετ*, occasionally *αββερετ*. *αδδακετ* is third person singular of a presential tense of a verb stem *dhak* (cp. *θήκη*, *ἐθήκα*), compounded with a preposition corresponding to the Latin *ad*. *Αββερετ* is similarly formed from a verb stem *bher* (*φέρω*, *fero*), compounded with the same preposition. These two forms show that the Phrygian language, like the Latin, did not preserve the original aspirates.

*Κακουν* is accusative singular neuter of the word *κακους*, which either is borrowed from Greek or existed independently in both languages. The diphthong is here only a way of representing the full sound *u*, which was not expressed by any single symbol in Greek. The Phrygian language agreed with the Latin vocalisation in the second declension.

*Νι*, which is sometimes omitted, is perhaps equivalent to the Greek *ἄν*, which also is used or omitted at will. Finally *κε*, which occasionally takes the place of *νι*, seems to be proved by certain cases (see below, VII) to correspond to the Greek *καί*: the protasis of the Greek formulas also is frequently connected by *δέ* with the preceding clause. In the apodosis, the Prymessian formulas and another given below (No. I) seem to prove that *επιτετιμμενος* must mean „accursed“ (or possibly „deprived of children“).

I shall arrange the examples of the Phrygian formula according to the districts in which they are found, and shall begin with the upper valley of the Tembris or Tembrogius,<sup>1)</sup> as one of the closest translations into Greek is given there. The Graeco-roman cities of this district are Apia and Tiberiopolis. The former strikes a few coins, and is mentioned already by Cicero: the latter has a rather richer coinage. Inscriptions seem to begin early in the second century, and Christian inscriptions are very common in the third century. The district seems to have had no proper central city. Tiberiopolis was a true *χωμόπολις*, a Byzantine term which, I think, means a union of scattered villages in common organisation as a *πόλις*.

<sup>1)</sup> Tembris is the name on a coin of Midaion, Tembrogius in Pliny and in an unpublished inscription.

I. At Zemme, a village of Tiberiopolis. Copied by me in August 1884.<sup>1)</sup>

ΤΑΤΕΙΣΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΤΟΝΑΠΠΟΥΝΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΑΝ  
ΔΡΑΕΤΙΖΩΣΑΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΗΝ  
ΤΙΣΔΕΤΑΥΤΗΘΑΛΑΜΕΙΝΚΑΚΟΝΠΟΣΠΟΙΗΣΕΚΑΤΗΡΑΜΕΝΟΧΤΩ  
ΑΥΤΟΣΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΕΚΤΕΚΝΩΝΤΕΚΝΑ

*Τατεις ἐτείμησεν τὸν Ἀππουν τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα ἔτι ζῶσα καὶ τὰ τέκνα μνήμης χάριν καὶ ἐαυτήν. τίς δὲ ταύτῃ θαλαμειν κακὸν ποσποιήσει κατηραμένος ἦτω αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τέκνων τέκνα.* Date not later than 200 A. D. In inscriptions of this district I find many examples of *πος* for *προς*. The form is therefore not due to an error of the engraver, but to provincial pronunciation. *ἦτω* is perhaps suggested by the Phrygian *ειτον*. *θαλαμειν* seems to be a dative feminine with affixed *ν*. It occurs as *θαλαμει* in IV. It may perhaps mean sepulchral chamber, and is probably a word borrowed from Greek, as the Phrygian language seems to have no aspirates.

The execratory formula is evidently composed by a person to whom Greek was a strange language, and as it corresponds so closely to the already quoted curse *τίς ἂν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶν προσποιήσει, αὐτὸς ἔστω τέκνων τέκνοις ὑποκατάρατος*, it appears perfectly certain that both are close translations of the Phrygian formula.

II. At Utch Eyuk, a village on the border between Apia and Tiberiopolis. Copied by me in August 1884

ΑΝΤΙΠΑ  
ΤΡΟΣΚΑΙΒΑ  
ΒΟΥΣΠΑCΙΩ  
ΝΟΣΛΕΟΝΤ  
ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙΔΙ

ωΚΑΙΑΦΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΓΑΥΚΩΑΠΠΟΣΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙ  
ΙΟΣΤΑΜΑΝΚΑΙΚΑΚΟΥΝΑΔΔΑΚΕΤΤΙΕΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟCΕΙΤΟΥ

In a lower part of the stone is inscribed.

ΥΚΕΑΚΑΛΑΟΟΥΙΤΕΤΟΥΟΥΑ

*Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Βαβους Πασίωνος Λεοντ[ίῳ] ἀδελφῷ ἰδίῳ καὶ Ἀφίᾳ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Γλύκων γαμ(β)ρὸς μνήμης χάριν. ιος ταμαν καὶ κακουν αδδακεττι, ετιττετικμενος ειτον.* Second cen-

<sup>1)</sup> Line 3 is in much smaller characters than the rest of the inscription.

tury after Christ. The words meaning „to this tomb“ are here omitted: *ταμαν* is probably a word denoting „harm“.

Addaketti is a remarkable form, perhaps implying an original (ad-)dhake-ti, unless it is preferable to read two words, the second corresponding to the Greek *τι*.

*Βαβους*, Babus, is a man's name (compare *Ἀππους* in D); gen. *Βαβου*, accus. *Βαβουν*. The feminine name has two forms; we find Babo C. I. G. 4142, and *Βαβει* as a dative (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1879, p. 337) implying a nom. *Βαβις* or Babì.

I take next in order the district of Paroreios, including the valley of the Akkar Tchai and the lake country between Emir and Sultan Dagħ, and extending as far as Tyriaion (Ilghin). The cities of this district are Metropolis, a komopolis including two large villages named Conni and Ambasos, Prynnessos a large and important city, Augustopolis (which in the Roman period was merely a large village under the name of Anaboura), Sibidounda a small city, Julia-Ipsos, Philomelium, and Hadrianopolis, all important cities, Polybotos and finally Tyriaion. Examples of the Phrygian formula occur throughout this district.

III. Afiom Kara Hissar, beside the mosque opposite the Konak. There was probably no Greek inscription on this stone. Copied by me in November 1881.<sup>1)</sup>

ΙΟCΝΙCΕΜΟΝΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙΚΑΚΟΝΑΛΔΑΚΕΤ

ΙΑΚΑΠΠΟΥCΙΜΕΓΑΛΕ

ΕΤΙΕ

On a lower part of the stone, between the left panels of the door, is engraved the conclusion

ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜ

ΕΝΟCΕΙΤΟΥ

ΙΟΥC ΝΙ CΕΜΟΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΙ ΚΑΚΟΝ Α[Δ]ΔΑΚΕΤ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ΕΤΙ ΕΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟC ΕΙΤΟΥ. Second century or earlier.

IV. In the cemetery at Surmeneh, Augustopolis, which was named Anaboura in the time of the consul Manlius and appears in the list of Hierocles as Kleros Politikes. Copied by me in 1881, and again with no variation in 1884. Published by me in Mittheil. Inst. Ath., 1882, p. 143. On two Turkish

<sup>1)</sup> Afiom Kara Hissar is very near the site of Prynnessos, but stones are brought to supply the trade from Docimion, Augustopolis, Metropolis, and even Synnada.



gravestones hewn out of one ancient stone. The gap in the middle is about four inches broad, and the whole originally about 28.

ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΟ . . . . . ΔΡΟCΑΡΙCΤΑΡΧΟΥΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝΔΕ  
ΤΗΙΔΙΑΠΕΝΘΕΡΑΙΟCΝΙCΕΜΟC . . . . . <ΑΚΟΥΝΑΔΑΚΕΤΑΙΝΙΟΙ  
ΘΑΛΑΜΕΙΔΗΔΙΩCΖΕΜΕΛΩ . . . . . ΙΚΜΕΝΟCΕΙΤΟΥ

The restoration of the Greek text is very uncertain: perhaps Διόδοτος Μακεδονικό[ς ὁ καὶ Μέναν]δρος Ἀριστάρχου ἐποίησεν Δέτη ἰδίᾳ πενθερᾷ. ιος νι σεμον [κνουμανι] κακουν αδακετ αινιοι θαλαμει δη διως ζεμελω [ετιττετ]ικμενος ειτον. Second century or earlier. αινιοι belongs to a pronominal stem which frequently occurs in these inscriptions: it is perhaps the same stem which is found in Sanskrit as ena, given in the grammars as forming several of the cases of the stem etad. If we were correct in interpreting (in I) ταύτη θαλαμειν as a dative with affixed ν, we must here consider αινιοι θαλαμει as conveying the same sense, perhaps forming part of the protasis in apposition with σεμον [κνουμανει]. We saw under No 2. that Babo is a feminine: αινιοι must then be dative of a nominative αινιω. Σεμον shortened from the commoner σεμονν. αδακετ for αδδακετ.

A phrase in the apodosis occurs in various forms

III δη διως ζεμελω

V με διω[ς ζε]μ[ε]λω

VI με ζεμελω κε δεος

VII δεος κε ζεμ[ε]λω].

These variations make it probable that κε means „and“, and that ζεμελω and δεος are two things in respect of which the curse is invoked.

IV bis. At Kara Hissar, near Prymnessos, copied by Seetzen, C. I. G. 3880.

ΛΔΗCΚΑΙCΓΚΕΥΑΕΟΝΤΟΙΕΝΓΩΝΟΙC

ΜΑΝΙ ΚΑΙΖΩΤΙΚΩΙΟΝΙΟΕΜΟΝΚΝΟ

This inscription has no value except as a proof of the prevalence of the Phrygian formula. Ἀσκληπι]αδης κα[τ]εσκεύα[σε]ν τοῖς [ε]ργόνοις Μάν[η] καὶ Ζωτικῶ: ιος σεμον κνο[υμανει etc.].

V. At Surmeneh: Augustopolis. Copied by Hamilton No. 376. I have twice looked in vain for this inscription

ΛΑΙΕΝΟCΑΜΜΓΑΥΚΥΤΑΤΩΖΩΤΙΩΜ

ΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝΙCΚΕCΕΜΟΥΜΚΟΥΜΙΝΟC

ΑΛΑΚΕΝΜΕΔΙΩΟΜΟΛΩΕΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟC

OCANΔEKAKΩCHYHCETEKNAAΩ  
PAENTY HTON

I see no way of restoring this inscription except on the supposition that the letters were worn, and that Hamilton has frequently misread. Perhaps [ή δεινα κατεσκεύα[σ]εν [τ]έ[κνη] γλυκυτότῳ Ζωτι[κ]ῳ μνήμης χάριν. ις κε σεμου<sup>1)</sup> κ[ν]ουμινος α[δ]ακεν με διως ζ[ε]μ[ε]λω ετιτετικμενος ητο[ν]. ὅς ἂν δὲ κακῶς [π]νήσε[ι], τέκνα ἄωρα ἐντύ[χοιτο].<sup>2)</sup> As there was no room for HTOY in l. 3, it was added in a lower part of the stone, and is in Hamilton's copy mixed up with line 5.

VI. Beside Surmeneh, on one of the circle of stones (κρηπίς) which surrounded a small tumulus. There seem to have been in this neighbourhood many small tumuli, built all in the same way with a low circular wall enclosing and holding together a mound of earth. This inscription is in large and very faint letters which can hardly be deciphered.

Copied by me in August 1884.

||||CNICEMOYKNNOYMANEI||||  
ABBEPETATNOYIIMON||||N<sup>3)</sup>||  
TOCNIMEZEMELΩKEΔEOC||||  
I||ETIHITTETIKMENOCET||OY

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει [κακουν] αββερετ, α[ι]νου[ν] μο[υρα]τος  
νι με ζεμελω κε δεος . . . . .ετι ητιτετικμενος ειτου.

The letters of this text are so faint and worn, and the stone was in such a bad position<sup>4)</sup> while I was copying it, that in places where I did not know the formula, I could only guess at the reading. The second part of l. 2 is marked in my notes as utterly uncertain. The restoration depends on XXV, and could doubtless be verified on a future visit.

VII. Afion Kara Hissar, in the Armenian cemetery. Copied by Hamilton No. 165. Copied by me in November 1881. Broken right and left.

<sup>1)</sup> Understanding that the copyist has reversed KN.

<sup>2)</sup> ἐντύχοιτο and περιπέσοιτο, forms used in this country.

<sup>3)</sup> || is marked in my copy as either N or M. It is doubtful whether a letter has been lost at the end of 2.

<sup>4)</sup> It lies with its face towards the ground, and we dug a hole below it to enable me to see the letters obliquely.

NKNOYMANIKAK/<sup>1)</sup>

ΕΝΔΕΟΚΕΖΕΜ

\ΚΕΟΙΕΙΡΟΙΑΤΙΕΤΙΤΤ

ΝΟΥ

ιος νι σεμον]ν κνονιανι κακα[ν χειραν αδακ]εν δεος κε ζεμ[ελω  
 ..... ζειρ]α κε οι ειροιατι ετιττ[ετικμενα ειτ]νου.

The Greek *χειρα* is added merely to show the possible sense, accounting for the feminine *κακαν* (cp. XI). *ειττου* plural as in XII, an inscription of very doubtful reading, where the phrase (according to the bad copies) is *ζειρα κε οίπεισκει*.

I add two inscriptions, which though not in Paroreios but in the hilly country south of it, are closely connected with the preceding.

VIII. At Innly, halfway between Synnada (Tchifut Kassaba) and Tchai (Julia-Ipsus): copied by me in August, 1884: a *mère* fragment.

ΜΕΝΟΕΙΤΟΥ.

IX. At Isheklar, among the hills south of Tchobanlar (probably in the district named in Hierocles *κληρος Ὀρεινῆς*), in a fountain. Copied by me in August 1884. Incomplete below. The letters are very faint and badly formed, so that it was hardly possible to read the inscription. The character of the letters cannot be represented in type: N is formed of three unconnected lines: M and ΛΛ are undistinguishable. Several gaps occur in the text, which may or may not have contained letters.

ΥCΔΟΥΝΕΤ//ΟΥΠΑΣΕ

ΔΕΚΜΟΥΤΑΙΚΙΝΟ//

ΜΑ//ΤΙΜΝΚΑΝΟΤΕCΤΑΜ

N//ΔΑΔΙΤΙΝΕΝ//ΡΙΑ

5 ΠΑΡΤΥCΟΥΒΡΑ

ΚΟΙΝΤΟCΡΟΥ//ΦΟΥΤΗ//ΙΔ'

ΔΙ//ΥΝΑΙΚΙΝΕΝCΡΙΑΜΝ//

//CΛ//ΙΟΤΑΓΟΝΙΝΕΚΑ

//

My hope had always been to discover a true bilingual inscription: but the pleasure of finding one after years of search was sadly damped by the wretched state of the stone, which must

<sup>1)</sup> Hamilton reads the last letter A; the right hand stroke was not visible to me.

have been hard enough to read when it was fresh, but which is now so battered and broken and worn, that hardly any letter remains quite distinct.

It is however clear that the two parts of this inscription are intended to convey a similar sense.

The gap in l. 1 perhaps contained V; that in l. 3 perhaps Y; K in l. 3 should perhaps be B; N in l. 6 is inserted in small character above the line, the engraver having originally written KOIT; the first gap in l. 4 contains probably All, and the second Y lié with N, and part of a round letter could be read after it; l. 5. is complete. In l. 2, the first two T should perhaps be read Π. In l. 8 the foot of Γ joins the A.

The Greek text runs *Κοίντος Ρούφου τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ Νενσορίᾳ μν[ήμῃ]ς ἀ[ιδ]ιότατον (!) (ε)ἕνεκα κ. τ. λ.*

The name *Κοίντος* is distinct, but I did not feel certain about a single letter of the name *Ρούφου*. The wife's name *Nen[ys]ria* is clear in the Phrygian text, and it would appear that the husband's name is *Ysdounetuos*, which is romanised as *Quintus*, probably on account of a slight likeness in sound. *Ἰξουανου* was the Phrygian name of a town, which appears in Greek as *Αἰζανοί*.

X. At Ak Sheher, Philomelium, high in the wall of the Mekteb Djami. Copied by J. R. S. Sterrett and myself in September, 1883.

ΑΜΜΙΑΠΑΤ ΚΑΙ ΠΑ  
ΙΔΙΟΙC ἀντ ΗCΜΝΗ  
ΜΗ C χαρ ΙΝ  
ΙΟCΝΙCΕΜΟΥΝΤΟΥΚΝΟΥ  
ΜΑΝΕΙΚΑΚΟΥΝΑΔΔΑΚΕΤ  
ΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟCΕΙΤΟΥ

The protasis gives a variation which resembles the Greek usage *τοῦτω τῷ μνημείῳ, σεμουν του κνουμανει*.

XI. Arkut Khan, beside Hadrianopolis. Copied by J. R. S. Sterrett and me in 1883. Complete on three sides, broken on left.

ΜΟΝΚΝΟΥ  
ΙΚΑΚΩΝ  
ΑΝΑΒΒΕ  
ΤΕΤΙΚΗC  
ΤΤΙΑΔΕ  
ΤΟΥ

ιος σε]μον κνου-  
 μανε]ι κακων  
 χειρ]αν αββε-  
 ρετ ετι]τετιμε  
 νος ασ]τιιαδ ε-  
 ι]του

This inscription must be compared with the following one from the neighbouring town of Tyriaion. The four letters that remained for the last line were placed symmetrically in the middle, with a gap at each end of the line. With *κακων χειρ]αν*<sup>1)</sup> *αββερετ* compare VII and the Greek translation *κακὴν χεῖρα προσενέγκη* in XXIII. *κακων* feminine accusative, compare notes on II and IV.

XII. Near Ilghin, Tyriaion: copied by Seetzen C. I. G. 3986, and afterwards by Hamilton (No. 383).

ΕΥΔΑΜ ΠΓΕΥ  
 ΙΡΠΕΧΗΤΥΝΙΚ  
 ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΖΩΝ  
 ΜΝΗΜΕΧΑΡΙΝ

5 ΕΙΟCΝΙCΕΜΟΥΝΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙΚΑΚΟΝ  
 ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤΖΕΙΡΑΚΕΟΙΠΕΙΕCΚΕΤΙΤ  
 ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΑΑΤΤΙCΑΔΕΙΤΤΝΟΥ

The two copies of this inscription differ considerably. Hamilton remarks that it is imperfect, and omits the latter part of the first and all the second line. Hamilton reads in 4 ΗC, omits in 5 the third letter, reads CCA for CEM, and omits A in *κνουμανι*; in 6 he reads the first Δ as Λ, and gives the last Ε as Ε; in 7 he reads Π for ΤΤ twice. Seetzen has no Μ in l. 1; in 6 he reads Λ for Α in *ζεῖρα*, and an unintelligible symbol for the last Τ; in 7 he reads ΑΙ for Μ, Λ for the first Α, Ε for C, Η for ΤΤ in the second place.

The end of the formula is important, and is to be compared with VII, XI, and XIV.

The comparison of XI shows that Seetzen's ΤΤ in l. 7 is right for Hamilton's Π, and this suggests that in the same line also ΤΤ should be read for Η or Π,<sup>2)</sup> and we thus get a very doubtful reading *εἰττονου* as in VII. The plural *εἰττετικμενα*

<sup>1)</sup> This form of accusative is common even in the Greek inscriptions of Phrygia.

<sup>2)</sup> Hamilton Π, Seetzen Η.

*ειπνον* seems to be due to the *ζειρα κε* . . . . . in this case and in VII. I gather from XI and XIV that *Ϸ* has been misplaced and that the reading at the end of the inscription is *αστιαδ*.

The Greek text is hopelessly corrupted in both copies. *Εὐδαμ[ος Ἀρχί]π[πον . . .]χη [γ]υ[α]ικὶ καὶ ἐαυτῷ ζῶν μνήμης χάριν. εἰς νι σεμονν κνουμανι κακον αδδακετ, ζειρα κε οἰπειες κ(ε) εἰπτετικμενα α(σ)τιαδ εἰπνον.*

XIII. At Ilghin, Tyriaion, in the court of the Konak or government house. Copied by me in 1883. Complete on three sides, broken on left.

ΛΚΟΥΝΑΒΒΕΡΕΤΑΙC<sup>1)</sup>

ΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ

1 *ιος σεμον κνουμανι κ]ακουν αββερετ, αι.*

2 . . . . . *ειπτετικμενος αστι]αδ ειτον.*

I shall next take the inscriptions of the hilly region in which are situated the monuments of the old Phrygian kings. The towns of this district are Meros, mentioned as a komopolis by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Nacoleia and Docimion, both important cities, Kakkabokome and Petsia or Pissia, mere villages, one of which (Pissia) became a bishopric in later Byzantine time.

XIV. At Khosrev Pasha Khan, near the site of Kakkabokome, the village of Kakkabos. Copied by me in May 1881, and again in August 1883. Copied by J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883.

ΤΕΙΜΑΙΟΕΚΑΙΑΠ

ΗΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΜΑΝΙ

ΑΩΡΗΚΑΙΤΕΙΜΟ

ΘΕΟCCYNBIΩΜΝΗ

5 ΜΗCΕ orna- NEKON

mental pattern

ΙΟCΝΙCΕΜΟΥΝΚΝΟ

ΥΜΑΝCΙΚΑΚΙΝΑΔΛ

ΚΕΤΑΙΝΑΔΑΤΕΑΜ/

CΤΙΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟCΑ

10 CΤΙΑΝ///Υ<sup>2)</sup>.

*Τ]εῖμαιος καὶ Ἀππη θυγατρὶ Μάν[η] ἰώρη καὶ Τειμόθεος συν-βίῳ μνήμης ἐνεκ(ε)ν' ἰος νι σεμονν κνουμανει κακιν αδ[α]κετ αινα-*

<sup>1)</sup> Last letter may be *C* or *O*, or even *Ϸ* or *Θ*.

<sup>2)</sup> My first copy ends with *CΤΙ*.

δατεαμα [?] [ε]τετεικμενος αστιαν [ειτο]υ. αστιαν seems to be a dialectic variety of αστιαδ in XII, XIII, just as αδδα-κεν appears for αδδακετ in V, VII. κακιν a degenerate form of κακουν points to a difference of dialect in different parts of the country.

XV. At Seidi Ghazi, Nacoleia. Copied by me in June 1881 and again in August 1883. Copied by J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883. Complete on three sides, but exceedingly difficult to read. Broken at bottom.

ΞΕΥΝΗΤΑΝΕΙΞΛΥΥΟ  
ΔΑΝΠΡΟΥΣΕΛΛΑΑ  
ΛΝΑΝΜΑΝΚΑΝΑΜ:  
ΛΙΑΝΙΟΙΑΝΑΡΔΟΡΥΚ:

One of my copies has Μ for Υ in l. 1. Only one letter or part of one is lost at the end of l. 3. Ξευνη seems to be a woman's name, as is obvious from the following inscription. In accordance with the usual formula we should expect the name of her husband or her father to follow hers: Τανειξ[α]υ is perhaps a genitive. If so, the third word is probably [x]οδαν, and there is a possibility that a word meaning husband is to be found in this line.

My friend Mr. Neil remarks that mankan here may be the same word as manka in XVIII, and this conjecture is favoured by mankati in the recently published XXVI, which was unknown to me until this paper had been completed.

XVI. At Kuyujak, a village nearly half way between Nacoleia and Dorylaion. Copied by J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883.

Over the inscription is a relief representing a horseman: attitude not observed.

ΞΕΥΝΑΙΑΛΟΝΟ  
ΣΥΝΒΙΟΕΠΕΡΙΤΩ  
ΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΩΤΗΡΙ  
ΑΕΜΗΝΙΟΥΡΑΝΙ  
ΩΚΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ  
ΕΥΧΗΝ

I give this inscription merely to prove the existence of a feminine name Ξευνη in this country. I will also quote an inscription of Nacoleia on account of the remarkable names<sup>1)</sup>: Λαδα

<sup>1)</sup> Published in Journal Hell. Stud. 1884.

*Κανκαρον Νουναδος Οὐεχροκωμήτισσα Δὴ Παπᾶ εὐχὴν.* Here the personal names and the village Vekrokome are all remarkable.

XVII. Bayat, the ancient Petsia, called Pissia in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, east of Docimion in Phrygia. Copied by me in August 1884: a mere fragment.

# ΙΟCΕΙΤΟΥ

XVIII. At Bayat, the ancient Petsia or Pissia, in a fountain. My usual luck with the Phrygian inscriptions pursued me in this case also. The following inscription was clearly cut in small well-formed letters, but some zealous Kizilbash (Bayat is a village of heretics) has taken the trouble to deface every line with a chisel. I made an impression in the hope that some elucidative text might hereafter be discovered. There were originally several more lines at the top: 10 is complete and ends the inscription.

AN  
NOMADIAKIKOYOKA  
AKAIAΔOY EPKΓΩΔAKAP  
NIMOMΓAEKEINAIAPYΓEΞA  
5 PNBKOTAPMAN YMENTANE  
ITAE TAIKOΛΓAMAIIIOCMOIKPA  
N TA IOΛ EONEI AECMOYPE/  
AINIKOCCEMOYKNNOYMANEIK  
AKOYNAΔΔAKETAINIMANKABEO  
10 IOIMETOTOCCIIICARNAN

This inscription is not later than the second century, and seems to be the earliest of all that I saw at Bayat. The letter *6* occurs twice: I could not distinguish a *B* in either case. The execration formula occupies the last three lines. *αινικος* seems to take the place of *ιος* as the relative pronoun of the protasis, and *αινι* (or *αινιμ*) corresponds to it in the apodosis: . . . *μανκα* . . . occurs.

Next I give the text of some inscriptions from the Axylon, the vast treeless plains east of the Phrygian hills and the Emir Dagh. These once formed part of Phrygia, but were in later time attached to Galatia.

XIX. At Alikel or Alekian near Orcistos,<sup>1)</sup> published in C. I. G. 3822\*, from Pococke's copy. Copied by me in September 1883.

<sup>1)</sup> The site of Orcistos was at the Yaila, summer-quarters, of the Turkmen inhabitants, about three miles from the village.



ΑΥΡΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ  
 Η ΓΥΝΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ  
 ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΙΟΣ ΕΜΟΥ ΚΝΟΥ  
 ΜΑΝΕΙΚΑ ΕΤΙΤΕΤΕΙΚΗΝ ΟΣΕΙΤΟ

Pococke's copy differs from mine in being complete on the left side, whereas the first two letters are now invisible in each line. Also Pococke omits the fifth letter of l. 4, and gives the middle bar of a Ν before ΕΤΙΤ. The inscription belongs to the third century. It gives the shorter form of the dative *σεμου*; compare *του* in X, and *σορον* in XXI. The engraver has omitted the verb from the protasis. *ιος σεμου κνουμανει κα[κουν]* . . . . , *ετιτετεικμενος ειτου*.

XX. At Asha Piribeili, the site of Pitnisos or Petinessos (mentioned by Strabo, a bishopric in Byzantine times), on the western borders of Galatia, on the road from Amorium to Philomelium. Copied by me in September 1883.

ΠΕΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΙΘΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΙΑ ΟΙΚΑΡΙΚΟΥ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΙΑΥΤΟΥΙΔΙ  
 ΤΡΙΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤ ΎΠΑΤΕΙΑ ΔΕΛΦΗ ΑΡΩΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΙΤΑ ΤΙΑ ΖΩΗ ΜΝΗ  
 ΙΟΣ ΝΙΣΕΜ ΜΑΝΕΙΚΑ ΚΟΥΝΑ ΔΑΚΕΤ ΓΙΤΕΤΙΚ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΣΚΝΟΥ  
 [Ανρήλιοι?] Πέος και Καρικος και Παπία οι Καρικοῦ, κληρο-  
 νόμοι αὐτοῦ, ἰδ[ὲ] αὐτῶν πατρὶ γλυκντάτω και Τατει ἀδελφῇ  
 ἁώρω και μητρὶ Τατία ζώση μνή[μης χάριν] ιος νι σεμ[ουν  
 κνου]μανει κακουν αδακετ, [ε]τιτετεικμενος ασκνουα[. . .<sup>1</sup>]

XXI. At Asha Piribeili, Petinessos. Copied by me in 1883. In a panel on the side of a large sarcophagus, in distinct letters of late style.

ΑΥΡΚΥΡΙΑΛΑΜΥΡΩΝΟΣ  
 ΣΥΜΒΙΟΣ ΑΥΡΠΑΜΕΝΕ  
 ΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠ  
 ΠΑΣ ΓΑΜΒΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΑΤ  
 ΑΗΣΥΜΒΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΖΩΝΤΕΣ  
 ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝ ΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΤΗ  
 ΣΟΡΟΝΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΚΕ  
 ΑΔΑΚΕΤ ΜΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΩΣΤΙ ΤΕΤΙ  
 ΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΤΟΥ

Αὐρ. Κυρίλλα Μύρωνος σύμβιος Αὐρ. Παπᾶ Μεν(ν)έου τοῦ και Κυρίωνος και Ἀππᾶς γαμβρὸς αὐτῆς και Τάτα ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ζῶντες κατεσκεύασαν τῇ μητρὶ τὴν σορόν· ιος σα σορον κακε αδακετ, με ζεμελω ετιτετεικμενος ειτου.

<sup>1</sup>) Last letter in l. 3 is probably Α or Λ, probably not Μ, certainly not Δ.

Third or fourth century. For *σεμονν κνουμανει* we have here the form *σα σορου*. *σα* is dative singular feminine of a simpler demonstrative stem, which is lengthened by the suffix *mo* in the usual *semoun*. *σορου* is borrowed from the Greek, and this is one of the traits which prove that these inscriptions are written in a living spoken language. *κακε* is a further shortened form of the accusative *kakun* or *kakin*.<sup>1)</sup>

XXII. At Yokar Piribeili, near Petinessos. Copied by J. R. S. Sterrett and me in September 1883.

ΑΥΡΗ·ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΚΑ  
ΡΙΚΟΥ·ΕΑΥΤΗΖΩΣΑ  
ΚΦΡΟΝΟΥΣΑ·ΚΑΤΕΣ  
ΘΗCΕΝΤΟΗΡΩΝ·  
5 ΚΑΙΔΟΜΗΚΑΣΜΕΙΝΗ  
ΚΑΝΔΡΙΔΑΔΗΘΕΚΝΟCΙ  
ΜΗ·ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ

*Αὐρη. Ἀντωνίλα Καρικοῦ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα καὶ φρονοῦσα κατέσθησεν τὸ ἡρώον καὶ Δόμνη καὶ Κασμεῖνῃ καὶ ἀνδρὶ Δαδῇ καὶ θέκνοις μνήμης χάριν.*

Θ appears twice for τ in this inscription, which is very late.

XXIII. At Yokar Piribeili, near Petinessos: copied by J. R. S. Sterrett and me in 1883.

ΑΥΔΑΔΗCΙCΜΑΡΑ  
ΓΔΟΥΚΕΑΥΤΑΤΙΑ  
CΥΝΒΙΟCΑΥΤΟΥΙΔ  
|||ΥΙΩΑΡΜΕΝΑΛΙ  
ΩΟΛΙΓΟΧΡΟΝΙΩ  
ΒΩΜΟΝΑΝΕCΤΗC  
ΑΝΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ  
ΟΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΚΝΟΙ  
ΤΙCΤΟΥΤΟΥΜΝΗΜΙΟΥΚ  
ΑΚΗΝΧΕΙΡΑΠΡΟCΕ|||  
		ΝΚΗΖΩΝΑΥΤΑC		
		ΔΟΙΤΟΒΕΡΡΩ		
		ΑCΥΠΟΘΗΡΙC		

N

*Αὐ. Δαδῆς Ἰσμαράγδου καὶ Αὐ. Τατία σύνβιος αὐτοῦ ἰδίῳ νίῳ*

<sup>1)</sup> με ζεμελω ετιτ. ειτ., μετὰ τέκνων ἀποκατάρατος ἔστω. Prof. Sayce recalls Hesych. ζέμελεν βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον, Φρύγες. Perhaps cp. puer, slave, or famulus, familia.

*A[v]ρ. Μ(αι)ναλίῳ ὀλιγοχρονίῳ βωμὸν ἀνέστησαν μνήμης χάριν οἱ φιλότεκνοι · τίς τούτου μνημίου κακὴν χεῖρα προσε[νέ]νκη, ζῶν αὐτὰς [παρὰ]δοῦτο βε[β]ρω[μέν]ας ὑπὸ θηρί[ω]ν*

Here a person accustomed to speak Phrygian has transferred the Phrygian dative to Greek, and thus arises the expression *τούτου μνημίου*. This inscription also belongs to a very late period, perhaps the fourth century.

XXIV. At Asha Piribeili, Petinessos. Copied by me in 1883.

ΑΥΡΚΛΩΔΙΟCΦΑΡΙΟΥΚ  
CΥΜΒΙΟCΑΥΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΑΛΛΑ  
ΤΟΙCΕΑΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΟΙC  
ΚΑΡΙΚΩΚΤΑΤΙΑΑΩΡΟΙC  
ΜΝ-Μ-ΙCΧΑΡΙΝΥ////\CΥΕΘΟΙΔ////  
ΠΛΑCΟΙΟΕ////CΑΝΤΑΠΟΔΟΙΤ////

The letters following *χάριν* are smaller than the preceding, and I failed to make any connected reading . . . . . δ[ι]πλᾶς ποινᾶς ἀνταποδοῦν[το].

I add the text of two other inscriptions, to complete the list of what was found at Petinessos. All belong to the third or fourth century, and none show any trace of Christian influence.

At Asha Piribeili, Petinessos, copied by me in 1883. Imperfect below.

ΑΥΡΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC////  
////  
////

ΟΕΑΝ
ΚΑΚΩΕ
ΠΥΗCΕΙ
ΤΩΜΝΗ
ΜΑ

//////ΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟ////

Lines 4—8 are in a small panel.

At Asha Piribeili, Petinessos, copied by me in 1883.

ΥΡΤΕΙΜΟΘΕΟCΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΥ  
CΥΝΒΙΩΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΑΝΕCΤΗC  
ΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑ  
ΡΙΝ

Excluding the western parts of Phrygia, in which the class of inscriptions now in discussion is unknown, there remains only the district on the borders of Phrygia and Pisidia, on the west of the Sultan Dag. Only one inscription was known in this district, till the recent discoveries of Mr. Sterrett,<sup>1)</sup> who gives four fresh ones.

XXV. At Borlu between Apollonia and Antioch of Pisidia. Copied by Hamilton, No. 449. I tried in vain to find this inscription in 1882.<sup>2)</sup>

ΙΟΣΝΙΣΙΜΟΥΝ  
ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙΙΑΚΟΥΝΑΒ  
ΒΙΡΕΤΟΑΙΝΙΜΜΥΡΑΤΟΣ  
ΝΙΑ . . . ΙΜΓΛΩΣΤΙΜΕΚΑ  
Τ . . ΤΙΤΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣΕΙΤΟΥ

*ιος νι σιμουν κνουμαν[ε]ι [κ]ακουν αββιρετο(?) , αινιμ μυρατος νι [δεος?] ζ[ε]μ[ε]λω [ε]τιμεκατ[ι] ε[ε]τιττετικμενος ειτου.*

There is little doubt that the apodosis requires further correction of the text, and there is every probability that the reading of VI & VII might be restored, if we had the exact text of this inscription. *αινιμ* belongs to the demonstrative stem which has often occurred in preceding inscriptions. The final *μ* is perhaps assimilated to the following letter, and the original form would then be *αινιν*, which is related to *αινου[ν]* of No. VI as *κακιν* of XIV is to the usual *κακουν*. *σιμου(ν)* being a dative is not exposed to the same modification of the vowel as the accusative *αινουν*. *ετιμεκατι* must be compared with *μανκατι* in the following inscription.

XXVI. At Neapolis of Pisidia (Tcharyk Serai near Karagatch). Copied by Mr. Sterrett in 1884 and published by him in his Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Journey, Boston 1885.

ΙΟΕΝΙΕΜΟΝΚΝΟΥΜΑ  
ΝΕΚΑΚΟΝΔΑΚΕΤΑΙΝΙ  
ΜΑΝΚΑΤΙΕΤΙΤΤΕΤΙ  
ΚΜΕΝΟΕΙΤΟΥ

<sup>1)</sup> In 1883 Mr. Sterrett travelled along with me in connection with the English Asia Minor Exploration Fund. In 1884 he travelled in connection with the American School of Athens and separately from me.

<sup>2)</sup> No village named Borlu exists; we looked over every house in a village, which corresponds in all respects to Hamilton's description of Borlu.

ιος νι σεμον κνουμανε κακον δαχετ, αινη μανκατι επιτετικμενος ειτου.

XXVII. At Anaboura or at Neapolis of Pisidia. Copied by Mr. Sterrett in 1884, and published by him in his Preliminary Report etc.

IOCKECEMONTOKAKONOΔ

Sterrett has sent two other inscriptions found near Apollonia of Pisidia, as yet unpublished.

XXVIII. At Yassi Euren, Tymandos.

IOCNICEMOYN

KNOYMANE

KAKONYNAΔ

KETICETITETOYKME

NOYNEITOY

ις seems to be demonstrative pronoun. επιτετουκμενονν, ep. αινονν and αινην. κακοννν error for κακονν.

XXIX. At Beyük Kabadja.

IOCECEMOYNKNOYMANE

KAINIMANKAKAKONAΔΔAK

W. M. Ramsay.

## Zur erklärang des Avestâ.<sup>1)</sup>

*aidyu*, *ravascarât*, *cañrañhâc*, *îza*, *îzya*, *vidîšemna*, *vidîša*, *ainiti*, *êneiti*, *frârâiti*, *fšûšê*, *kâstra*, infinitive.

An *aidyu* hat sich schon mancher erklärer abgemüht. Meine frühere erklärang in d. zt. 24, 137 hat Hübschmann (ebenda 27, 92) mit recht beseitigt. Der zusammenhang der drei stellen Y. 39, 1; Yt. 13, 74. 154 ist allein massgebend. Auch der neuste erklärer, Darmesteter (*études* 2, 150), hat auf eine etymologie verzichtet. Darmesteter's ansicht geht dahin: Nach den stellen drückt *aidyu* einmal einen gegensatz zu *daitika* aus; andererseits steht *aidyu* auf gleicher stufe mit *pasuka*. Da nun die bedeutungen von *pasuka* und *daitika* (= np. *dad*, diese zt. 24, 138) klar sind, so folgt daraus, dass *aidyu* das hausthier bezeichnet, also dem sinne nach dem np. *dâm* in der fûgung *dad u dâm* entspricht. So Darmesteter. Wir werden sehen, dass Darmesteter's voraussetzung unrichtig ist.

Nichts lässt sich für *aidyu* aus Yt. 13, 74 schliessen. In

<sup>1)</sup> Auf s. 302 bitte ich den ersten theil der fussnote als blossen lapsus zu annullieren.



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## A STUDY OF PHRYGIAN ART. (PART I.)

A BRIEF introductory statement of the historical views to which I have been led by a study of the Phrygian monuments will make the following pages clearer, and will enable the reader to criticise the whole with greater advantage. I can hardly hope to have reached the truth in regard to this difficult subject; but it is so closely connected with many disputed points in early Greek history that I have thought it best to carry out my view to its logical conclusions and state the whole in brief and precise terms. This will place the reader on his guard from the beginning, and if it leads him to exercise unsparing criticism, I shall have attained my object.

1. The Phrygians are a European race, who entered Asia Minor across the Hellespont: the unanimous Greek tradition to this effect (which at one time I regarded as probably a reversal of the truth) is confirmed by longer study of the country and the monuments.

2. The Phrygians and the Carians were two very closely kindred tribes, nearly related to some of the Greek races, who established themselves in the countries which bear their name as a conquering and ruling caste amid a more numerous alien population: they were mail clad warriors whose armour gave them great advantage over opponents equipped in the slighter oriental fashion. Greek tradition associated various improvements in the style of armour with the Carians, and a relief published below (fig. 9) shows two Phrygian warriors armed quite in the Carian style. I do not of course imagine that the first Phrygo-Carian conquerors were armed exactly in this style: study of the monuments leads to the belief that they were a progressive and inventive race, but the armour which is shown in this relief is certainly worn only by a race which had been for generations accustomed to defensive mail.

3. The Phrygo-Carian conquerors are distinguished from the conquered race in language and in social organisation, as well as in military equipment. The earlier population belonged to a stock which spread over at least parts of Greece and Italy as well as Asia Minor. It is the race which has been traced by Pauli<sup>1</sup> through its use of local names ending in *-nda* and *sa*. Its social system knew no true marriage and traced descent through the mother: and corresponding to this its religion acknowledged a mother goddess and her son, whose worship under various names, as *σύνθετοι θεοί*, can be traced in

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<sup>1</sup> *Eine vorgriech. Inschrift aus Lemnos.*

Asia Minor. The conquering tribes introduced the worship of a supreme god, the Father (Papas), and the Thunderer (Bronton).<sup>1</sup> These two religions were amalgamated in various ways in different parts of the country: an illustrative case of the amalgamation of opposing religions may be quoted in the worship of Athenaia and Poseidon at Athens.

4. There was a similar conquering caste of the same Phrygian stock in Lydia and in Lycia. The difference which gradually established itself between these peoples was due to intermixture in various degrees with the older population and in a less degree to the natural divergence from the original type in different situations. On this view it is obvious that the whole controversy as to whether the Carians &c. are Aryan or non-Aryan has been conducted on a misunderstanding. It is necessary to distinguish the two races in Caria before discussing the origin of the Carian race: *e.g.* the arguments by which Pauli seeks to demonstrate that the Carians are non-Aryan are founded on facts that are true only of the older population.

5. The Phrygians proper were in close relations with the Greeks of Cyme and Phocaea during the eighth century: this intercourse could exist only so long as Lydia and Phrygia were closely associated with each other, and it was interrupted by the establishment in Lydia of a strong independent military power under the Mermnad dynasty. Previous to that event the Phrygian kings bulked more impressively in the Greek mind than any other non-Greek monarchy: their language was the original language (Herod. II. 2) and the speech of the Goddess herself (Hom. *Hymn Aphr.* 111 ff.): their country was the land of great fortified cities (Φρυγίης εὐτειχέτοιο, *ib.*): and their kings were the associates of the gods themselves. In this intercourse we hear of a Cymaeon princess married to a Phrygian king<sup>2</sup>, and the theory is advanced below that the Cymaeon alphabet was adopted by the Phrygians. Through this intercourse with Cyme, Phrygia was brought into relation with the kings of Argos, the most powerful state in Greece during the eighth century, and the Phrygian device which appears over the principal gate-way of Mycenae was learned during this intercourse and belongs to the period of Argive ascendancy, 800—700 B. C.

6. The Phrygian monuments belong to the ninth and eighth centuries before Christ. The end of the Phrygian kingdom is a fixed date, about 675 B.C.; and the progressive character of their art forbids us to assign a very long duration to it. Phrygian art is not a stereotyped traditional art of the oriental style, which might have lasted for centuries, but a vigorous and

<sup>1</sup> Another name of this god is Bennis or Benneus. Benneus, from the Thracian-Illyrian word Benna, a car, means the god who stands in a chariot, as Benfey used, orally at least, to explain Jupiter Stator: v. Deecke, *Rhein. Mus.*, vol. 37, p. 385. In *J. H. S.* 1887, p. 512, I have by a slip of memory explained Soa in the name Bennissoa by 'treasure.' Stephanus explains it as meaning 'tomb.' But the word Bennissoa has to be dismissed as a fiction of editors, who

have united Βεννεί Σοννῶν in an inscription into one word. The people are in another inscription, and in this one when rightly understood, called Σοννῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Damodike, daughter of Agamemnon of Cyme, married to Midas. The legendary expression of this intercourse appears in the relations between Priam and Phrygia, and in the suggestion of the goddess to Anchises to send a messenger to the King of Phrygia.

progressive art. Moreover the irruption of the conquering tribes from the west into Phrygia cannot be carried back too far: we find a reminiscence of their conflict with the older religion in the *Iliad* (III. 185), and it probably took place not earlier than the beginning of the ninth century, soon after their sea hegemony (905-880 B.C., Diod. 7. 13). The old Phrygian monuments come to an end at the Cimmerian conquest, about 675: and under Lydian and Persian supremacy Greek influence affected the country and produced a very different style of art (see *J. H. S.* 1882, pp. 28, 262). But a certain continuity of religious symbolism is traceable throughout the Greek and Roman periods: the type of the two rampant lions is common in all periods: the tomb which in the earliest time took the form of a shrine of the goddess continues to have two essential features—an altar and a door (*J. H. S.* 1884, p. 250 ff.): stones of the same form which was employed in the crowning member of Lydian tumuli<sup>1</sup> are frequently to be seen used as tomb-stones of the Roman period in southern Phrygia about Apameia-Celaenae and in the Maeander valley generally.

7. Phrygian art was developed under influences very similar to those which acted on Greece and by a race closely akin to the Greeks. Naturally there results an art which has decided analogy to Greek art. A direct comparison between the two is apt to suggest a later date than I assign to certain Phrygian monuments; but in these cases I regard the analogy as due to the circumstances which I have just stated, and as affording no ground for dating the two classes in the same period. There are closer and more real analogies to be detected with the early bronzes of Olympia, the palæo-Etruscan remains at Bologna, and the bronze-work of Hallstatt, than with any later period of Greek art.

8. Further study has confirmed my first opinion that the art of Phrygia is developed under the influence or in imitation of the Syro-Cappadocian or 'Hittite' art, whose remains are found widely in Asia Minor. Distinct proof can now be given that this older art has left remains in the midst of the Phrygian monuments: the proofs I hope to publish next year in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*. The manner in which the earliest Phrygian reliefs are executed may be described in the very words which I have elsewhere used about a Cappadocian monument (*Archäolog. Ztg.* 1885, pp. 206-7): 'the artist seems first to have prepared a smooth flat surface on the rock: he next indicated the outline of the figures, and then cut away the rock all round the outlines to a depth of half an inch or more, leaving the figures standing out in low relief within a sunken panel' of irregular shape, corresponding to the general outline of the group of figures.

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I begin with the remains about one mile south of the small Yuruk village of Demirli, three miles N.N.W. of Ayaz Inn, and three miles east of

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Texier's plate of the Tomb of Tantalus, and Perrot's forthcoming volume on Asia Minor Art.

Bey Keui, which form perhaps the most interesting centre of Phrygian history. It was first brought to the knowledge of Europeans by our expedition of November 1881,<sup>1</sup> and since that time it has been visited several times. The remains of the fortifications on the little acropolis were discovered by Mr. Hogarth during our expedition of 1886.<sup>2</sup> I had long suspected that the acropolis was situated on this isolated and almost inaccessible rock, but Mr. Hogarth found the way up, and observed the parapet and the chambers and cisterns cut out of the rock. The concealed staircase by which alone access is now possible is a peculiar feature of this acropolis;<sup>3</sup> otherwise it is strikingly like in shape and arrangement to the rock acropolis of Sipylos over the 'Niobe' near Magnesia. The larger map, which I drew in order to show the situation of the remains in this spot, would make the shape and character of the acropolis clearer than any mere description can make them, but it cannot be given here.<sup>4</sup> The acropolis, as it now stands after various parts of the rock have fallen in pieces, owing partly to the ancient cuttings made in it, and partly to the disintegrating force of water and time generally, is long and narrow with perfectly perpendicular sides about forty to sixty feet in height, and with no traces of an outer staircase, such as can be seen, too much broken to be of any use, in the acropolis of Sipylos. The outline of several houses, which were partly cut in the rock, and partly built above the rock, can still be observed on the top. One or two cisterns remain, and a parapet of rock runs round the eastern end. The features are so simple, that only one who actually visits both can realise how like each other, though in totally different situations, are the Lydian and the Phrygian acropoleis. I have on a previous occasion in this *Journal* tried to prove (*J. H. S.* 1882, p. 64) that the monuments round this Lydian acropolis of Sipylos are the same which the Magnesian Pausanias mentions as 'the Tomb of Tantalos,' 'the very ancient statue of the Mother of the Gods made by Broteas son of Tantalos,' 'the Throne of Pelops,' &c. Tantalos and Pelops are always in Greek legend called Phrygians, and the remarkable similarity in these two acropoleis and their surroundings affords a striking confirmation of the Greek belief. The settlers who founded the acropolis at Sipylos and those who founded the acropolis in Phrygia, whose remains are here described, must have been so closely kindred in manners and habits as to be practically one race. In each case the acropolis can never have been more than a very tiny fortress, serving as a centre and place of temporary refuge for the inhabitants of the

<sup>1</sup> Consisting of Mr. A. C. Blunt, sent at the expense of a special fund raised by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, myself as Travelling Student of Oxford, and Mrs. Ramsay.

<sup>2</sup> I have profited by the criticisms and suggestions of Mrs. Ramsay and Mr. Hogarth in numerous points, which it would be tedious to mention in detail.

<sup>3</sup> A similar concealed staircase in the rock still exists in the small Phrygian acropoleis at

Yapulduk and Pishmish Kalessi. Concealed entrances beneath the city walls are a remarkable feature at Pteria. Sir C. Wilson and I observed one nearly destroyed, one almost perfect, resembling in appearance the galleries at Tiryns.

<sup>4</sup> An older and less perfect sketch, but still sufficiently clear to make the situation intelligible, has been, I think, reproduced for M.M. Perrot and Chipiez's *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. V., which may be expected in December, 1889.

country round, and practically impregnable to direct attack by an undisciplined enemy.

On some of the fragments of rock which have broken off from the acropolis and now lie beneath it, there are parts of the interior of at least one chamber which was cut out of the rock. I have not been able to understand the forms sufficiently to restore the shape or size of the chamber, except that a high round-arched niche formed part of one end.

About 100 yards south of the acropolis is situated what is perhaps the most important and certainly the most imposing of all the Phrygian

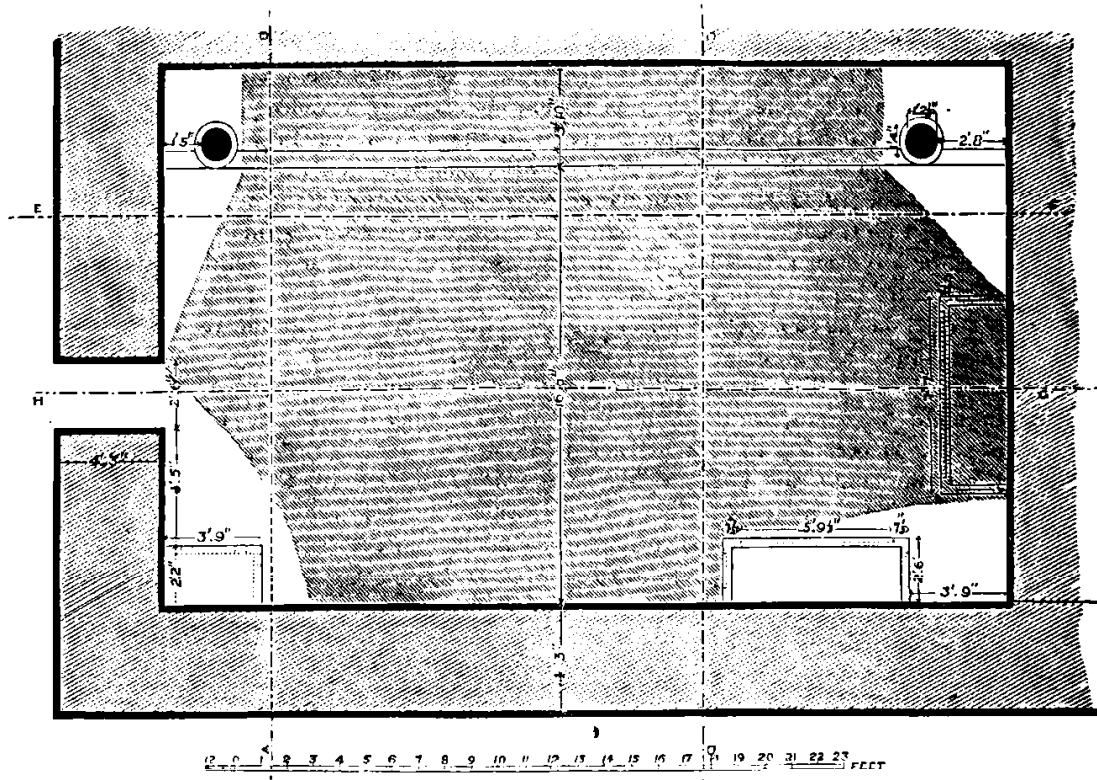


FIG. 1.—RESTORED PLAN OF BROKEN LION TOMB.

monuments. I refer to it always as the 'Broken Lion Tomb.' Only one new fragment has as yet been discovered of this immense monument to add to those which were examined by us in 1881. The drawings already published by Mr. Blunt enable me to dispense with several illustrations which would otherwise be here necessary to bring before the reader the present situation and appearance of the fragments, and the reasons on which the restoration of the whole monument depends. The older drawings will therefore be frequently referred to in the following pages, and so far as

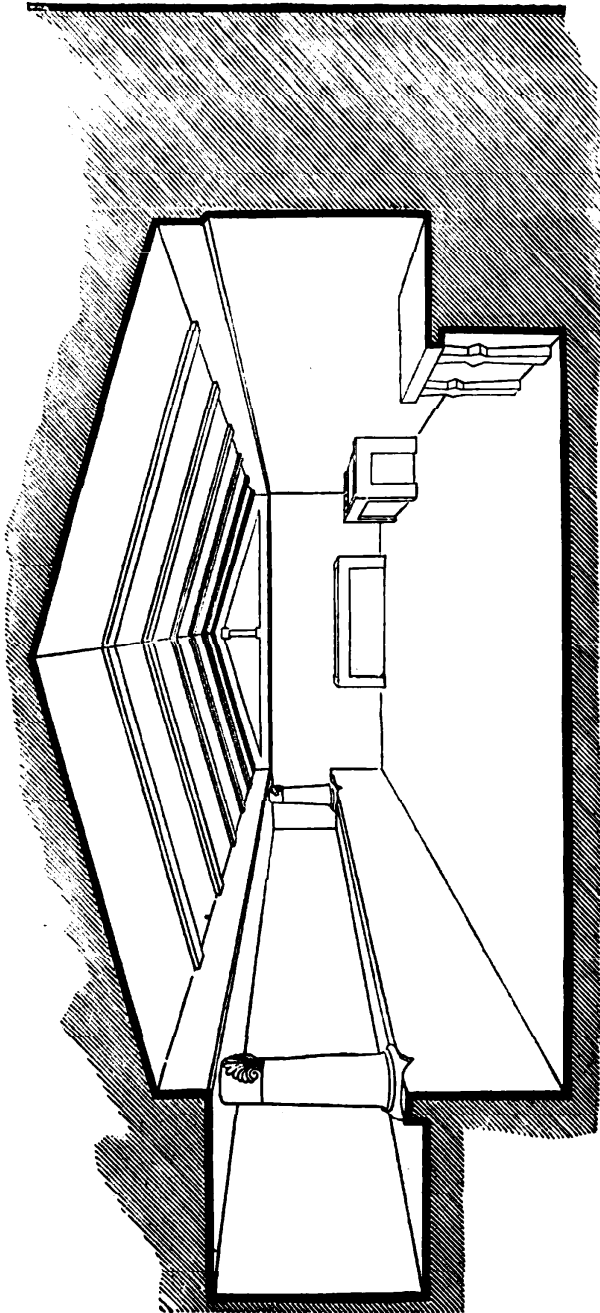


FIG. 2.—RESTORATION OF INTERIOR OF BROKEN LION TOMB.



possible nothing which appears in them will here be repeated. But in bringing together the fragments, the character of some of them is so entirely altered that the small pieces given by Mr. Blunt appear anew as parts of the whole subject, and the reader must compare the first drawing with the second in order to comprehend the following argument. A mere restoration, such as is given here, without Mr. Blunt's previous sketches of the actual appearance, would hardly give a true or at least a sufficient idea of the monument. But it is also necessary to put together the *disiecta membra*, a task which Mr. Blunt has not yet attempted, in order to give any real idea of the magnificence of this tomb and of the artistic character of the people who made it. This monument is the key-stone of the whole theory which I now attempt to explain and justify, and I must lay great stress on the restored sketches figs. 1—9. The responsibility for them rests on Mrs. Ramsay and myself, except part of fig. 9, which rests jointly on Mr. Hogarth's sketch

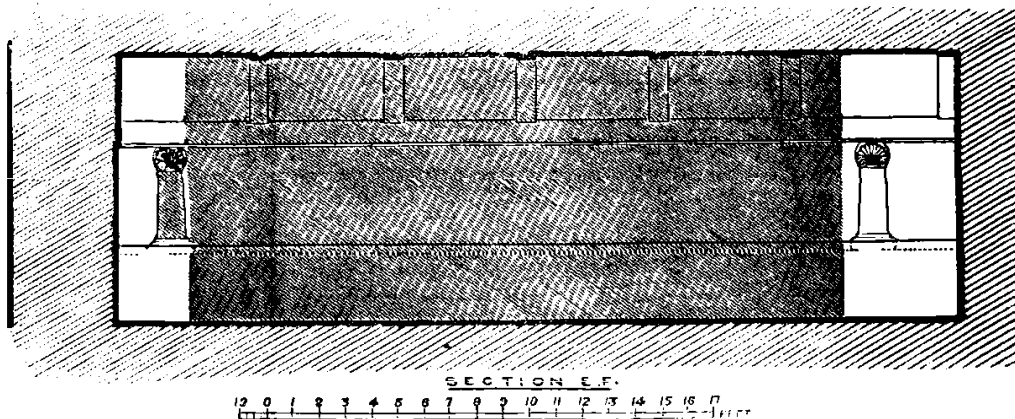


FIG. 3.—ELEVATION OF NORTH INTERIOR RESTORED.

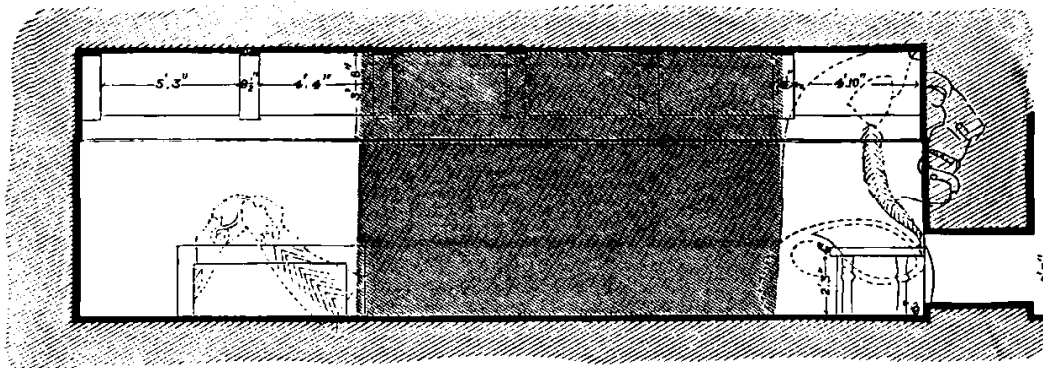
and on mine. Except fig. 10, which is reproduced from Mrs. Ramsay's sketch, the accompanying illustrations have been re-drawn from our measurements, photographs, and sketches by Mr. J. P. McCann, of the Aberdeen School of Art. We are responsible for the restorations, which are shaded.

The plan, fig. 1, shows the fragments of this monument restored to their original position.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt as to any of the dimensions except the length from east to west. The only clue to the length is given by the sculptures on the southern exterior; if we have correctly restored these sculptures, the great length of the chamber, unusual as it is, is a necessary condition. The reader who doubts whether the restoration of the interior is correct in respect of the length is referred to the description of the exterior sculptures for the reasons on which the length is estimated.

<sup>1</sup> The actual condition is shown in a photograph, which will be reproduced in M. Perrot's vol. V.; See also Mr. Blunt's drawing, *J. H. S.* Pl. xviii.

The sepulchral chamber was entered by a small door in the western end. That this door was originally about twenty feet above the ground is rendered probable, first, by the analogy of many sepulchral chambers with similar small doors, which exist in the rocks around, and secondly by the reliefs on the exterior, which, if the human and animal figures represented on them were complete, must have extended about eighteen feet below the door of the chamber.

It is however right to leave open the possibility that the lions were only half-length figures. This would enable them to be placed closer, and the chamber might then be shortened by about five feet at most, by bringing the two lions which stand back to back closer to each other. But the symmetry of the relief would be utterly ruined by this arrangement, and as the restoration here given (which results from simply completing the three lions, each of which remains in part) puts the figures symmetrically with their heads nearly equidistant, I prefer to follow it.



SECTION C.H.

12 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 FEET.

FIG. 4.—ELEVATION OF SOUTH INTERIOR, SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF REMAINING FRAGMENT OF EXTERIOR SCULPTURE.

The door in the west end leads into a large oblong chamber, twenty and a half feet broad from north to south, and perhaps thirty-one and a half feet in length. Flat beams, carved in relief on the sides of the roof, which slope upwards towards the centre, represent the rafters which support the roof of a wooden house or temple, imitated in this house of rock. A sort of corridor or gallery, about three feet above the floor of the chamber, runs along the northern side. The roof of this corridor is supported by at least two columns, one near the southern, and one close to the northern end; but no intermediate fragment is now visible to show whether a row of columns supported it from end to end, though we may take it as highly probable that such a row did exist.

The southern side of the chamber was occupied by a seat or chair in the

western corner, and a sepulchral couch or bed towards the eastern end. The gap between the couch and the seat was perhaps filled by a second couch, but this is purely conjectural. The three legs of the seat are quaint; one is on the east side of the seat, the other two, which are on the north side, are shown in fig. 2. The front of the couch is so much broken that the details are quite uncertain. A restored elevation of the northern and southern sides of the interior is shown in figs. 3 and 4. The northern side was in the main mass of the hill, and the north-east corner is still in the hill-side with one column in its original position unbroken. The southern side, which has entirely fallen away in fragments, showed an exterior to the spectator. The exterior was adorned with sculptures, and the relative position of the fragments of these sculptures which are still visible is indicated by dotted lines in fig. 4.

The eastern side of the chamber still remains almost entire, as part of the rocky hill, together with one of the columns of the corridor on the north side,

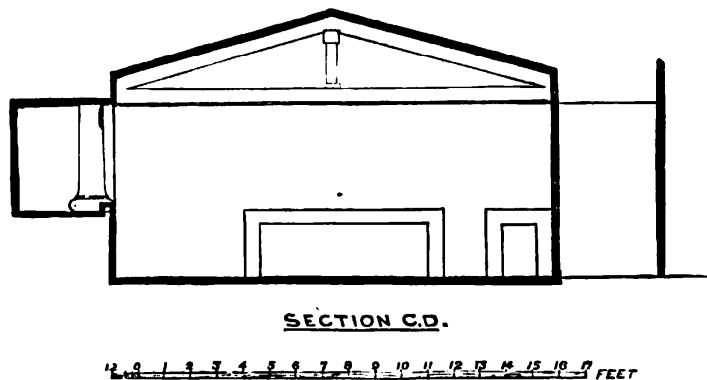


FIG. 5.—ELEVATION OF EAST INTERIOR.

as represented in the sketch, fig. 5, in which I am obliged to differ greatly from Mr. Blunt's representation of the lower part, *J. H. S.* Pl. xix. A rectangular space, seven and a half feet by about three feet, in the middle of this side, is rough, showing that a couch similar to that of the west side had once been attached to the wall, and had been broken away when the chamber fell. On each side of this couch, the wall has been carefully smoothed down to the level of the floor.

In these sketches I have marked those measurements which I made in 1884 and 1887; it will be seen that they approximate to, but do not exactly coincide with, those of Mr. Blunt. I give these, like the other sketches, as the best which I can furnish from the materials in my possession. I have actually compared Mr. Blunt's drawings with the monuments, aided in doing so by Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883, and by Mrs. Ramsay in 1884.

Fig. 6 shows the details of the column, which stands at the north-east corner of the chamber. The capital, which is purely ornamental and serves no bearing purpose, gives perhaps one of the earliest forms, which might

be called 'proto-ionic.' On a flat surface are indicated two volutes with the anthemion springing between them.<sup>1</sup> In the present state of the monument, I hesitated for a long time as to the form of the volutes: the lower part of the volutes is defaced, and it was difficult to determine whether there was a spiral or merely two concentric circles, a small and a large one. But I examined before the original the drawing given by Mr. Blunt, both with Prof. Sterrett and with Mrs. Ramsay. None of us had a moment's hesitation in condemning the representation which he gives. The point is one of very great importance for deciding the relation of Phrygian art to oriental and to Greek art, as intermediate between them and older than the latter, that it is necessary to lay some stress on the details.

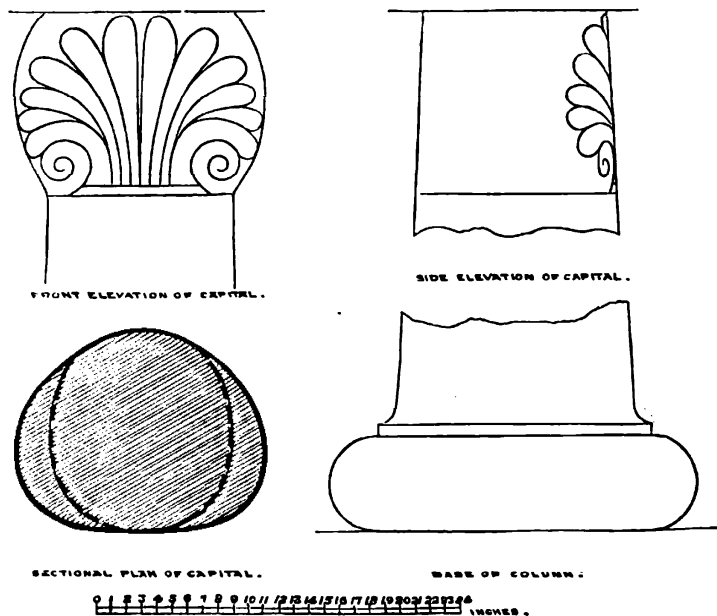


FIG. 6.—DETAILS OF COLUMN, BROKEN LION TOMB.

The western interior wall, in which is the small door, is now broken in two fragments, which fit each other. They lie near each other in such a position that the sculptures of the exterior are turned downwards. The interior is shown in fig. 7, and the relative position of the remaining fragments of the exterior sculptures is indicated by dotted lines.

This sepulchral chamber was so situated at an angle of the rock that the southern and western sides presented an external face to the spectator, while the northern and eastern sides were against the main mass of the hill. Both the exterior faces, the southern and the western, were adorned with

<sup>1</sup> Compare the 'proto-ionic' column from Chigri in the Troad, and the excellent paper by Mr. J. T. Clarke which accompanies it, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1886, p. 1 ff.

sculptures. Of the sculptures on the southern face two fragments at least remain, and a third may probably be detected in a hopelessly defaced state on a third huge fragment of rock which lies beside the other two. One of these is the head of a lion, published *J. H. S.* 1882, pl. xviii., a work of singular power and vigour, 'yet breathing out threatenings and slaughters.' The position of the shoulder is perhaps best explained by the supposition that the lion was in the attitude of fig. 8, which is about the same as that of the lionesses of Mycenae. To support his paw we have therefore inserted a column. The tip of the nostril and the teeth of the upper jaw,<sup>1</sup> which are now mutilated, have been restored on the analogy of the 'Lion Tomb,' which will be described below.

The head is indicated on a surface which is almost flat, and which stands about twenty inches in relief above the background; the edges are flat surfaces perpendicular both to the surface on which the head is represented and to the background. The treatment is therefore essentially the same as in the Syro-Cappadocian sculptures: an outline is traced on the stone, and the edges

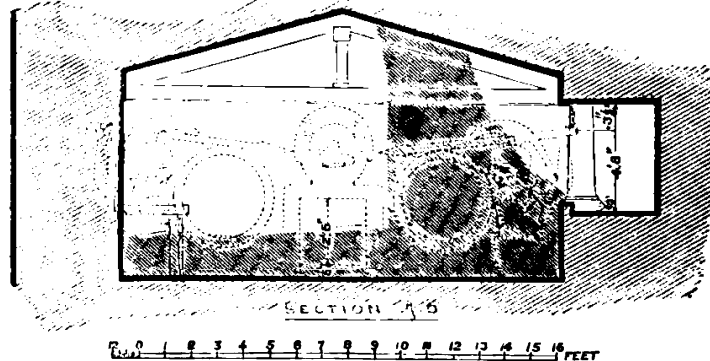


FIG. 7.—ELEVATION OF WEST INTERIOR, SHOWING RELATIVE POSITION OF EXTERIOR SCULPTURE.

of this outline are cut sharp away all round down to the level which the artist chooses for the background.<sup>2</sup> The mane is indicated on the perpendicular edge, which represents the back of the neck, by a series of parallel oblique lines, and on the front surface by a series of curls. On the perpendicular edge which represents the breast the line of the hair is represented by a similar series of parallel lines, forming a continuation of the herring-bone pattern on a slightly raised band, which begins below the ear and extends down the cheek and breast. A similar pattern surrounds the neck of the

<sup>1</sup> I made an erroneous statement, *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 21, 'no teeth are indicated in the upper jaw': closer examination showed that the present surface is not original but broken. Otherwise the description on pp. 20-1 is correct,

and may be used to supplement the following remarks.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper on the *Basrelief of Ibriz* in the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1885, p. 203.

lionesses on the neighbouring 'Lion Tomb' (see below), but passes in front of the ear. The shoulder stands out prominently in higher relief than the head.

The other fragment of the southern exterior is given by Mr. Blunt in *J. H. S.* p. 22. We were at that time unable to understand the meaning of this fragment: part of a leg was distinct, but we could not guess the action. Mr. Blunt thought it was a hind leg, and has placed his drawing accordingly,

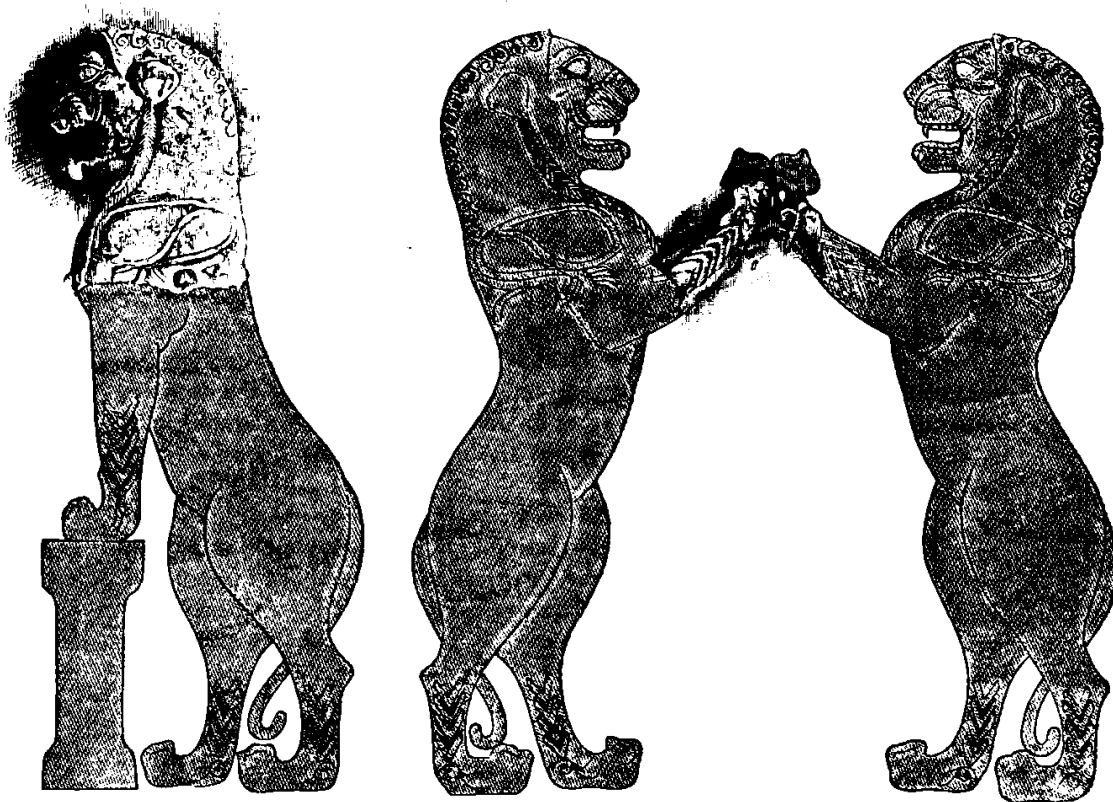


FIG 8.—CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF SCULPTURES, SOUTH EXTERIOR.

whereas Mrs. Ramsay maintained that it was a foreleg. In 1884, when she and I again visited the place, we divined the interpretation of the action, and succeeded also in restoring the fragments of the interior in the way just described. A subsequent visit in 1887 completely confirmed every view which we arrived at in 1884. The fragment shows the forelegs of a pair of lions, who stood rampant with their raised forepaws pressed against each other, an

attitude well known in archaic Greek art.<sup>1</sup> If Mr. Blunt's drawing of the fragment be held nearly upside down, so that a line bisecting the angle between the two paws is vertical, the reader will see the position in which these paws were carved on the tomb. The paw on the left is partially mutilated, and Mr. Blunt was of course embarrassed by our failure to comprehend the meaning of the fragments, but in spite of these drawbacks the true action is easily seen when one holds his drawing in the proper position, and any one can then restore *ex pede Herculem*.

The problem then is how to restore the whole relief on the southern face. The relative position of these two fragments is certain, and is shown in fig 4, where the exterior reliefs are drawn in dotted lines. The fragment of rock on which the two paws are carved fits on to the eastern end of the monument, which is still in its position in the hillside; the other fragment on which the lion's head is carved contains the south-western corner of the monument, and the head looks westwards and away from the two paws. It seems therefore certain that three lions were carved on this southern face; two standing rampant with their raised forepaws pressed against each other, and one standing also rampant with its back turned towards the other pair. The two paws which remain correspond in scale with the head, and with these data it is easy to complete the figures as in fig. 8. While I fully acknowledge that this restoration makes the sepulchral chamber unusually long<sup>2</sup> (thirty-one feet, as compared with a total breadth of twenty-one and a half feet), yet the data are quite certain, and the restoration seems to me to be necessarily deduced from them. If however any one can interpret the data otherwise, I shall be very glad to be corrected.

I have mentioned above that the door in all probability was originally at least fifteen or twenty feet above the ground. If the fallen rocks were now restored to their original position, the door would not be nearly so much above the present surface of the ground. There must therefore be a considerable accumulation of detritus above the ancient surface, and probably excavation would show the remains of sculpture below the present surface. Yet considering how soft this volcanic rock is, and how utterly disintegrated it becomes when damp has once gained an entrance below the carved surface, it is quite possible that any remains of sculpture which have long been below the soil would be destroyed and unrecognisable.

Of the relief on the western face, which contains the door of the sepulchral chamber, one small fragment was found in 1881, but it is in such a position on the under side of a huge mass of rock, that one can hardly see it.<sup>3</sup> It appeared to represent a human arm and hand grasping an elongated object such as a spear, but the fragment was otherwise inexplicable, and we could

<sup>1</sup> See for example the lions and the sphinxes on the archaic cuirass published by Mr. Stillman, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1883, pl. i.-iii.

<sup>2</sup> In Phrygia the chambers are indeed usually oblong, with the door in one of the shorter sides, just as in this case; but there is not much

difference in length between the long and the short sides.

<sup>3</sup> It is necessary to crawl under the rock, which is slightly tilted against another mass, and look up at the sculpture with one's face almost touching the surface.

not in its dark and difficult position feel quite sure even about the human arm. Mr. Blunt's drawing, *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 23, is turned upside down. In 1887 I went out with the resolve to turn over or to dig under some of these huge blocks, and consulted my engineering friends in Smyrna about the best way of doing this. As it appeared from the known measurements that the blocks weigh over forty tons each, the former course was impossible, and it was necessary to trust to excavation. We left this work till the last possible day, in order to avoid the risk of official interference with our future movements. In the morning we started from the camp at Bey Keui; Hogarth and I went to try to dig a second hieroglyphic inscription out of the mound south of Bey Keui,<sup>1</sup> while Brown went off to dig under the lion's head. The former task proved unsuccessful, and we reached the Broken Lion Tomb early in the forenoon. Descending into the hole under the lion's head, we saw that Brown had already unearthed part of a human head. Bit by bit the subject of fig. 9 was disclosed, one of the most curious and important of all known archaic sculptures.

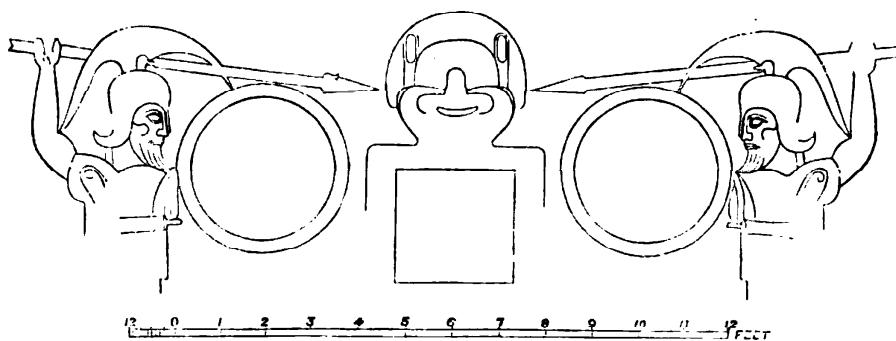


FIG. 9.—RESTORATION OF SCULPTURES, WEST EXTERIOR.

As may be gathered from fig. 1, this fragment which we uncovered is carved on the same mass of rock on another side of which is carved the lion's head. The mass of rock on which the arm and spear drawn by Mr. Blunt are represented fits on to this mass, but the surface has been partly broken so that there is a gap between the fragments of sculpture. The two fragments however are sufficient to make the restoration of the whole subject quite easy and absolutely certain in most of the details. When complete the sculpture on the western face represented two warriors, armed with shield, spear, helmet and cuirass,<sup>2</sup> in the act of spearing a grotesque figure with high pointed ears and hideous upturned nose; this Gorgon-like figure has the door of the tomb in its breast.

If the lower parts of the two warriors and of the Gorgon are completed, it

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> The lines indicated on the cuirass are uncertain; as the rock lies, the sculpture is turned

downwards, and the spectator, lying on his back, has to look up at it, with his eyes only about two inches from the surface of the relief.



will be found impossible to make them stand on the same level except by making the legs of the Gorgon bent. This suggests the probability that its attitude was that of the archaic running figures well-known in Greek art. This Gorgon should be compared with the running male Gorgon, found in an Etruscan grave of unusual construction at Orvieto and published by Korte (*Archäol Ztg.*, 1877, p. 110 and Taf. 11). The type which is there traced by Korte from Etruria back to its origin in the east is unmistakably of the same origin as this Phrygian Gorgon. The resemblance of the Orvietan figure to the Phrygian is striking (especially if I am right in believing that the latter is a running figure), and the Orvietan lions (or lion and leopard) on the Gorgon's shoulders remind one so strongly of the Cybele figure with the lions leaning on her shoulders<sup>1</sup> at this same Phrygian city that I think Korte's explanation of the origin and diffusion of the type through Phoenician agency is insufficient. The Orvietan figure has the mouth opened and the tongue hanging out; while the Phrygian figure shows the mouth slightly open, like the mouth of Cybele on the stele of Fassiller,<sup>2</sup> but without any protruding tongue. Furtwängler argued that the idea of showing the protruding tongue of the gryphon is a Greek device of the seventh century, and Milchhöfer has applied the same principle to the Gorgon type.<sup>3</sup> If any stress could be laid on this principle, we should have an interesting deduction from it. The Orvietan Gorgon shows the Greek type, which must have been brought to Orvieto by Greek agency, while the Phrygian Gorgon shows the pre-Greek type. But the whole principle is very uncertain, and Furtwängler omits it in his article *Gryps* in Roscher's Lexicon.

The view which is entertained as to the date of this monument guides the historical inferences to be drawn from it. On the view which I maintain, that the monument belongs to the greatness of the Phrygian monarchy before the Cimmerian conquest, the following seems to be the natural conclusion. We have in this relief a representation of the actual warriors who surrounded the Phrygian kings, who fought against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius in the eighth century B.C. (*Iliad* III. 185), and who continue here to defend their king in death as they had fought for him in life. The hideous figure against whom they direct their spears is perhaps an impersonation of the malignant power, and the whole design has the character of an apotropaion: on the importance of this idea in Phrygian art I have already spoken (*J. H. S.* 1882, p. 15).

The warriors represented in the relief are clad in full defensive armour (for there is every probability that if the under part of the reliefs were preserved we should find that they wore greaves also). Their shields are convex with a flat rim round the edge and are evidently grasped by *ῥαυα*. Their helmets have immense crests, *λόφοι*. Now the invention of *ῥαυα* and *λόφοι* is expressly attributed to the Carians, and we may therefore infer that

<sup>1</sup> See *J. H. S.* 1884, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> The drawing of this monument, which I visited in 1886, will, I hope, shortly be published in the *Mittheil. Athen.*

<sup>3</sup> Furtwängler, *Broncefund von Olympia*, p. 47, 51, &c.: Milchhöfer, *Arch. Ztg.* 1881, p. 289.

these Phrygian warriors wear the same fashion of armour as the Carians.<sup>1</sup> At this period (about 700 B.C.) Carian mercenaries were already employed in foreign services, and it might be suggested that they were used by the Phrygian kings; but I think it very improbable that foreign mercenaries were represented on the tomb of this Phrygian chief. The guardians of his tomb are the men of his own race and his immediate personal attendants and friends. Therefore either the Phrygians adopted the use of *ῥανα* and *λόφοι* from the inventors, or else they are practically the same race with the Carians, equipped in the same style and adopting simultaneously the same improvements in their arms. The second alternative seems to me by far more probable, taken in conjunction with the recorded beliefs of the Greeks that the Phrygians were an immigrant race from Thrace or Macedonia, that the Phrygians were originally a seafaring race who ruled the Aegean from 905 to 880 B.C., that the Carians were also a seafaring race who ruled the Aegean rather later, that a Phrygian colony had settled in the Peloponnesus, that a tribe of Phrygians lived during historical time near the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmora, that the Trojans were in close relations with the Phrygians of the Sangarius valley, receiving aid from their chiefs Otreus and Mygdon, and sending their own chief Priamos to aid the Phrygians in their wars with the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius. Hence we find the name Gordius both in Caria and in Phrygia, Mygdon both in Phrygia and in Thrace, Ascanius, and Ascania among the Trojans and near the Sea of Marmora and in various parts of Phrygia and the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier.

The Syro-Cappadocian (often called Hittite) monuments and inscriptions take us back to a period when a homogeneity of art and religion and social organisation ruled over the greater part of Asia Minor; its type is oriental. The Phrygian monuments reveal to us a new period and a fresh young art, founded on the earlier art, but developing it with new freedom and life. This interruption of the earlier condition is probably due to the irruption of a conquering race, which must have come from the west, for it never established itself on the other side of the river Halys. Such, as I think, is the evidence of archaeology, and when this is confirmed by unanimous Greek tradition going back to the earliest known time, it may be accepted as historical. The relief which is here published places before our eyes two warriors of this immigrant Phrygian race; we find them clad in the same arms as were worn by the pirates of the Aegean sea, and Greek tradition asserts that these Phrygians also were sea-rovers. Again archaeological evidence confirms tradition.

Even after the sculpture had been uncovered, it was not easy to study it or make a drawing of it. To see it we had to lie on our back and push ourselves under the huge rock with our faces touching the surface of the

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Thucyd. I. 8: *Κάρεις πρῶτοι εἶρον τοὺς ὀμφαλοὺς* (error for *τὰ ῥανα*) *καὶ τοὺς λόφους*. Strab. XIV. p. 661, *τὰ τε ῥανα καὶ τὰ ἐπίσθημα καὶ τοὺς λόφους· ἅπαντα γὰρ λέγεται Καρικὰ*. Cp. also Herod. I. 171, who agrees

with Strabo. There is no *ἐπίσθημον* on the Phrygian shield, but *ἐπίσθημα* were not universally used, and may have been invented later than *ῥανα* and *λόφοι*.

sculpture. It was therefore impossible to get a connected view of the whole ; but by comparing our impressions and by mutual criticism we did our best to reach a fair and impartial conception of the whole. We then set about the task of drawing, and the accompanying figure 9 is the result. The general outline is due to me, and is founded on measurements made as well as the circumstances permitted ; Mr. Hogarth drew the head of the warrior separately. I drew the Gorgon's head, trusting entirely to measurements of each detail, and I also made a drawing of the warrior's eye, which is a remarkable feature. Working on these sketches Mr. McCann has produced the accompanying figure.

The likeness to Greek Art unluckily is exaggerated in this drawing : the warrior should be much uglier in feature, with thick swollen lips.<sup>1</sup> We found that our draughtsmanship was unable to attain the ugliness of the sculpture.<sup>2</sup> This fact, combined with the arms which are quite like early Greek arms, gives an impression of too close analogy to Greek sixth century work ; such an analogy does indeed actually exist, but the resemblance in style is closer to Assyrian art than to Greek. The case might be put thus : the resemblance to Greek art is due to the fact that the Phrygian artist is representing warriors equipped like Greeks, but the resemblance to Assyrian art is due to the fact that the artist was trained in imitation of the oriental art. I see therefore no reason in point of style to date the monument later than the Cimmerian conquest, about 675. I base this opinion specially on the rendering of the eye. In Greek art of the time to which this monument shows most analogy, *i.e.* of the sixth century, there is no attempt to represent according to nature the eye as seen in profile, but in this Phrygian warrior the artist distinctly aims at rendering the eye naturally and is also certainly trained to do so in a style similar to that in which the eye is rendered in the monument at Ibriz.<sup>3</sup>

Looking at the question from the historical point of view one must admit that the magnificence of scale and the pride of subject in this monument marks it as belonging to a powerful and proud kingdom, and not to one which, after being overrun and destroyed by the Cimmerians, became subject first to Lydians, and afterwards to Persians, and whose people were known to the Greeks only as slaves. Finally considering that this is the most ambitious in style and in scale, as well as the most developed in artistic skill, of all the Phrygian monuments, we may assign it perhaps to the latest period of Phrygian art, about 700 B.C.

It must be admitted that all who judge from the analogy with Greek art only will prefer to date this monument a century or more later than the

<sup>1</sup> It was suggested jokingly at the time we were studying the relief that the King of Phrygia must have employed negro guards.

<sup>2</sup> In place of trying to modify our sketches in accordance with my recollection, I thought it best to leave Mr. McCann to imitate the conventional Greek type which our imperfect sketches

showed. No pupil is indicated in the eyes of the warriors of Fig. 9. The woodcut does not make the eye nearly so Assyrian in type as it really is. So also in the eyes of the lions (fig. 8) no pupil is indicated.

<sup>3</sup> See my drawing, *Arch. Ztg.* 1885.

date which has here been assigned to it. But I do not believe that it is a correct principle to date Phrygian art by Greek analogies. Phrygian art develops entirely independently of Greek art, and according to my view at an earlier date under the influence of eastern art. I lay great stress on the recorded fact of the destruction of the Phrygian monarchy by the Cimmerians. All that is recorded indeed is that the last king Midas was defeated by them and in consequence committed suicide, but the fact has impressed itself on historical memory because it was the destruction of the greatest monarchy known to the Greeks.

It is of course impossible that a warrior immigrant tribe should be able to annihilate an older population, possessing already a certain degree of civilisation and art. It could only establish itself as a dominant caste, and the subsequent course of history shows that the new element was strongly influenced by the older religion and art. The worship of a supreme goddess was universal among the older race. It would appear that the Phrygian conquerors introduced the worship of a supreme god, whom they call *Papas*, 'the Father,' and *Benneus* or *Benni*, which I have elsewhere explained as 'the god of the chariot.' The god who stands on the car is the thunderer, and another common grecised title for him is *Zeus Bronton*.<sup>1</sup> These names are common in dedicatory inscriptions of the very district where the monuments are found: we have sometimes *Διὶ Βεννίῳ* or *Βεννέϊ*, sometimes *Διὶ Βροντῶντι*, once the double title *Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Βεννέϊ*.

The religion of course stands in the closest relation with the social system of the country. Elsewhere I shall seek to show that the original anatolian social system knew no true marriage and traced descent only through the mother, and that the Phrygian conquerors introduced the supremacy of the father in the family and the social system of Teutons and Greeks.

The older and the newer religion and society amalgamated in varying forms in different districts, according as the new element varied in strength. All evidence leads to the conclusion that the immigrant race was most completely victorious in Phrygia, and that the Sangarius valley was its chief centre. Here the most powerful foreign monarchy known to the Greeks during the eighth century was established; and the fall of this powerful dynasty about 675 before the same barbarian horde, which threatened the existence of the Greek coast cities also, was an event so striking as to impress the historical memory and to be handed down to us as one of our surest marks in early history.

A few yards from the 'Broken Lion Tomb,' is another interesting monument of this early period. A drawing of this monument by Mr. Blunt, based on a photograph and sketches taken by himself in November 1881, was published in *J. H. S.* 1882, Pl. XVII. In the month of November the monument, which faces nearly due north, is never lighted by the sun, and the greyish-black rock, encrusted in many places with moss, conceals many details of the

<sup>1</sup> See *J. H. S.*, 1884, pp. 256-8, 1887, p. 512.

sculpture. In 1884, when we saw the monument lit up by the morning and evening sun, these details became visible: the accompanying cut from a drawing by Mrs. Ramsay shows the details which we could distinguish with confidence. The muscles of the shoulder were probably indicated also, but it is now impossible to detect the curves which represented them. The small eye, correctly represented in profile, the nose and the pinched nostril, the row of teeth with a long fang in the front jaw, the band which surrounds the head passing in front of the ears and below the neck,<sup>1</sup> the line of junction of the shoulder with the body, and the pattern on the foreleg are all distinctly visible<sup>2</sup> in a good light and can be traced in a photograph taken in 1884 by Mrs. Ramsay.

The two animals, whom the cubs beneath prove to have been intended as lionesses,<sup>3</sup> stand facing each other, planting their forepaws on the framing of

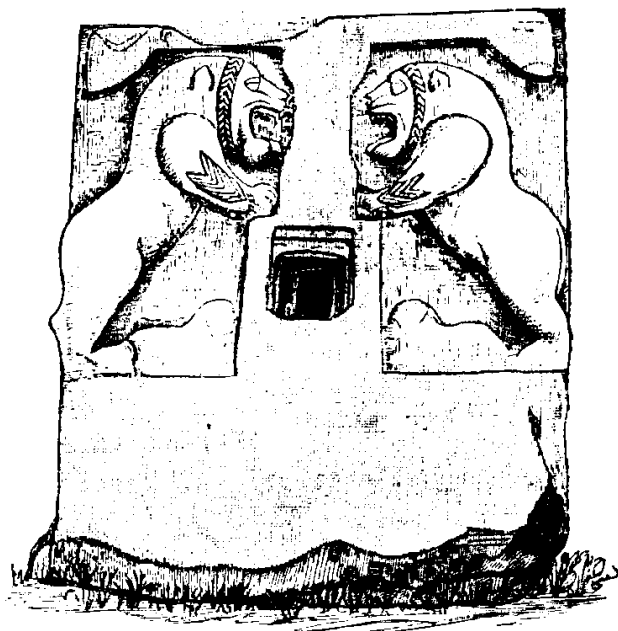


FIG. 10.—LION TOMB, WITH SHAPE OF MOULDING OF CORNICE PARTLY RESTORED.

the door, which is probably considered to represent the altar.<sup>4</sup> I have previously attempted to prove that the Phrygians of later time regard the altar (*βωμός*) and the door (*θύρα*) as two essential parts of the sepulchre, and that this idea is a survival of primitive custom (*J. H. S.*, 1884, p. 254). On

<sup>1</sup> The difference in position of this band from that on the head of the Broken Lion (fig. 8) should be noticed.

<sup>2</sup> Some details are clear in one animal and barely distinguishable in the other.

<sup>3</sup> The absence of mane also shows that the

animals are female. Those at Mycenae are female likewise.

<sup>4</sup> The door then is in the altar: in later monuments the word *θύρα* is inscribed on the altar (*J. H. S.*, 1884, p. 254).

the altar rests a column with high rectilinear base, short shaft, and high curved capital, which supports the heavy plain cornice. The lionesses are of decidedly ruder and less skilful form than those of the monument which has just been described: they are thicker, heavier, without the life, energy, and spirit of the splendid head of the great lion. The style in which the details are indicated, and the general form, show close relation to the other monuments.

I have to make an important correction in my former account of this monument. The upper part is sculptured in rather low relief (perhaps about two or three inches high), but the lower part, including the hindlegs, projects at least one and a half feet above the background. The height of the monument is 37 feet.

With regard to the "Lion Tomb" I have only to add that in 1883 I climbed up by help of a rope to the door; the sepulchral chamber is small, absolutely plain and rough-hewn. In Christian times a cross was incised on one side of the door-way.

The most interesting question in regard to this monument is—in what relation does it stand to the Lion Gate of Mycenae? The reliefs on the two Lion Tombs are most easily interpreted on the supposition that the intention of the Phrygian artist in each case was to represent outside the grave of the dead chief the guardians of his tomb. The figure which I have called a Gorgon seems to be an impersonation of the power of evil, and the two warriors threaten it with their spears. I should interpret in a similar way the Gorgon of Orvieto, which was referred to above: the lions on its shoulders, the sacred animals of the goddess, neutralise the evil power. In this *Journal*, 1882, p. 14—5, I have stated at some length the belief, which is only strengthened by further investigation, that apotropaic emblems play a considerable part in Phrygian art. In other cases the lions or lionesses alone typify the protecting power of the mother goddess. In a third class of monuments the grave is actually represented as a shrine of the goddess, and the chief is considered to be gathered again to the bosom of his mother; just as the Maeonian chiefs, sons of the Gygaean lake according to Homer, are buried on its shores.<sup>1</sup> In some of the examples of this last class a richly ornamented carpet is represented as concealing the sanctuary (*ἐσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*).

In the Lion Tomb, the two lionesses symbolise the protecting power of the goddess, and stand over the door of the grave; and at Mycenae the lionesses stand as guardians over the door of the city. The resemblance in idea is complete. There are then only two possible alternatives: either the idea was learned by one people from the other, or they both learned it from a common source. Now the *schema* is so peculiarly characteristic of Phrygia, that we can hardly admit it to have been borrowed from any other country.<sup>2</sup> We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the Mycenaean artists either

<sup>1</sup> See the examples in this *Journal*, 1882, pp. 57, 58; also 'Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia' (*J.H.S.* 1884): cp. *Iliad* II. 865; XX. 382.

<sup>2</sup> It occurs in a large number of examples in

all ages of Phrygian art, 'in this earliest known time, in monuments showing the strong influence of Greek art, and in the latest Roman Imperial period' (*J.H.S.* 1884, p. 250).

are Phrygians, or learned the idea from Phrygians. Now considering that Köhler, Dümmler, Studniczka, Paton, all argue that Mycenaean art is Carian, and that we have just argued that Carians and Phrygians are sister-races, armed and equipped alike, it might seem that the former alternative must be adopted, viz. that the Mycenaean artists are Carians. This would be a most satisfactory conclusion: for it is always more satisfactory to confirm previous views than to set up new theories. But I find one difficulty in this view. Carians actually settled as a people in Mycenae can hardly be attributed to any but a very remote period (in fact the idea of Carians at Mycenae seems to me to be historically most improbable);<sup>1</sup> but if there is any connexion in idea between the Phrygian monument and the Mycenaean, it is not allowable to separate them in time by several centuries. If the date which I assign to the Phrygian monuments, viz. the two centuries preceding 675 B.C., is accepted, I do not think it is allowable to place the Mycenaean gateway earlier than the ninth, and it is more likely to belong to the eighth, century. The view to which I find myself forced is as follows. There was in the eighth century lively intercourse between Argos and Asia Minor: in this intercourse the Argives learned to use the linen breastplates which were worn by the Mysians,<sup>2</sup> and to fortify their city in the Phrygian style with lions over the gate. Historically there is certainly good reason to assign at least part of the fortifications of Mycenae to the time when the Argive kings were the greatest power in Greece, and such authorities as Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Niese have adopted this opinion. On the other hand the almost universal opinion of archaeologists rejects this hypothesis.<sup>3</sup> But the positive grounds which are adduced by Furtwängler and Loeschke to prove the great antiquity of the Mycenaean remains seem to me singularly inadequate to support such a superstructure of theory as they build. Moreover there remains a difficulty which no one has even attempted to dispose of. It is a historical fact that Argos was the greatest power in Greece and supreme in the Peloponnesos during the eighth century: Greek tradition assigns to the Argive kings several developments of civilisation, coinage, standards of weight, &c., which imply intercourse with Asia Minor. Yet the majority of archaeologists assign all the early remains in this district to a period centuries earlier. Is it probable that all traces of the greatest period in Argive history have altogether disappeared, while numerous remains exist of Argive glory during the unknown

<sup>1</sup> They would belong to the race which inhabited Caria before it was conquered by the mail-clad tribe akin to the Phrygians.

<sup>2</sup> See Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, &c., ed. 4, pp. 137, and 141, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Studniczka, making the strength of his language proportionate to the difficulty of the subject, says, *die Dorer wird kein Archäolog ernstlich in Betracht zu ziehen vermögen*, *Mittheil. Athen.* 1887, p. 8. Mr. A. S. Murray however has advanced the same opinion as I hold, and Monsieur S. Reinach has ex-

pressed his adhesion to my view, which was published in one of his *Chroniques d'Orient*, 1887. See Wilam. in *Hermes*, xxi. p. 111, n. 1, and *Istios*, p. 162, n. 1; Niese, *Entwickl. d. homer. Poesie*, p. 213, n. 1; Busolt advanced a similar view in vol. i. of his *Gesch.* and retracted it in vol. ii. Mr. Murray stated his view in a lecture at Edinburgh in 1887. M. Reinach says in one of his recent *Chroniques*, 'ce fait vient à l'appui de la date proposée par M. Ramsay et qui me semble à peu près exacte' (1888).

period 1500—1000 B.C., and again of Argive bronze work of the sixth century B.C.? I find myself unable to face this difficulty: the presumption is that very early remains of art and wealth in the Argive valley belong to the period of Argive greatness, and those who refer them to a remoter period must begin to face and explain away this antecedent probability against them. Finally, it is acknowledged generally that the remains in Mycenae are of a very mingled character: Carian and Phrygian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Hellenic styles are all found. Even such an advocate of Carian settlement in Argos as Studniczka admits the admixture of objects Hellenic in character. But this mixed character is precisely what we should expect in a kingdom like the Argos of the eighth century with its mixed Dorian and pre-Dorian population, its well-attested intercourse with Asia Minor, and its legendary connexion with Egypt. I wish however to express no opinion here about the date of the Mycenaean tombs and about Mycenaean pottery, but only to argue that the fortifications of the Lion Gate belong to the period 800—700 B.C. The people who built the Lion Gate considered the peribolos with the tombs as sacred, and the heroes buried in the tombs belong to an older time.

The tale of Pelops the Phrygian crossing the sea in his chariot, and of Danaus the Egyptian settling in Argos, have not the same historical character as the tradition (accepted above as truly historical) that the Phrygians came from Europe into Asia Minor. They are inextricably involved in a great body of legend of very various character. The historical foundation for both is, according to my view, only the actual intercourse of Argos with Phrygia and Egypt during the eighth and seventh centuries.

The view which I maintain is therefore that the idea of the lions as guardians of the gate arose in a country where Cybele was worshipped, and where the dead chief was believed to be gathered to his mother the goddess. Her sacred animals, the lions, guarded the door through which her son had returned to dwell with her. The Phrygians adapted an old oriental heraldic *schema* to represent this idea: and the artistic type thus devised remained in use in Phrygia so long as the religion of Cybele lasted, *i.e.* down to the third or fourth century after Christ. In the interchange of artistic forms and improvements in civilisation which obtained between Phrygia and the Greeks, this lion-type passed into Mycenae during the ninth or more probably the eighth century B.C.

Around this old city are scattered many other early monuments. One of these is roughly published in my *Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia*; it consists of a species of rock-altar not standing free but against a perpendicular surface of rock. Over the altar is carved a long inscription, of which only the first and the last few letters are now legible: the beginning is *Matar Kubile Pat[ar?]* written to the left in archaic letters.<sup>1</sup> This monument has no appearance of connexion with a grave, but the general analogy

<sup>1</sup> The last two letters are here added to the text as published in the above-quoted article (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1883). Is it an invocation to Mother Cybele and Father —?



is sufficiently strong to produce in my mind the belief that it also is sepulchral in character.

Another group of monuments connected with this old city is situated at the village of Bey Keui, three miles west of the Lion Tombs. Two of these deserve a brief notice. The first is a chamber tomb, cut in a group of rocks 300 yards east of the village. A short *dromos* cut in the rock leads to the entrance, which is now in a very ruinous state, but which originally consisted of a *prothyron* and an inner door admitting to the *naos* or sepulchral chamber. In the round arched pediment over the outer door is a defaced relief, representing two lions sitting facing each other, each extending a forepaw and resting it on an upright object between them. A similar *schema* occurs on a very archaic vase from Attica in the British Museum. The present state of the monument is too dilapidated to permit any confident opinion as to style and date.

The other monument of Bey Keui which I shall mention is of the first importance. In 1884, while encamped at Demirli (1½ miles north of the Lion-tombs), we heard a curious tale about a black stone covered with writing which had once been dug out of a mound at Bey Keui. We went there and succeeded in finding a man who had seen the stone. The mound, which is about a mile south of Bey Keui, on the left bank of a stream, is clearly artificial; and we hired four workmen, whose labour for a whole day disclosed the stone, on which there is a short inscription in the Syro-Cappadocian ('Hittite') hieroglyphics. I hope to publish it shortly with other monuments of the same class in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*. The existence of an indubitable Syro-Cappadocian hieroglyphic inscription among the Phrygian monuments is one of the points which confirm me in the belief that Phrygian art succeeded the older Syro-Cappadocian art in this district, when the energetic tribe of mailed warriors from the west established itself in the Sangarius valley. The only Syro-Cappadocian monument which seems to me to be certainly as late as the Phrygian monuments, is that at Ibriz. In publishing this monument in the *Archäologische Zeitung* 1885, I pointed out its later character (its style being more Assyrian as distinguished from the Egyptian analogies in the older monuments of Syro-Cappadocian art), and the resemblance between the embroidered robe of the king and the pattern on such Phrygian monuments as the Tomb of Midas.

An outlying group of monuments connected with this old city is situated near Liyen, a few miles north. The most important of these is the Arslan Kaya, published in this *Journal*, 1884. It shows that sphinxes and gryphons were forms familiar in Phrygian art. A mile or more east of this monument is a similar one, but of a much less imposing character, and in far worse preservation. The pediment with sphinxes, exactly similar to Arslan Kaya, is the chief feature in it. Close to the two Lion Tombs is a monument which shows some analogy with the shrine in Arslan Kaya. It is situated to the right of the road leading from the Lion Tombs to the villages Tekke and Kairan, concealed among the low brushwood about half a mile south of the tombs. I saw it in 1883 in company with Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, and again

in 1884, but was unable to find it in 1887. Room cannot here be found for the sketch which I made in 1884.<sup>1</sup> The monument consists of two parts, a rock-altar, rectangular, approached by continuous steps on all sides, and beside it a small rock-shrine, roughly cut in the shape of a gabled *naiskos*. A rude image of the goddess, quite similar to that at Liyen, but without the lions, is represented in high relief in the shrine. The total height is between five and six feet. About a quarter of a mile east of the Lion Tomb is a small rude monument in low relief within an oblong slightly sunk panel. It represents a human figure or rather a pillar surmounted by a human head and shoulders. At the side of the panel is an oval cartouche, 9 inches high. The relief which nearly fills up the panel is 34 in. high by 12½ in. broad.

A third group of monuments, exceedingly numerous and varied in character, is situated at the village of Ayaz Inn, about four miles SSE. from the Lion Tombs. The village with the pile of carved white rocks rising over it is a most picturesque and remarkable sight, but the monuments are not of the highest interest, partly on account of their generally ruinous condition, and partly from their belonging for the most part to a later date. Several of them have been already published in this Journal, plates XXIX. No. 5 and No. 6, XXVI. No. 1, XXVII., XXVIII. No. 3, from Mr. Blunt's drawings. One of these with ionic supporting columns appears to me to be anterior to Greek influence (Plate XXIX. No. 6). Several others also seem to me to be of true Phrygian pre-Greek style; a specimen may be found in Plate XXIX. No. 5. But the great majority, as I think, show the influence of Greek art, which penetrated Phrygia before Alexander's time; the commercial relations which spread this knowledge doubtless facilitated Alexander's conquest by causing a philo-Greek party in the cities of the interior.

These various groups of monuments, extending from Liyen to Ayaz Inn, belong to one Phrygian town. In the Roman and Byzantine period this town probably bore the name Metropolis, and was situated at Ayaz Inn: it is an interesting coincidence that one of the monuments near it bears the name of Mother Cybele. Metropolis was a small place, which probably had not the rights of a *civitas* until the fourth century, when there was a general tendency to break up the dominion of the great cities by honouring small towns with the *jus civitatis*. Previously it was probably subject to Prymnessos (as Orkistos was to Nakoleia), and coins of Prymnessos bear the name and bust of Midas in virtue of the old Phrygian monuments in its territory.<sup>2</sup>

After the Cimmerian conquest about 675 there was a period of disquiet which ended by Phrygia passing under the Lydian dominion. According to the treaty of 585, the Halys was fixed as the boundary between the Medes and Lydians. The kings of Phrygia mentioned under Alyattes and Croesus by Herodotus were vassal kings. The old Phrygian warriors armed like Greeks or Carians seem to have disappeared after 675, and in 481 the Phrygians

<sup>1</sup> It will be published in M. Perrot's fifth volume.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cities and Bishoprics,' § XXXVII.—XXXIX.

were armed like the tribes to the north and east, while the Lydians were armed like Greeks. The Greeks in this period knew the Phrygians only as slaves, and it is highly improbable that any powerful national art was developed in such a period. Hence it seems to me to be necessary to date all the great monuments before 675, and to class the numerous monuments which show more analogy to and even dependence on Greek architecture to the centuries following 585. Lydia, the mistress of Phrygia after 585, was penetrated by Greek ideas and Greek influence.

A second series of monuments of the old Phrygian kingdom is situated about fifteen to twenty miles north-east and north of the series which has just been briefly described. It is impossible here to publish the map in which I have shown the relative situations of the monuments in the two series. In M. Perrot's fifth volume a map of the kind will be given, and I must refer to this. As in the previous case, this second series is divided into several groups, a mile or two separate from each other, three of which are situated at the villages of Bakshish, Kumbet and Yapuldak respectively, while the fourth lies along the sides of the glens beside the Tomb of Midas. Kumbet is situated on the river Parthenios, whose name is recorded only on coins of Nakoleia belonging to M. Waddington's collection. In this neighbourhood three towns, and one or perhaps two forts, all belonging to the old Phrygian period, can be distinctly traced. I shall begin with the one which is by far the largest and most important of these: I shall call it the Midas-city, because in a spur of its rock-walls is situated the famous monument of Midas.

Fig. 11 shows the shape of the Midas-city: it, along with Fig. 12, is the result of six long days' work of Mr. Hogarth and myself in 1887. It was made thus. Hogarth started from the gate at *D*, and fixed by measurement and angles a series of points along the walls, about thirty to forty feet separate from each other. I measured a line of 400 feet due north and south (magnetic), about the centre of the city, and from this base line I measured separate lines to the points *D*, *H*, *C*, *A*, and *Q* on the walls. When Hogarth reached *H* his position for it varied five feet from mine; here we adjusted our plotting to make our results agree. The line along the wall between *H* and *C* is exceedingly rough and difficult, and some mistake occurred, which made us differ at *C* by about thirty feet: in all probability it is due to some measurement between *H* and *C* being omitted in plotting. It would have taken a whole day to discover the error, our host the Circassian Bey who had recently built a village beside the Midas-tomb was getting very sick of our company, and time was precious. I have therefore lengthened the distance between *H* and the gate *E* in order to bring us into agreement.

From *C* to *A* I measured the line of the walls, having the extreme points fixed from the base line. Hogarth did the wall from *A* to *Q*, his final position differing very little from that which I measured from the base line. The distance *Q* to *D*, and all the measurements about the gate (which are used in



Fig. 12) were done by me. In measuring this series of points, most of the lines of wall which can be seen were filled in according to measurement; but the breadth of the wall is exaggerated on the plan to make it more distinct. I went round the whole circuit and filled in roughly by eye the rest of the natural features along the measured line of the walls. At the same time I added also (judging by eye only) a few traces of wall which had escaped us previously. With these few exceptions, and some of the details of wall between *A* and *C*, *Q* and *D*, every trace of the line of fortifications was examined by us both and carefully discussed.

Of the whole line of fortifications not a single stone now remains in its place. The fact seems extraordinary to those who have not traced carefully the lines of the walls of ancient cities, but I have observed similar cases. At Phocaea I have followed the line of the ancient wall for a mile, tracing it with perfect ease by the marks cut in the rocks to receive the stones, but not a single stone can now be seen, and no visitor to Phocaea has so far as I know ever observed the line of the fortifications. One of the many schemes which want of means prevented me from carrying out in Asia Minor was a survey of the situation of the ancient Phocaea. Erythrae was the first place where I observed this phenomenon. The walls there still remain (or did in 1880 remain) in massive ruins across the plain. As I was making the tour of the circumvallation, I came to a rocky hill with sloping sides: here the wall came to an end, and all trace of it disappeared. Up the sloping hill ran a sort of staircase, which I ascended, wondering what was its purpose, but when I reached the top and looked back, I saw that the wall came straight to the lowest step, and that the staircase was simply the beds cut in the slope to receive the stones of the wall. The walls of Phocaea, like those of the other Ionian cities, were probably destroyed by the Persians, and not a trace now remains of them except the rock-beds. The walls of Erythrae remain in fair preservation, except on the rocky hill-sides, where they had not firm grip of the soil: they belong obviously to the period of the Diadochi, like those of Smyrna and Ephesus.

The Midas-city is situated on a rocky plateau, whose general level is about 200 feet higher than the open ground in front of it to the east and north. The rock is a rather soft and friable volcanic stone,<sup>1</sup> which splits easily in vertical surfaces; and either on this account or through scarping, or probably through both causes combined, the plateau is almost entirely surrounded by vertical faces of rock, absolutely inaccessible except where a break occurs. Some of these breaks are either wholly or in part modern, but many of them are ancient, and one can trace distinctly on each side of these old gaps the lines where the wall that filled up the gap fitted into beds cut in the rock.

<sup>1</sup> A portion of the stone of the Midas-tomb was submitted to Prof. Alleyne Nicholson of Aberdeen; he writes that it 'is a volcanic ash. It is apparently a submarine ash, and is in many respects very similar to the peculiar ash which

occurs so largely in parts of the Rhine valley, and which is locally known as *trass*. As it is very friable, and as its external characters seem to be quite sufficient for identification, I did not prepare a slide of it for the microscope.'

Besides this there was a parapet built along the edge of the plateau, in all places where the rock forms a vertical precipice. The northern half of the plateau is level, the southern part is rocky, and rises towards west and south.

The rocks of the plateau occupied by the city do not rise straight from the plain on all sides. Except on the southern side, a steep bank of grass-covered detritus, formed by the disintegration of the rocks above, rests against the rocks and facilitates the ascent. This bank is of varying height, sometimes about 100 feet, while west of gate *B* it reaches up to the summit of the plateau: it is now of course much higher than it was when the city was inhabited, through the increased rapidity in the disintegration of the rocks. The same formation—rocky plateaus with precipitous sides and banks of deposit at their base—is characteristic of the entire district.

The line of the walls cannot be completely recovered, but some features of the fortification can be traced.

Gate *A* is an entrance into a sort of chamber, 50 or 60 feet long, and completely surrounded by perpendicular rocks, except where two roads lead east and south up to the plateau. On the upper edge of the rock-walls are traces of a parapet which was once probably continuous. Out of this chamber a narrow road, which has been cut through the rock and is clearly ancient, leads upwards towards the east into the city; another narrow road leads southwards towards a place where considerable cutting seems to show that a large house stood, with part of its lower walls formed in the rock and part built above the rock.

The precipice which bounds the plateau is lofty as we go round from *A* for some distance towards gate *B* and *C*. The line of the parapet can here be traced almost continuously, and some outlying rocks, accessible from the plateau but defying approach from without by their smooth and perfectly perpendicular sides, have evidently been occupied as forts to strengthen the defences.

At gate *B* an easy ascent leads up to the walls, which here are strongly planted on rocks, precipitous though not lofty. There were here apparently two entrances, leading respectively east and south through the line of walls. An approach at *C* is possible, but very doubtful, and a little further north there was perhaps a postern, as there seem to be traces of cutting for a passage.

Further north is *E*, the best preserved of all the entrances. At the top of the bank of detritus a path leads up through a cleft in the rocks to a gate in a recess of the walls. On each side the cleft is shut in by perpendicular rocks. Between the cleft and the lines of the city-wall are level platforms high above the path and quite inaccessible from it, but at a lower level than the city-plateau. Besides the gate which is at the top of the path, there are at the sides two small gates, each with a staircase leading down to the level of the intermediate platforms. The defenders had thus easy access to the two platforms, and any enemy attempting to approach by the narrow steep path below and between them was completely at their mercy.

The parapet of the city-wall on the left hand as one ascends this path still remains, as it was not built, but cut out of the rock, like the parapet which still remains in the Acropolis beside the Lion Tombs. One of the little side-gates admitting to the intermediate platforms is cut through this rock parapet.

A little south of *D* the form of the plateau changes. It rises to a much higher level, and towards the edges is separated by a short steep slope from the bounding line of the precipitous rocks. The line of fortification follows the line of the higher plateau, and the steep slope towards the precipice was outside the wall. From *Q* to the south-western corner *R* the precipice is

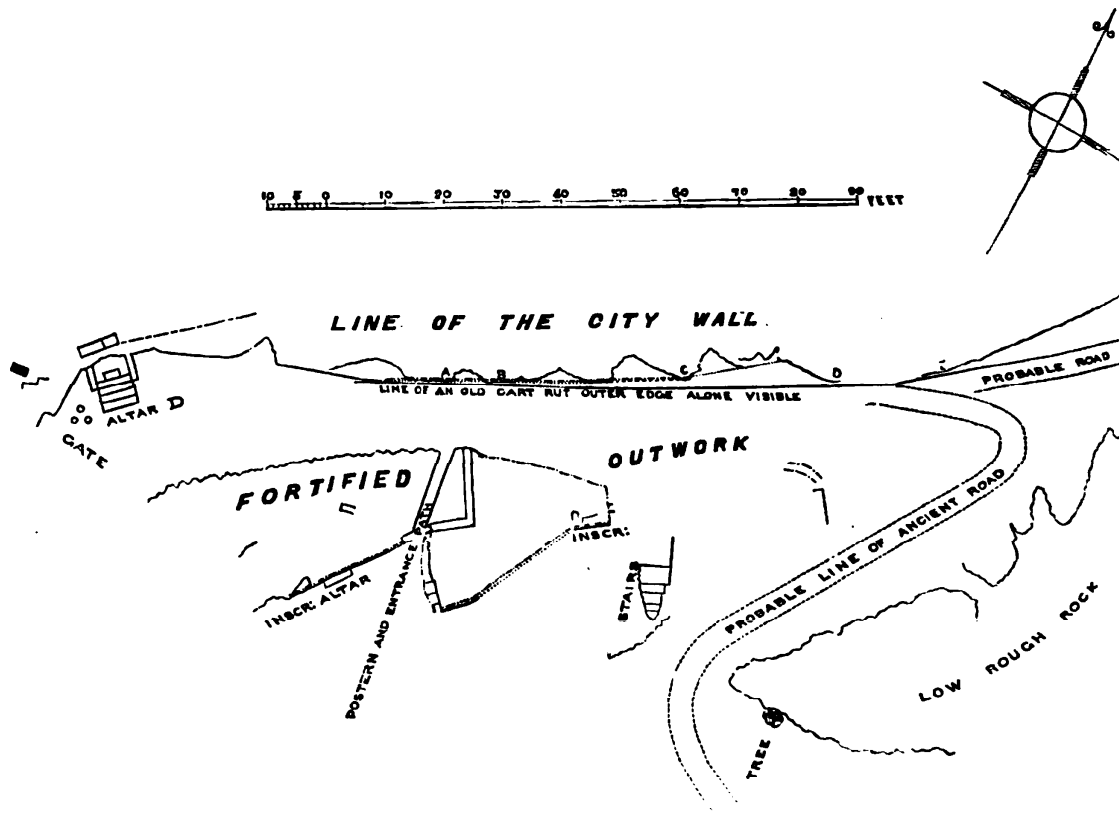


FIG. 12.

very lofty, and only one possible approach now exists. A path was once in use up this difficult approach, which winding to the right over the intermediate slope entered the city through a small postern between two lofty parallel faces of rock about four feet apart. The holes in which the gate was fastened can still be seen in these rocks.

Between *H* and *D* the rocks are much broken, and it is difficult to

determine which of the many now practicable entrances were used as such when the city was inhabited; the two which are marked were probably ancient, but their original arrangement can hardly be determined.

The approaches to gate *D*, probably the chief gate in ancient time, are shown on a larger scale in Fig. 12. The fortifications were very strong here. A *dromos*, once fringed on each side by walls, leads up to the gate. There approaches ascend the slope to the *dromos*, one through a narrow postern, and two broader ways. This was the only gate practicable for wheels. In describing some of the separate monuments, the arrangement at this gate will be described more in detail.

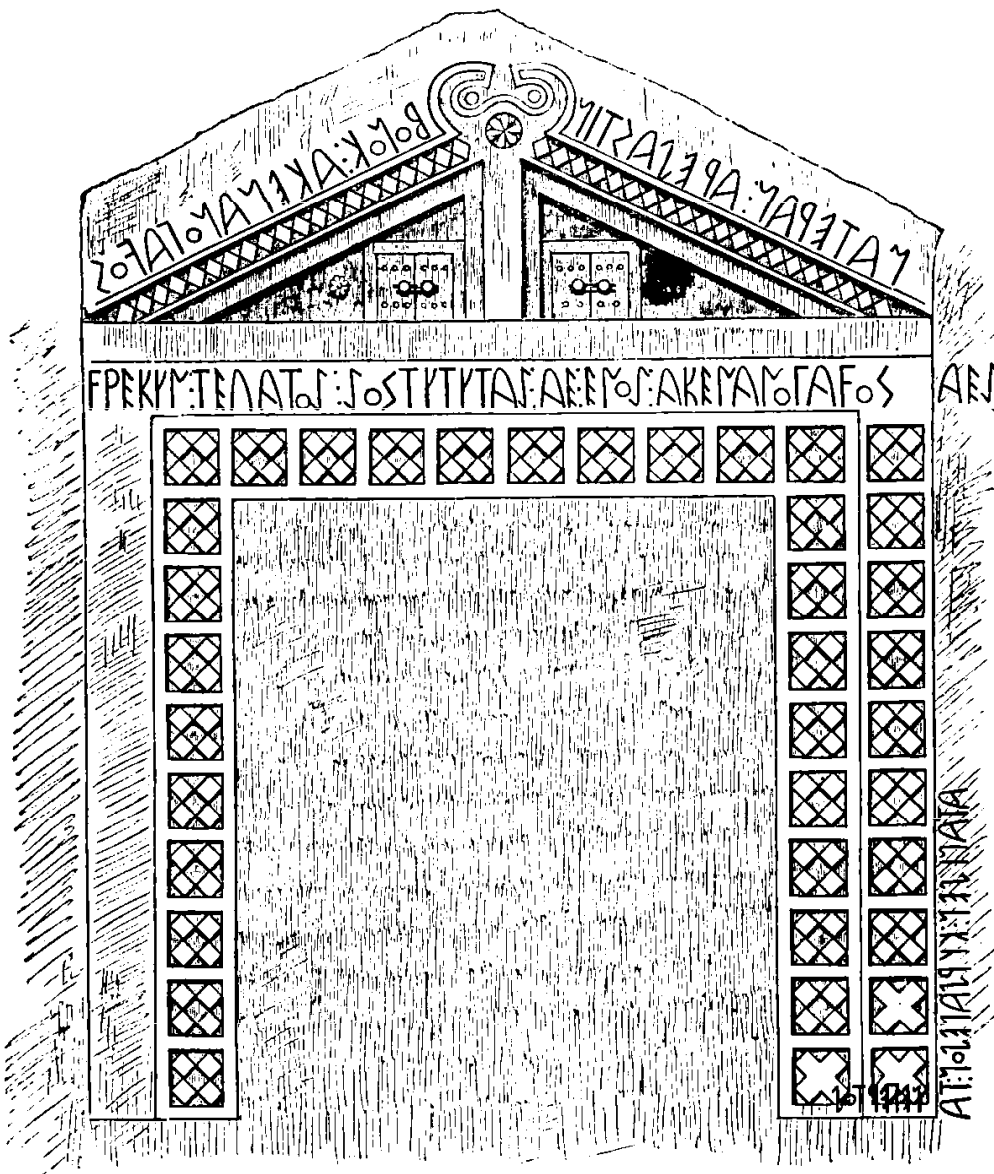
The traces prove that many parts of the walls were Cyclopean, other parts of squared stones. The same variation occurs elsewhere, *e.g.* at Pishmish Kalessi (the Phrygian fort opposite the Midas city) and at Pteria. It is naturally more difficult to trace the Cyclopean parts of the wall, but rough cuttings in the rocks to receive large unhewn stones can be observed where we have indicated them.

The Tomb of Midas is situated at the extreme northern extremity of the city. The fact that it faces nearly due east is probably to be attributed to the natural formation, and no religious significance can be attributed to it. This monument was discovered by Leake in 1800, and this discovery marks as real an epoch in the investigation of early Greek history as Dr. Schliemann's excavations do in more recent time. Before that discovery it was utterly impossible to assign any historical value whatever to the tales about Midas. In no mythical personage is the fabulous element more strongly marked than in the Midas of the ass's ears, the umpire between Apollo and Marsyas, the familiar friend of Silenus, who turned all he touched to gold. Since that discovery there is probably no one who doubts that the old Phrygian kingdom really existed and impressed the Greeks so strongly by its brilliancy and power that the crash of its sudden destruction by the Cimmerians 675 B.C. impressed itself on the memory of history and is now one of our few certain marks in the early centuries. When we survey the remains of this ancient city and the monuments that surround, some of singular beauty, and many of interest on various grounds, and then look at the grave dedicated to 'Midas Lavaltas the King,'<sup>1</sup> the monarchy becomes to us a reality. The double name Midas Lavaltas reminds us that more than one king bore the name Midas.

It is a remarkable fact that this important monument has never yet been published accurately, though it has frequently been seen and often photographed. Texier's drawing is the least inaccurate, but his reputation is so low that Mr. Murray has preferred in his *History* to reproduce Steuart's hideous and ridiculous engraving. Mr. Blunt made a very successful photograph and drawing in 1881, and I had hoped that his drawing would

<sup>1</sup> My friend Mr. Neil suggested to me the opinion, which seems to be correct, that Lavaltas is the Phrygian form of *Laertes*.





FRONT ELEVATION.

12 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 FEET

FIG. 13.

have been published in my former paper on this subject, and given this *Journal* the distinction which still remains open for M. Perrot's fifth volume, of placing the first trustworthy representation of this monument before the eyes of scholars.

These wide-reaching inferences lose much of their foundation, if the opinion, which I have formerly combated, but which I believe is adopted by M. Perrot, is true, viz., that this monument is not the Tomb of Midas, but merely a religious representation dedicated to a hero or deity. The reason which I formerly advanced, and which still seems to me sufficient, is the almost universal analogy of surrounding monuments. Almost all are tombs: in some cases an ineffectual attempt has been made to conceal the grave, but in a few cases the attempt has been successful, and has therefore roused disbelief in the existence of any grave. But as the point seems to me of the first importance in regard to historical evidence, I shall now advance two other arguments. The first is the meaning of the inscriptions on the very monuments where no grave can be discovered. 'Ates placed to Midas Lavaltas the King' is not quite clear, but certainly suggests more naturally the form of an epitaph.<sup>1</sup> But a much clearer case occurs in the inscription on a neighbouring tomb, represented on Fig. 13. I have discussed this inscription in the forthcoming number of Bezzonberger's *Beiträge*, and have translated it: 'Phorkys (*nom.*), himself the son of Akenanolas, Arezastis (*accus.*), the mother of himself, wife of Akenanolas," after which follows a verb. A separate inscription, on the uncarved rock above the niche which contains the monument, continues 'if he should . . . the name of the mother who bore him, he . . . (the grave? *accus.*) of that same mother.' Fragmentary as this translation is, it leaves no doubt that the monument is dedicated by a son to his mother, i.e. that it is a grave for a Phrygian noble lady, in all probability a queen.

The next argument will come more conveniently in my second paper; but I hope that already I have made out a strong case for the view that all monuments of the classes yet described are sepulchral.

The analogies with Lycian, which I have pointed out (*l. c.*) in discussing this inscription, are my chief ground for maintaining that a branch of the same European stock settled as a conquering caste in Lycia. The analysis of the Phrygian glosses published long ago by Fick, and confirmed by his brief note on the Phrygian inscriptions of the Roman period<sup>2</sup> in the last number of Bezzonberger's *Beiträge*, show that linguistic evidence marks Phrygian as a European language. Deecke also considers Phrygian as of the same family with dialects of Thrace and Illyria.

In Fig. 13 the unfinished state of both the right and the left sides is

<sup>1</sup> The verb *odars* appears to me to be an aorist of the root *dha*, the medial aspirates becoming media in Phrygia. Deecke prefers to derive it from *da*, but appears to take from it the same meaning as I advocated in *Journ. Asiat. Soc.*

1883.

<sup>2</sup> I published these in *Zft. f. vergleich. Sprachf.* 1887, p. 381-400. See Deecke's papers on Lycian and Messapian in *Bezzonb. Beitr.* and *Rhein. Mus.*

remarkable. In the pediment are represented two double doors, imitated after wood studded with metal nails: the doors are fastened shut by cross-bars, which are now much broken as they are quite clear of the actual valves of the door. They pass through sockets in two metal bolts which stand out prominently from the woodwork of the door. The imitation of woodwork is frequently apparent in Phrygian monuments, and the imitation of a wooden door studded with metal nails recurs in Arslan Kaya (*J. H. S.* 1884). I have restored the original appearance in this sketch: parts of the surface and the letters are much worn. The scale given is merely approximate, as the monument is not accessible.

W. M. RAMSAY.

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

# THE JOURNAL

OF

# HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME X.

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

BY

MACMILLAN AND CO., 29 BEDFORD STREET, STRAND

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## A STUDY OF PHRYGIAN ART. (PART II.)

It may be permitted me to return for a moment to the question, touched on in my first paper, as to the age of the Lion-Gate at Mycenae. The distinction which I drew between the age of the gateway and that of the tombs within the sacred precinct seems to me to be too much neglected, and its significance to be misunderstood. There is a whole class of legends whose object is to make out for the conquerors of the Peloponnesus a legitimate right to its possession. For example, the Aetolians who conquered Elis gave themselves a mythical justification by the tale that an ancestor of their chiefs had been expelled from Elis, and that they were returning to claim his inheritance when the crime for which he had been expelled had been expiated by generations of banishment. Similarly the Spartans found that they could make their cause a just one only by bringing to Sparta the bones of Orestes, the ancient and rightful king. When after a long search they found them, they brought them home, and no doubt instituted a cultus at the grave.<sup>1</sup> After they had thus legitimised themselves by continuing the worship of the ancient chiefs of the land, they were strong to conquer the Tegeans. The worship of Helena and her sacred tree are also well known at Sparta. I believe that there existed at Mycenae a similar worship of the ancient chiefs of the land. The Dorian conquerors continued the family cultus of the chiefs whom they dispossessed. Probably there was both in Mycenae and in Sparta an interval during which the worship was discontinued by the Dorian conquerors, and then the ancient cultus was restored. We shall hardly be wrong if we attribute this zeal of the Dorians to prove themselves rightful heirs of the Achaean chiefs to the growing influence of Homer. It was incumbent on the Dorians to show respect to Homeric traditions, and to prove themselves the lawful possessors of the Homeric poems. Argos, the leading Dorian state, probably began this practice, and Sparta imitated it. The myth at last became a fixed belief, and the Spartan king Cleomenes, at the end of the sixth century, could say, 'I am no Dorian, but Achaean.'<sup>2</sup>

While the Lion-Gate seems to me to belong to the period of the Dorian kings of Argos, perhaps 800-750, the tombs are pre-Dorian. As to the

<sup>1</sup> While I accept from Herodotus the fact of Dorian recognition of Orestes, I do not believe that his account is anything more than a popular legend to explain an existing cultus, or that the date about 560 which he assigns can be taken as historical. The ignorance of the forg-

ing of iron implies an earlier origin even for the legend.

<sup>2</sup> To quote these words as a proof that Cleomenes was really of a non-Dorian family, as has been done, seems to me a misunderstanding of the nature of Greek legend.

interval which is to be placed between the making of the tombs and the building of the gate, I can venture no opinion, though I entertain a dislike to go back with Furtwängler and Löschke to the sixteenth century. Excavation will doubtless show whether the distinction of age which I make between the tombs and the gate is right or wrong. If, contrary to my opinion, they must be referred to the same period, I should be glad if evidence accumulates to carry back our knowledge of Greece to a remote date, though at present I feel that more evidence is required. My principle has been to give what seemed to me the latest date, and in every case any modification of my views will probably be to give greater antiquity to the monuments alluded to in these papers.

Since the first part of this paper was published, part of MM. Perrot and Chipiez's account of Phrygian Art has appeared. I shall be obliged occasionally to dissent from some of the views which they have advanced, and to criticize some of the drawings which they have given; but I hope that the expression of dissent on isolated points may not tend to obscure the large amount of agreement in our views as to the date, character, and origin of Phrygian art; and that my criticisms of some drawings<sup>1</sup> may not hide my admiration of the care with which the two authors have from very insufficient and scattered materials gathered their account of the Phrygian monuments. I shall also have to state in some cases that M. Perrot has not correctly understood my opinions and statements privately communicated to him; the misunderstanding should be attributed partly, I have no doubt, to my own obscurity of expression, and partly to the difficulty of communication, when each speaks more fluently and understands more readily a different language from the other.<sup>2</sup> I also have to acknowledge several cases in which I have been taught a better opinion by M. Perrot's exposition. M. Perrot more than once refers to my having refrained from publishing any complete account of the Phrygian monuments. I hoped in 1884 to make, in company with Mr. A. H. Smith, a complete study of the subject; but his health first delayed and finally stopped the joint work. My other journeys have been made in far too economical fashion to permit the careful study I had hoped to make with the skilled aid of Mr. A. H. Smith. The present imperfect study would have been published before this time if every one were as convinced as I am of the historical importance of the subject. Considerations of expense have forced me to omit about half of the illustrations I once intended to give here:

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<sup>1</sup> Their fig. 117 is in some respects more successful than my fig. 9; but there are two faults in it. (1) It is the right warrior, not the left, which is complete: my fig. 7 represents the relief from the opposite view, viz. from the interior. (2) The rows indicating the hair of the Gorgon-like figure are not visible in a front view, but only in a side view. They are indicated on the edge of the relief: the head is indicated as a flat surface and the edges are cut sharp and square down to the back-

ground. I have omitted to mention this detail in my description. I could detect no attempt to indicate eyes. But the large drawing gives a far better idea of the relief than my tiny figure 9.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 128 (cp. p. 105, n. 1) is due to Mr. Blunt, not to me, while fig. 90, which is attributed to Mr. Blunt, is due to me, and differs from the drawing by Mr. Blunt, which is among the papers of the Society.



of the rest, those which are already completed will appear elsewhere, while those which are unfinished will probably remain so.

One can hardly appreciate without experience how difficult it is to attain accuracy in regard to these Phrygian monuments. Their great size, and the difficulty or impossibility of getting near enough to make measurements or examine carefully; the regularity of character on a general view combined with frequent irregularity in detail on closer view, and the individuality of type so different from any other ancient art, lead the observer frequently into error. I might mention several curious instances of such errors, which have happened to myself or to others; but I shall give only one, which happens to aid my purpose. MM. Perrot and Chipiez publish (fig. 48) a drawing of the Tomb of Midas, made by M. Tomaszkievich after a good photograph by Mr. Blunt. This drawing is in some respects inaccurate, for it is very difficult to find a draughtsman who has patience enough to imitate the almost infinite complexity of the Phrygian pattern. M. Perrot, who on p. 86 mentions that the arrangement of the maeander pattern in Texier's drawing on the right and left of the false door is inaccurate, does not observe that in the drawing which he himself publishes there is some inaccuracy in this respect.<sup>1</sup> He however publishes, in order to show, in correction of Texier, the real character of the false door and of the pattern round it, another drawing (fig. 49) by M. Guillaume, the draughtsman who accompanied him on his expedition through Phrygia and Galatia in 1861. This drawing, which had been published in M. Perrot's *Voyage Archéologique*, p. 112, represents on a larger scale than fig. 48 the false doorway in the lower part of the monument together with the maeander pattern round it. This second drawing contradicts not merely Texier but also the preceding fig. 48 with regard to the arrangement of the maeander pattern. Fig. 49 is in this respect right; but it is certainly confusing to the reader that a drawing made from a photograph should be contradicted by a drawing made by eye, and that the contradiction should not be commented on. But M. Guillaume's drawing contradicts fig. 48 in another respect, viz. in regard to the thickness of the raised pattern compared with the sunk spaces. Fig. 48 in this respect agrees with Texier, and is correct, while the drawing which is given expressly to illustrate a small part of the monument on a larger scale is wrong. Yet the text gives no hint of divergence in this respect, and the reader is left to the free choice between the two, or rather is encouraged to follow M. Guillaume's drawing in all respects.<sup>2</sup> This is so remarkable that no one will believe it possible. But those who doubt my statement can verify it by comparing Perrot's figs. 48 and 49 with each other and with the excellent photograph of Mr. Blunt.<sup>3</sup>

The peculiar characteristic of the maeander pattern on the Midas-Tomb

<sup>1</sup> The inaccuracy is very slight on the right side, but more serious on the left side.

<sup>2</sup> So puzzling are these patterns that, although the error relates to a point which has particularly interested me, I had looked cursorily many times at the drawing without observing the

error. One can never be sure of having understood the pattern without drawing it with one's own hand.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Blunt intimated in the *Journal* his readiness to supply copies of this photograph at a very small price.

is that it is founded on a unit of measurement, which as near as I could estimate is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Every line, both horizontal and vertical, throughout the maeander pattern coincides with one of the lines of a pattern of squares of this size. The accompanying sketch, fig. 14, in which drawings by Texier, Tomaszkievicz, Blunt, and Sir C. Wilson all agree, and which can be verified from Mr. Blunt's photograph, shows the character by completing a small part of the fundamental pattern in dotted lines.

The same character may be observed in numerous other monuments, yet M. Perrot nowhere explicitly mentions it. It must however be reckoned one of the most distinctive features of Phrygian work. For example, there is an unmistakable resemblance between the pattern of the king's robes on the Ibriz monument and the pattern of the Midas-Tomb, as I have frequently pointed out. But the Ibriz monument fails in this characteristic, and this difference alone, not to mention locality, would stamp it as non-Phrygian. It shows a pattern wrought by thinner lines on a surface.<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Wilson called my attention to this character, while I was laboriously drawing the minute pattern of the Ibriz robes and making it too like the Midas pattern.

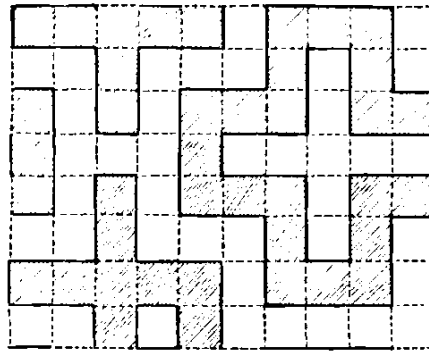


FIG. 14.

M. Guillaume's drawing disguises this character. He makes the raised spaces thinner than the sunken spaces. The difference may to some seem slight, and my criticism may seem hypercriticism; but it is on the observance of these slight differences that scientific archacology depends, and my point is that this character is distinctive of a class of Phrygian ornament and decisive as to its origin. This class of ornament is not imitated after a pattern worked on a surface or background, like a carpet pattern; there is in it both analogy to and difference from carpet work (Perrot, p. 193).

I have alluded to this character before,<sup>2</sup> and hoped that my brief allusion would be understood by those who study Phrygian art, but, as is clear from

<sup>1</sup> The incised parts are thinner than the raised parts at Ibriz; M. Guillaume shows the raised parts thinner than the incised parts on the

Midas-Tomb.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1882, pp. 26-7, and note on p. 26.

the necessity laid on me of writing the preceding paragraphs, I sacrificed perspicuity in seeking after brevity. Consequently it is now necessary to explain myself more clearly and fully. In the explanation I hope to show the origin of the Phrygian pattern.

The Phrygian ornament then in its simplest form is a chessboard pattern of squares alternately sunk and in relief. This pattern is used to ornament the sides and roof of a small chamber cut in the rock underneath the city wall, a little way to the south of Gate D (see plan, fig. 11: the exact situation is not marked, but it can easily be found by an explorer). In the next stage the simple chessboard pattern is made more complicated by suppressing some of the divisions, and making several squares continuously either sunk or raised. A very simple example is the tomb called Maltash, *J.H.S.* 1881, Plate XXI. A (Perrot, fig. 60). An example rather more complicated is the Midas-Tomb. Fig. 14, in which the dotted lines show the fundamental pattern, makes the character of the ornament clear.

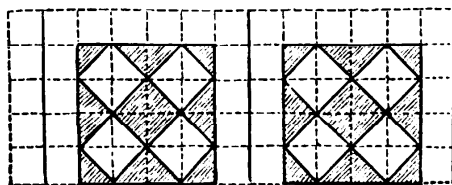


FIG. 15.

A further complication is introduced by placing smaller squares obliquely inside the squares of the fundamental pattern. This appears in the border that surrounds the maeander pattern of the Tomb of Midas, in the Tomb of Arezastis (fig. 13, Perrot fig. 58), in the tomb shown by Perrot fig. 59, and in the tomb near Bakshish.<sup>1</sup> The border of the Midas-Tomb is an unsuccessful attempt to construct a pattern of this kind. The fault of this attempt is that the square enclosed between the four lozenges must either be larger than the lozenges if it keeps to the fundamental lines of the pattern, or if it is the exact size of the lozenges it must desert the fundamental lines.<sup>2</sup> Each of these alternatives produces an awkward effect, and this type is not repeated anywhere else.

A more successful attempt to combine the lozenge and the square is shown (with the fundamental squares dotted) in fig. 15. It is used on the three monuments just mentioned.

This development in art seems to be decisive as to the chronology of

<sup>1</sup> Perrot fig. 61, 62.

<sup>2</sup> It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the lines of the fundamental pattern are arranged obliquely instead of horizontally and vertically. In that way also trial will show that if the four lozenges coincide with the lines of

the fundamental pattern, the squares between the four lozenges have not their angles on the fundamental lines. The fundamental lines are, of course, purely imaginary, and I speak of them only in order to bring out as clearly as possible the actual character of the Phrygian pattern.

these tombs. The tomb called Maltash is in the neighbourhood of the Lion-Tombs. All the other monuments of that neighbourhood seem to me to be of a more archaic type than the Midas-Tomb. But so long as I could find no definite standard to determine whether Maltash or Yazili Kaya (*i.e.* the Midas-Tomb) were the older, I did not feel ready to face the question of chronology. But now that the Maltash is shown to belong to an earlier stage of development, it seems justifiable to assert that the acropolis and the monuments at the Lion-Tombs belong to an older period than the Midas-Tomb and the vast majority of the monuments connected with it.

The Midas-Tomb again is older than the Tomb of Arezastis. It is improbable that artists who had elaborated the ornamentation of fig. 15 should go back to the type of the border of the Midas-Tomb. When they had elaborated the type of fig. 15, they used it on a number of monuments. Moreover a new ornament, the rosette, is introduced on the Tomb of Arezastis, and finally even a glance at the inscriptions is sufficient to convince us of the greater antiquity of the Midas-Tomb. The forms of epsilon and sigma are clearly more ancient on the latter.

At the same time there cannot be a great difference in time between these two monuments. The artists were clearly striving after variety in the use of their pattern, and could not halt long on the progress to fig. 15. Moreover the children of Akenanolas erect both monuments.

The monument published by Perrot, plate 59, is later, but only a little later than the Tomb of Arezastis. The resemblance in the ornamentation both of the rectangular surface and of the pediment is so complete that the two monuments are stamped as of one and the same period. But this uninscribed monument is more complicated: it introduces in addition to the rosette one more new type of ornament, viz. a zone of a lotus and palmette pattern. The artists are constantly struggling onwards towards new forms. Moreover, if the illustrations at my disposal are correct, the ornament inside the pediment, which in the monument of Arezastis is significant, is given in an abbreviated meaningless and conventional style on the uninscribed monument. In the former we see in each half of the pediment a double door shut and barred; for Phrygian religion, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> regarded the door as one of the necessary parts of a tomb. In the latter we could not understand what the objects represented within the pediment were, unless we had the Tomb of Arezastis to explain their meaning.

A decided and important step in this development is marked by the next monument of this class, the tomb at Bakshish. As I do not find M. Perrot's illustrations sufficiently accurate, and as I have been obliged to suppress the illustrations which have been prepared, I must refer to another place for the continuation of this exposition. I may however say briefly that I must retract my former theory, that this kind of ornament is imitated from carpet-work. The ornamented robes at Ibriz show what is the result of

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<sup>1</sup> Part I. p. 371; *J. H. S.* 1884, p. 254ff. M. 102) that there is a door on this monument. Perrot somewhat strangely has not noticed (p.

imitating in stone coloured or embroidered work; the result is a thinner pattern on a broad surface. The drawing of M. Guillaume might allow us to consider the ornament of the Midas-Tomb as of the same character, but the preceding paragraphs have shown marked difference between the two styles amid their general resemblance.

The whole class of Phrygian pattern appears to me to be the imitation in stone of some kind of tile-work, *e.g.* the covering of a flat surface like the wall of a room with a pattern of tiles or of square plaques of ivory or bronze. That there should be a decided analogy between the pattern aimed at in this kind of ornament and the patterns of carpets is natural, but the difference is also natural. Hence I explain the combined analogy and difference between the Ibriz and the Midas monuments. The raised spaces on the Midas-Tomb represent tiles of one colour, and the sunk spaces tiles of another colour. The pattern is produced by placing several tiles of one colour side by side. In the simplest form of the Phrygian pattern, single tiles alternate. The Ibriz monument imitates cloth in which similar patterns are made by bands or threads of one colour on a surface of a different colour. We now see how the border round the Midas-Tomb produces a different effect from the other extant examples. It cannot be produced by square tiles, whereas all the other examples of the Phrygian pattern can be produced by placing side by side either square tiles of two different colours, or square tiles and halves of square tiles.

It is possible also to work backwards from the monuments of this class. The arrangement of the low, simple and bare pediment within the chamber of the Broken Lion-Tomb (part I. p. 358, fig. 5) is distinctly of the same type as that of the Maltash pediment; but the latter introduces a little ornament on the shaft of the supporting column.<sup>1</sup> The Maltash as a whole is in form like one side of the chamber, covered with ornament instead of being left plain as in fig. 5: it is therefore a development and later than the Broken Lion-Tomb. The latter in its turn is obviously later than the other still perfect Lion-Tomb, with its simpler forms, and its perfectly plain chamber.

The monuments of the class of Maltash, &c., are obviously imitated after one of the end walls of a chamber such as is shown in figs. 2 and 5, with the addition of a central acroterion as a crowning member. The Phrygian must have adopted from Assyria the use of tiles to adorn the walls of rooms. At an early time they constructed such monuments as the Lion-Tombs and Perrot's fig. 75, and avoided sacrilege by placing the entrance high in a perpendicular rock. Then the idea occurred to their artists to make the front of the tombs like the side of a chamber, and to conceal the actual grave behind or beneath it. After making several large monuments of this class, they struck out a new style in the monument at Bakshish, and at this stage in their development came the Cimmerian invasion.

The tomb at Bakshish appears to me to belong to the old Phrygian

<sup>1</sup> The two pediments are even more alike than can be gathered from pl. xxi A. The supporting column of the pediment in each is of the same

type, with a rectangular capital and base, the base smaller than the capital.

kingdom, which perished about 675. It marks a new departure in style, and is separated by an interval from the group of monuments, those of Midas, Arezastis, and the uninscribed one. These three are of the same period: monuments of such size however cannot be strictly contemporary, but must represent successive efforts, dating according to my theory about the latter part of the eighth century. Placing the earlier monuments of the series at a certain interval from each other, we certainly reach back into the ninth century for the date of the Lion-Tomb, fig. 10, p. 368.

I find myself still obliged to adhere to the same chronological order which I stated in this *Journal*, 1882, p. 28. The monuments showing sculptures in relief of human and animal figures are older than those which are covered with geometrical patterns, while the latter again are older than a very large group of a markedly architectural type. The last class, as I then said, appear to me to belong to the revival of the Phrygian kingdom under Lydian domination, after the expulsion of the Cimmerians. About the year 600 and earlier, we find that the Assyrian and the Median power, which reached (one before the other) as far as the Halys, come into contact, not with the Phrygian, but with the Lydian kingdom. By the treaty of 585 B.C. the Halys was recognized as the boundary between Lydians and Medes. During the reign of Croesus the Phrygian king of whom Herodotus speaks was a vassal king. When the Persians seized the Median power, Croesus crossed the Halys to attack them. During this period and the Persian domination which followed, Phrygian art was not wholly inactive, but was nerveless and degenerate in character, and passed under the influence of foreign models<sup>1</sup> more and more completely as time went on. The monuments of this period are very numerous, but far smaller in size than the greater monuments of the old time.

This later period, which I have styled the architectural period because the tombs take the form of temples or perhaps of houses, comes to an end at the Gaulish invasion about 260 B.C. At that time there must have taken place the complete devastation and desolation which Strabo attests as having before his time replaced the ancient civilization of Gordius and Midas. No record attests that the Gauls desolated Phrygia, but such record is not necessary to tell us what must have taken place when the hordes of Gauls were sweeping across this district to take possession of the plains of Galatia. It is certain that the country in which the Gauls finally settled down begins almost at the eastern base of the mountains in which the Phrygian monuments are, for the territory of the Trocnades, who are obviously Gauls from their name, lay not far from these mountains.

In part I. p. 381 the expectation was expressed that M. Perrot would place before the eyes of scholars the first trustworthy representation of the Midas-Tomb. I regret very much that M. Tomaszkievicz's drawing fails in

<sup>1</sup> Formerly I thought that Greek art exercised great influence in this period, but I have been taught better by Professor G. Hirschfeld. I see

much Persian influence (differing in this from Hirschfeld) and a little Greek, the latter very late.

accuracy in several respects, and though it is on the whole the best that has been published, yet several corrections have to be made in it. One of them has already been mentioned—the misrepresentation of the arrangement of the maeander pattern on the left of the false door. The number and arrangement of the diamonds in and over the pediment is incorrect, as is clear from the photograph. He has also placed the little cave or chamber on the left a little too near the sculptured face, and too high; this error is apparently due to his misunderstanding one of the shadows. He has given the inscriptions on the right and over the monument very incorrectly, and it might have been expected that he should with the help of the photograph have represented the breaks and the lower surroundings of the monument better. In his note on p. 86 M. Perrot remarks that there are only two inexactitudes in Texier's drawing, but a comparison between Texier and fig. 48 shows that there are numerous other slight variations, in regard to all of which the reader is left in doubt which authority is to be followed. In some cases fig. 48 is right, while in others Texier is right. One really serious error is that Texier has completed the pediment and represented it without any central support. All other Phrygian pediments of this early time have a central support, and, while the fracture of the rock prevents certainty, yet in all probability the Midas-Tomb had a similar vertical member beneath the acroterion.<sup>1</sup> Another very important difference between Texier and fig. 48 is in respect of the central acroterion. Texier gives it as composed of two sets of concentric circles. The reader is struck by the style of this acroterion. He turns to fig. 48, and finds that M. Tomaszkievicz gives it as two spirals, resembling a sort of Ionic capital.<sup>2</sup> Some warning should in the text be given of such a serious divergence. The point is rather difficult to determine in the mutilated state of the central part of the pediment; but Sir C. Wilson and Mr. Blunt both agree with Texier, and my memory is clear as to discussing the point with them on the spot and agreeing in this opinion. Texier, indeed, completes the acroterion in a way that is probably incorrect, for the central part of it is now broken away. But the remaining parts are sufficient to show that all the curves are parts of concentric circles. The photographs of the monument by Blunt and Hogarth seem on a first glance to make the curves spiral, but this is due to the shadows, which have deceived M. Tomaszkievicz. Sir C. Wilson also points out to me that every curve in every acroterion of this class of monuments is part of a true circle.

Each of the points which have just been mentioned may seem slight and the enumeration of them may be tedious, but it is on correctness in such points that an appreciation of the style depends. Much time would be saved, and far greater clearness would be gained, if a really correct drawing were published. It is remarkable that no representation of this monument which does not contain numerous faults of detail has yet been published, and that

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<sup>1</sup> I have not access to Texier's large work and have to content myself with the drawing published in his small work, *Asie Mineure*.

<sup>2</sup> He gives the right spiral distinctly, while the left which is uncertain must be understood to resemble the right.

I should still have to plead that the Midas-Tomb is important enough in the history of art to justify the expense of an accurate drawing.

The first part of this paper broke off while discussing the character of the Midas-Monument. I consider it to have been sepulchral. M. Perrot has now stated his opinion clearly: it was a monument erected by the Phrygian princes to a legendary ancestor, whose name they had taken and whom they worshipped as a god, a sort of mythical representative of the actual dynasty. I still continue to think the sepulchral character is more probable.

I may be allowed to guard against the imputation that I simply took up the most obvious view,<sup>1</sup> and now continue to maintain it against a new suggestion. Both views were in my mind, balanced against each other, from the first day I saw the monument onwards. Sir Charles Wilson, when I visited the Midas-Monument in his company in June 1881, at once inferred from the want of a grave that the purpose was religious, not sepulchral. I allowed the question to hang undecided in my mind for a long time. Even now, if I saw any argument for M. Perrot's view, except the single one that lies in the non-discovery of a carefully and successfully concealed grave, I should be quite ready to accept his opinion.

M. Perrot appears to me to draw far too broad a line between religion and sepulture. The Greek distinction between the Olympian gods and the gods of the world of death is in his mind, and hence he says on p. 158 (obviously arguing against my views stated in this *Journal*, especially in 1884, p. 242 ff.), that no indication either in the ancient texts or in the monuments justifies the belief that Cybele ever held the place of sovereign of the lower world and protectress of the dead. The remark and the distinction would have been unintelligible to a Phrygian. The goddess, the embodiment of the creative and recreative power of nature, is the mother of all life, from whom we come, and to whom we go. Every important text and monument seem to me to necessitate this view, but the subject is too wide for me to enter on in this place.<sup>2</sup>

M. Perrot quotes (p. 102, n. 1) a passage from Hesychius, which certainly seems to tell in his favour, as he gives the text. I do not know from what source he takes the quotation, but according to M. Schmidt's edition of Hesychius he gives it in a form both inaccurate and incomplete.<sup>3</sup> It should be as follows: *Μίδα θεός· οἱ ὑπὸ Μίδα βασιλευθέντες ἐσέβοντο καὶ ὤμνουν τὴν Μίδα θεόν, ἣν τινες μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκτετιμῆσθαι λέγουσιν.* I understand this to mean that the subjects of Midas revered and made oath by the

<sup>1</sup> La première hypothèse qui se présente à l'esprit, p. 89. I should rather say that the most obvious reflexion, which rises in everyone's mind on first seeing the monument, is that it cannot be a tomb, as there is no apparent place for a grave.

<sup>2</sup> The Phrygian mysteries, as to whose rites we are well informed, are a presentation in gross symbolism (according to the primitive social circumstances and the elementary ideas of

nature which existed at the time) of this religious idea. The ideas entertained by the Greeks about Cybele are in the main Greek and not Phrygian, and should have no weight attached to them.

<sup>3</sup> On p. 102, n. 1, he gives it *Μίδα θεός. οἱ ὑπὸ Μίδα βασιλευθέντες ἐσέβοντο καὶ ὤμνουν τὴν (sic!) Μίδα θεόν.* On p. 14 he infers from this misquotation that 'Midas se confondait avec un de ces dieux dont le culte resta populaire,' &c.



goddess of Midas, who some say was honoured as his mother. The allusion is to the idea, on which I have had to insist so frequently, that, according to the Phrygo-Lyidian belief, their chiefs were the sons of the goddess. The chief or king has a goddess-mother, and goes back to his mother when he dies. The extract from Hesychius should have been quoted in my part I. p. 369, as a proof of the view there stated.

This idea was adopted along with the religion of Cybele by the conquering tribe who penetrated from the northwest into Phrygia about B.C. 900. The inscriptions seem to prove that this tribe had the custom of reckoning descent through the male line. If my interpretation is correct, we have Ates Arkiaevais son of Akenanolas, Arezastis wife of Akenanolas, Phorkyn Tegatoz son of Akenanolas, Baba Memevais son of Proitas. But the social condition of the country after the conquest was, according to my view, a mixture of the habits of the conquering caste with the old religion of the country. Some therefore say that the goddess of Midas was honoured as his mother. In Lydia this idea was, as Gelzer has shown, held in the form that the husband of the heiress was king, and the husband of the heiress's daughter succeeded; but this cannot have been the case in Phrygia, if we may judge from the statement of descent through the father and also from the recorded fact that the last king Midas married the Cymaeian princess Demodike. The tomb of Arezastis however with its inscriptions seems to attest that great honour was paid to the mother in Phrygia, and according to one tale Midas was the son of the prophetess-wife of Gordius, whose divine power of prophecy probably points to her being ultimately the goddess herself, the mother of Midas.

I will not however conceal an analogy, not observed by M. Perrot, which may perhaps be held to tell in his favour. An inscription of Anaboura, a town on the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier, where however the native language was the same as in Phrygia, belonging to the first century after Christ, mentions a donation to the state by Obrimianos and Mousaios, sons of Julius. They end by emphatically declaring their descent from Manes Ourammos. In publishing the inscription in 1883, I said: 'It is uncertain whether Manes Ourammos is a god, or a heroic semi-divine progenitor, or a real person. Perhaps the last supposition is most probable.' My view was, and is, that Manes Ourammos was one of the last chiefs of this part of Pisidia, before it fell under the domination of the Romans, and that his descendants boast of their descent, just as in another Phrygian family their inscriptions record that they are descendants of kings and tetrarchs.<sup>1</sup> But those who prefer to this explanation the other which I mentioned only to reject, that Manes Ourammos was a heroic mythical ancestor, worshipped by the family, will find in this inscription an argument in favour of M. Perrot's opinion.

M. Perrot holds the monument to have been erected to Midas the King,

<sup>1</sup> ὄντες ἀπόγονοι Μάνου Οὐραμμόου compare βασιλέων καὶ τετραρχῶν ἀπόγονοι C.I.G. 4033, 4034 &c. I published the inscription of Anaboura in *Mittheilungen* Athen, 1883, p. 71.

It has since been published by Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett in his 'Preliminary Report,' p. 14, without observing the previous publication.

by real kings who bore his name. But the inscription says that Ates erected the monument to Midas;<sup>1</sup> none of the persons mentioned on this or the other monuments bear the name Midas except the mythical ancestor. The monuments therefore afford no proof, on M. Perrot's explanation, that there ever was really a Phrygian king named Midas. The only inference which they would permit is that Midas is a heroic ancestor of the type of Heracles or Pelops, worshipped by the Phrygian chiefs in their family religion.

On the other hand I contend that there is traditional evidence of the death of a king Midas, in a great catastrophe widely affecting Asia Minor, now admittedly a historical catastrophe as attested by contemporary epigraphic evidence, though formerly doubted. This event, the Cimmerian invasion, affected the Greeks almost as much as the Phrygians. The coincidence aided the historical memory. The king in question was closely connected by marriage with the Greeks of the coast, and the early references made by the Greeks to his dynasty show that it was considered by them as peculiarly impressive, and so great as to be almost more than human. The coincidence with Greek history, and the striking contrast of greatness and sudden ruin, made the historical tradition accurate and trustworthy in this case.

The facts then are these, as I conceive them. Trustworthy tradition tells us that there was a dynasty of Phrygian kings in the Sangarios valley, some of whom were named Midas. Among a series of monuments in the Sangarios valley, whose character shows that they were made by a people of considerable civilization and wealth, one bears the inscription 'Ates Arkiaevais placed to Midas the King.' This monument, as M. Perrot fully acknowledges by placing it among the sepulchral monuments, has all the external appearance of a grave. Every point in it occurs in other monuments whose sepulchral character is obvious to the eye owing to the violent disclosure of concealed graves. In this and two other cases no grave has been discovered, but that is, as I believe, only because the grave has in these cases been more skilfully or more successfully concealed. The variety in external appearance among the monuments is far from justifying the assumption that the internal arrangement (*i.e.* the situation of the concealed grave) was in every case the same.

The facts as thus stated point to the view that the Midas-Monument is the tomb of one of the historical kings of that name. This view is the simple and natural conclusion from the striking agreement between the traditional and the monumental evidence.

The view stated by M. Perrot loses all the support given by the tradition. He tries in vain to accommodate himself to the tradition by saying that the Phrygian kings bore the name of their mythical ancestor Midas. If they bore the name, why is it that the inscriptions mention several of them by other names, but none by the name Midas? At the best there is a want of agree-

<sup>1</sup> It deserves note that all the persons mentioned on the monument have a double name, and that the double name is characteristic of Phrygia

in the later inscriptions written in the Greek language—Ates Arkiaevais, Midas Lavalas the King, Baba Memevais.

ment between the inscription and the tradition according to his theory, and we could only lament that the agreement is not closer. If his theory were the most natural and simple one, we might resign ourselves to the loss of such a historical coincidence. But his theory seems to me decidedly the more artificial and improbable, and therefore I argue so strongly that tradition is exactly confirmed by the monument of Midas.

The theory of M. Perrot would be shown to be less artificial than it seems to me, if he had brought forward examples of the use of cenotaphs in the family religion. Is this a probable style of shrine at which to worship the deified hero of the family, a front like that of a grave, without any altar or any apparent means of worship? He himself, in spite of his explanation, gives the Midas-Monument not among *l'Architecture Religieuse*, but among *l'Architecture Funéraire*. If it be of the character which he maintains, then it strictly belongs to the chapter on religion, and in that case the violence which severs it from every monument that can throw light on it would be apparent.

The very same reasoning that applies to the Midas-Monument would also apply, and is actually applied by M. Perrot, to the monument of Arezastis. But on the latter the inscription shows that Frekyn, son of Akenanolas, erected the monument to his own mother, wife of Akenanolas. Even one who would have admitted a single mythical and eponymous hero may shrink from also admitting a heroine of similar character, mother of the constructor of the monument. A third monument (Perrot, fig. 59), which has the same general character as the Midas-Monument, and which has no grave as yet discovered, wants and always has wanted an inscription, so that we must go on to admit a third commemorative monument,<sup>1</sup> whose author does not think it worth while to mention the name of the legendary ancestor whom he commemorates. A sepulchral monument without an inscription is a natural thing; it is a mark of honour to the dead man. But a commemorative monument without any accompaniment and without any dead person, without any shrine or altar, and with no indication of means of worship, without even the possibility of worship except from a distance, seems an anomaly. M. Perrot himself fully admits the difficulty caused by the want of an inscription. He also practically admits (p. 102) that on his theory one would look for some means or place of worship in connection with these monuments. In the case of the Midas-Monument he finds in a shallow grotto at the left a place for 'receiving the offerings brought to this god and the lamps lighted in his honour.' He ought then to find some analogous arrangements for religious purposes beside the other two monuments, and I am convinced that any person who actually surveys the situation of the monuments (especially that of fig. 58) will appreciate the utter want of anything to suggest religious use. The niches and benches which M. Perrot mentions on p. 105 have not impressed themselves on my memory, and he gives no authority for them. He has not seen them himself, and apparently infers them from the drawings. M. Perrot (p. 105) says: sur

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<sup>1</sup> Monument commémoratif, p. 102.

les blocks de rochers qui servent comme de soubassement à la surface travaillé. Mr. Hogarth's memory agrees with mine.

It is true that beside the 'Niobe' at Magnesia, which, like most other recent visitors, I have always maintained to be a cultus-statue of the goddess Cybele, there is the same difficulty of getting close to the image, and the same want of space for assembling to worship near it. But there seems no religious difficulty to prevent more distant worship of the colossal image. In the image there is a deity placed before the eye of the worshipper, but I find nothing to suggest religion in such an ornamental front as these monuments show.

Another argument to prove that the Midas-Monument was a real tomb, was postponed in part I. p. 381. At the left side of the monument is a small three-sided chamber of peculiar shape, with an inscription running round the three sides. It is written from left to right, and begins on the left-hand side. It has been copied several times, and was last published by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1883. According to all the published copies it begins with *as*, after which the end of a word is marked. In 1884, examining the inscription with greater care, I observed that before *a* there were traces of

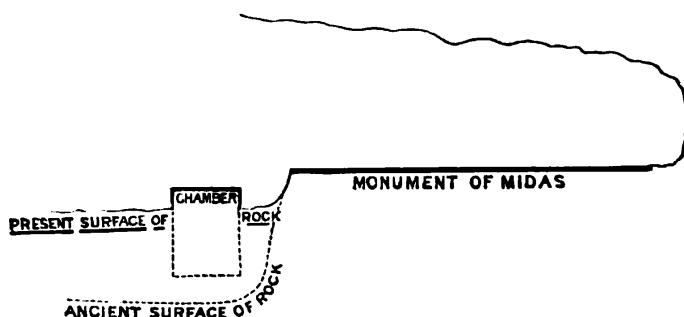


FIG. 16.

another letter, viz. epsilon. The right side of this letter remains, but the middle and the left side have been broken off. Now these letters are about twenty inches in height and four inches in breadth. The remains of the letter are less than an inch broad, and the rest is broken away. Yet the side of the chamber is now sharply at right angles to the surface of the rock. Where then has the rest of the letter stood? Examining more closely, I came confidently to the opinion that the present surface of the rock is the result of recent cleavage, that formerly the rock projected much further forward, and that the chamber was at that time larger than it is at present, and was of course in all probability concealed inside the rock and entered only by a hidden entrance. Exactly the same thing has happened here as happened at the Broken Lion-Tomb. An angle of rock has fallen almost entirely away with perpendicular cleavage,<sup>1</sup> and there remains only the inner end of the chamber. The rest of the chamber was in one or more fragments of the rock which fell away, and which are now either concealed beneath the accumulated

<sup>1</sup> I have on p. 376 mentioned the tendency of this rock to split in vertical surfaces.

soil, or more probably have disintegrated and help to form the accumulation. In the accompanying Fig. 16, drawn not to scale but by eye, I have shown the present ground plan of the monument and the chamber, and have restored in dotted lines the original appearance of the chamber and surrounding rock. The dimensions of the restored chamber are of course quite uncertain and are merely shown to bring the process clearly before the reader. I think it necessary to do this as, though I mentioned this discovery<sup>1</sup> to M. Perrot and thought I had explained it, he in a note p. 102 speaks of 'cette grotte, qui complétée et fermée par des blocs de pierre, aurait été autrefois plus spacieuse.' He adds the criticism that 'le roc n'a pas gardé la moindre trace qui rende cette conjecture vraisemblable.' I was not prepared to be so entirely misapprehended. The absurdity of concealing a tomb by building it in an artificial chamber adjoining the rock is patent. My whole point is that the Phrygians were obviously in the habit at an early time of concealing the grave, that in some cases the concealed grave has been found, but that in a few cases the grave has been so well concealed that it has not yet been found. The monuments of Midas and Arezastis are of this class. I believe them to be sepulchral monuments, and propose the theory that the sculptured monument was merely a gigantic stele beside the concealed grave, and that the actual grave of Midas was in the chamber cut in the rock on the left side of the monument. This chamber has now been so much mutilated by the collapse of part of the rock that its original size, form, and arrangement are quite uncertain. The entrance was probably closed by a carefully fitting stone, as is to be presumed from the fact that this method of closing the entrance to a concealed grave was practised in several other Phrygian tombs.

The collapse of the rock and of the supposed grave-chamber deprives us of all opportunity of verifying or disproving the view which is here offered. In 1884 we had an excavation made in the end of the chamber that still remains. About six feet below the present surface of the soil we reached the floor of the chamber. The floor is now rough and irregular (owing to the disintegration to which this stone is liable, especially under the earth), and little evidence could be recovered as to its original arrangement. The present state is not consistent with the view that there was a sepulchral bed at the west end (*i. e.* the remaining end) of the chamber, but may be said almost to favour (or at least not to disprove) the view that there was a sunk grave in the floor of the chamber at this end.

MM. Perrot and Chipiez publish (p. 99, fig. 58) a drawing of the monument, which is represented in my part I. p. 380, fig. 13. The differences are very considerable. M. Perrot says, p. 102, n. 3, 'nous avons contrôlé et rectifié dans quelques détails la planche de Texier au moyen d'une photographie que

<sup>1</sup> This discovery is no matter of conjecture. I think that any one who examines the rock will come to the conclusion there is no other way of accounting for the loss of the epsilon, except through actual cleavage of the rock. Mere mouldering of the surface does not account for

the loss. I intended to reexamine the place in 1887 along with Mr. Hogarth and get his testimony, but the Circassians, who have recently built a village beside the Midas-Tomb, have constructed a store-room in front of the chamber.

nous a communiquée M. Fougères et du croquis de M. Ramsay.' In spite of the photographic support claimed for this drawing, I claim to be right on all points of difference.<sup>1</sup> In 1886 Mr. Hogarth and I examined the monument very carefully with a large outline sketch in our hands. We observed and noted on the sketch that the left side of the pediment was never completed (just as it is given in this *Journal*). M. Perrot gives it as complete. We observed also that on the right side of the pediment the three ornaments at the foot were never completed; and I have made the same observation in my note-book of 1881, comparing the unfinished window of Aladdin's palace. M. Perrot gives them as uniform with the rest. The end of the inscription runs across the lowest ornaments on the right-hand side. M. Perrot puts it below the ornaments. He has adopted my reading of the inscription, but gives it as arranged by Texier.<sup>2</sup> Texier is wrong: I compared him with the stone, and Hogarth compared my copy with the stone. The ornamentation within the pediment is given by M. Perrot according to my sketch: it cannot be taken from the photograph, because it is to a considerable extent restored, and can be understood only with much difficulty and after very careful examination with a good glass. But one slight difference may be observed between the two illustrations. Small double doors, imitated after wooden doors studded with metal nails and barred, are represented in the pediment. The number of nails in the lower row differs in the two sides of the pediment, six on the left side, four on the right side. M. Perrot gives six in both cases. I noted the difference with special care on the monument. In the ornament along the upper side of the pediment, both Hogarth and I counted twenty lozenges<sup>3</sup> on the left side, but M. Perrot gives only seventeen, and they do not give the central acroterion so accurately as the *Journal* shows it. Sir C. Wilson considers that my representation is not entirely accurate. He says that every curve in the acroterion is part of a true circle, and that the circles, arcs of which form the acroterion, are drawn from three centres, viz. the central points of the three small complete circles. This observation, which I believe to be probably true, but which escaped me when examining the monument, adds greatly to the intelligibility of the acroterion. The acroterion of Perrot, fig. 59, has a similar, but more complicated, character.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I know what almost insurmountable difficulties there are to prevent a good photograph being obtained, on account of the position and surroundings of the monument.

<sup>2</sup> Only three letters extend beyond the ornament in the line below the pediment. Texier made his letters too broad in proportion to their height (all Phrygian letters are tall and thin) and thus makes eight extend beyond the ornament. He could not get the inscription from the photograph, for, as I explain on p. 382, some of the letters are restored. The third, fourth and fifth words are so mutilated that they long baffled all copyists, including myself in 1881 and Sterrett and myself in 1883. In 1884 I

made them out with a good glass, and Hogarth entirely agreed with my copy in 1887. I have restored the letters completely, but there remain only the tops of the ten middle letters.

<sup>3</sup> These lozenges are, I think, true squares whose diagonals are at right angles to the sides of the pediment. This is probably true in all monuments of this class, though the point is difficult to determine on a distant view.

<sup>4</sup> A swallow's nest perched between the two horns of the acroterion is represented and exaggerated in M. Perrot's drawing, and in the sketch by Mr. Blunt, which I showed to M. Perrot and which is attributed to me.

The representation given in fig. 13 approximates to the truth, but does not actually hit it in this respect. It gives, however, the general arrangement of the different elements correctly, while M. Perrot's drawing arranges them quite wrongly, though it gives more truly the concentric impression.<sup>1</sup>

As to the situation of the monument, MM. Perrot and Chipiez are very good in the upper part, but unsuccessful in the lower part. I had intended to devote two plates to this monument, one giving the ornament as restored, the other a side view to show the surroundings, for it is not possible to show the situation of the monument and all the details in one plate. But, as it was found that I was illustrating too lavishly, I had to suppress the second plate. The monument is situated in a sort of niche, so that the plan is this :—

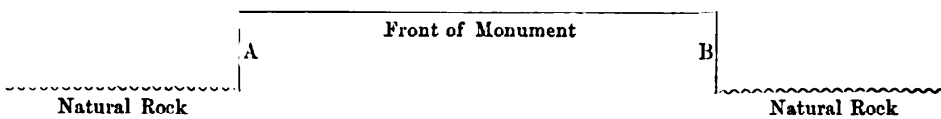


FIG. 17.

A and B are the two rough-hewn sides of the niche. They begin close to the edge of the sculptured surface. Part of the inscription<sup>2</sup> is engraved on side B, but is represented by MM. Perrot and Chipiez on the natural rock outside the niche. The ground beneath the monument is represented in M. Perrot's illustration as much more level than it really is, and the sculpture is really much further away from any possible position of the spectator. Hence it is very difficult to obtain any measurements, as I mentioned on p. 382, and the uncut rock overhead projects so much beyond the plane of the sculpture that measurements cannot be made by dropping a line from above.

The uppermost inscription is given correctly by MM. Perrot and Chipiez. It is engraved on the natural rock above the niche. The upper line however should not be so regularly parallel to the lower line as they give it, but forms a wider curve, much more distant from the lower line at the word *aftaz* than it is at the beginning and end.

The analogy between this monument and the one which is represented by MM. Perrot and Chipiez on p. 103, pl. 59,<sup>3</sup> becomes far more striking when the former is studied in the correct drawing.

The imitation of woodwork, probably, as M. Perrot recognized, covered with bronze and studded with nails or bolts, is strongly marked in these and

<sup>1</sup> M. Perrot and I agree as to the number of squares in the horizontal band of ornament below the inscription. Sir C. Wilson thinks we have one too many, and I think he is right; yet it is hard to believe that M. Perrot, with a photograph before him (which I have not seen), could be wrong on such a point.

<sup>2</sup> The words *aez* and *atanizen*. *kurzanczon*. *ta*. When I suppressed the second drawing which I originally intended to give, I added these words

at the side of the first, thus making it inaccurate; but I wished to give the inscription complete. From the point of view of fig. 13 these symbols at the side cannot be seen.

<sup>3</sup> The 'croquis de M. Ramsay' used to correct Texier is really Mr. Blunt's drawing. Mr. Blunt was successful with this and with the Midas-Tomb: he is not represented in the *Journal* by his best work.

in several other Phrygian monuments. This imitation sometimes shows an utter disregard of the nature of the material. In the little doors within the pediment, as shown in fig. 13, p. 380, the bars which hold the *valvae* shut by being passed through holes in two prominent bolts are quite free and separate from the surface of the *valvae*. In the soft friable stone this construction cannot last, and therefore the bars are now very much decayed, and it requires some study to discern the original intention.

The monument shown by M. Perrot on fig. 59 is really more accessible than that on fig. 58. One can get close up to it, and with a little trouble nearly touch the lower part of the ornamentation. He however shows 58 as more accessible than 59.<sup>1</sup> This monument (fig. 59) ought to be shown on my plan, fig. 11, p. 375, between the gates C and E, but has been omitted.

Riding northward along the winding valley, from the Midas-Tomb past the Tomb of Arezastis (Fig. 13), we reach a wider part of the valley where three water-courses meet and flow away to the east.<sup>2</sup> Opposite us towards the left is the Doric-Tomb, published by Perrot, Fig. 91 after Texier, and about 150 yards towards the N.N.E. from it is another tomb, on the front of which is the relief represented in Fig. 18. This relief is on the eastern face of an isolated rock, about twenty-five feet in height. In the upper part of the rock is a sepulchral chamber, with a small door looking eastwards at the top of a vertical face of rock which is cut sharp down nearly to the ground. The character of this sepulchre is therefore exactly that of the one at Yapuldak, which was published in this *Journal*, 1882, Pl. XXVIII. (Perrot, Fig. 75), and which will be further described in the course of this paper (Fig. 27). In both cases I think that the sepulchre was constructed by working from the small door. As this door is now high up in a vertical face of rock, it must either have been reached by a scaffolding, or else the rock has been cut down vertically after the sepulchre was hollowed out. The workman made the door, and then gradually cut the chamber out of the rock. On the outside they carved a relief beside or below the door, and this completes the monument. In later time the sepulchral chamber in each monument has been broken into from behind, and traces of Christian handiwork and graffiti are found in both. The resemblance of this monument to that of Yapuldak leaves no doubt that they belong to the same period.

This method of constructing a grave was very common in Phrygia at an early period, and I have seen numerous examples of it in other parts of Asia Minor. There are many tombs of the same kind, except that they have no sculpture on the outside, beside the Lion-Tombs; and the sepulchral chambers of the latter must have been made in this way. It is rarer around the Midas city, and we may conclude that it is the older Phrygian style. After the grave was finished, and the scaffolding removed, the chamber was inaccessible except by a ladder, or by a rope hung from the top of the rock. This at first was

<sup>1</sup> These points are of course of no practical importance, as they do not affect the ornamentation. I merely mention them for the sake of completeness.

<sup>2</sup> See the map, which M. Perrot has given fig. 47. The monument which is here given as fig. 18 is near the one which is there numbered 3.



apparently deemed sufficient protection, but afterwards the custom of concealing the sepulchre behind or near the sculptured front came into vogue.

The sculpture shown in Fig. 18 is very much worn, and was originally in very low relief. A channel has been formed by the rain from above through

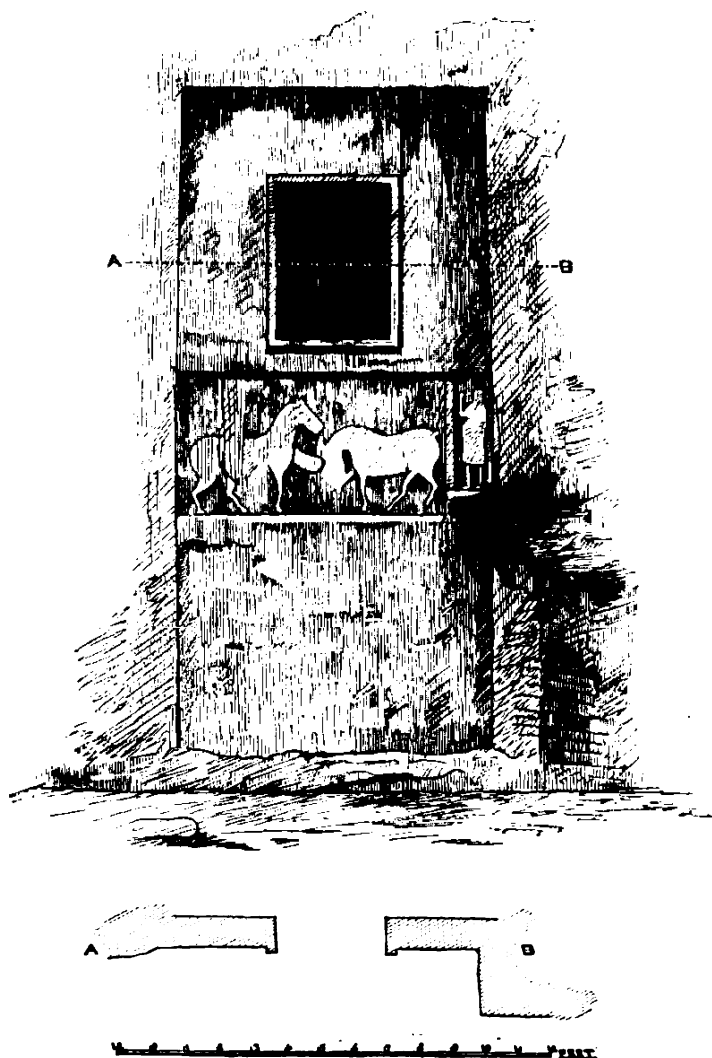


FIG. 18.

the middle of the horse on the left, and the surface is overgrown with a hard species of moss, so that the outline is hardly distinguishable. After repeated examination I made the accompanying drawing,<sup>3</sup> which represents as well as

<sup>3</sup> Redrawn as usual, without the slightest alteration in character, by Mr. McCann.

I can the subject. The subject seems to be a fight between two horses. Between their heads are unintelligible traces, which now seem like mere raised lines. At first I took the animal on the right for a bull and understood the raised lines to be his horns; but the position of the lines is not suitable, and I came to the final conclusion that both animals are horses. In a small panel to the right there is carved a human figure, represented with the same shapeless features, the same curve of the back, and the same dress and attitude, as several of the figures of the dromos, about whose antiquity M. Perrot is sceptical, and to which I shall allude again in a subsequent paragraph.

On the plan of the Midas-city (Fig 11) there is marked at the extreme eastern point a 'Relief M' <sup>1</sup> The very rude figures on the outside of this monument (Fig. 19) should be compared with the similar figures on the ram, drawn by Mr. Blunt, Pl. XX. They show helpless incapacity to render either

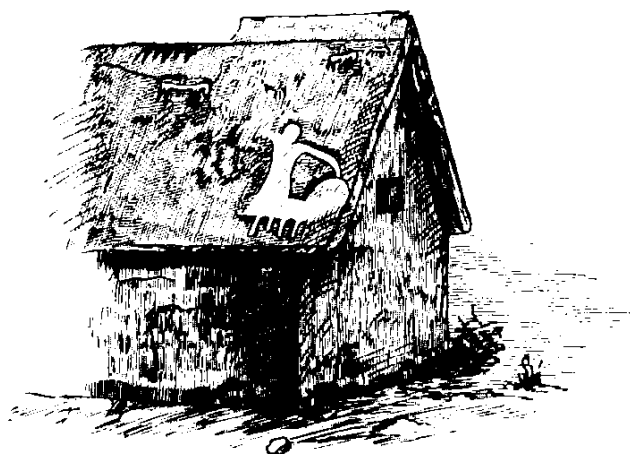


FIG. 19.

human or animal form. The tomb on the outside of which they are engraved is of the same general type, as that at Bakshish (Perrot, Figs. 61—3), about which I intend to speak at greater length elsewhere when I have the opportunity of publishing a better representation. It projects from the rocky plateau, being cut so that it is engaged at the back but free on all other sides. The monument is more lofty and narrow than Fig. 19 would suggest. The photographs of it failed.

Another point on which I regret to differ in opinion from M. Perrot is in regard to the age of the sculptures along the dromos at Gate D. In the plan of the Midas-city, Fig. 11, a long dromos is shown approaching this gate. The dromos is flanked on each side by fortifications,<sup>2</sup> and its character shows

<sup>1</sup> The words 'Tomb with relief of hunt' refer to the same monument, and I wished them to be erased from the proof of the map.

<sup>2</sup> In the large drawing from which Fig. 11 is reduced, the various remains of fortification were shown in different colours. One who

decided analogy to the dromos which leads up to the Lion-Gate at Mycenae. The plan of the entrance is given on a larger scale in Fig. 12.<sup>1</sup>

Two approaches probably led to this dromos up the steep slope beneath the rocky plateau. One of these approaches is nearly in the line of the dromos, keeping close below the city wall for some considerable distance. The other winds up to join the first at the lower end of the dromos. The sculptures in dispute are carved along the rock beneath the city wall flanking the dromos on the right hand as one approaches the gate: they are at the points marked D, C, B, A, on the large plan (Fig. 12). They are described in my *Studies in Asia Minor*, pp. 6 to 8. The sketches there published were drawn in 1881 by Mrs. Ramsay, who had not intended them for publication and made no measurements, but they give the general character of the figures quite correctly. These figures I consider to be really ancient, while M. Perrot considers them to be late. But as it has been necessary to defer the publication of the illustrations to support my view, I shall here say only that I adhere to my view as to the date of the sculptures.<sup>2</sup>

Within the city there remain several altars more or less dilapidated: their shape can be gathered better from the drawings, Figs. 20 to 24, than from any description. Each of these altars seems to have been intended for the worship of an object, which is perhaps a holy stone (*βαίτυλος*). In two cases these holy stones remain (Figs. 20, 23): in the others they have been broken away, leaving clear traces in the rock. In the illustrations the holy stones are restored on the analogy of the two preserved stones. The general form of the altars is always the same: a flight of steps leads up to the *βαίτυλος*, allowing priests or worshippers to ascend and pour oil or other gifts on the sacred emblem. In one case (Fig. 23) the *βαίτυλος* has on it slight sculptural ornament, doubtless of an apotropaic character. Where the *βαίτυλοι* are broken, the destruction was perhaps intentional, and it is not improbable that there were symbols on them which led to their destruction as emblems of devil-worship by the Christians.

Beside one of these altars there is a curious little relief representing Cybele facing, seated, holding a patera in each hand. The altar and relief are published in the *Journal*, 1882, p. 42, Fig. 9. They stand close to the line of the city wall, near the monument shown above Fig. 19: but they are inside the wall, while Fig. 19 is outside. The small steps in the front of the illustration are badly done, they really are marks of the beds in which the stones of the parapet were laid.<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable that the altar should

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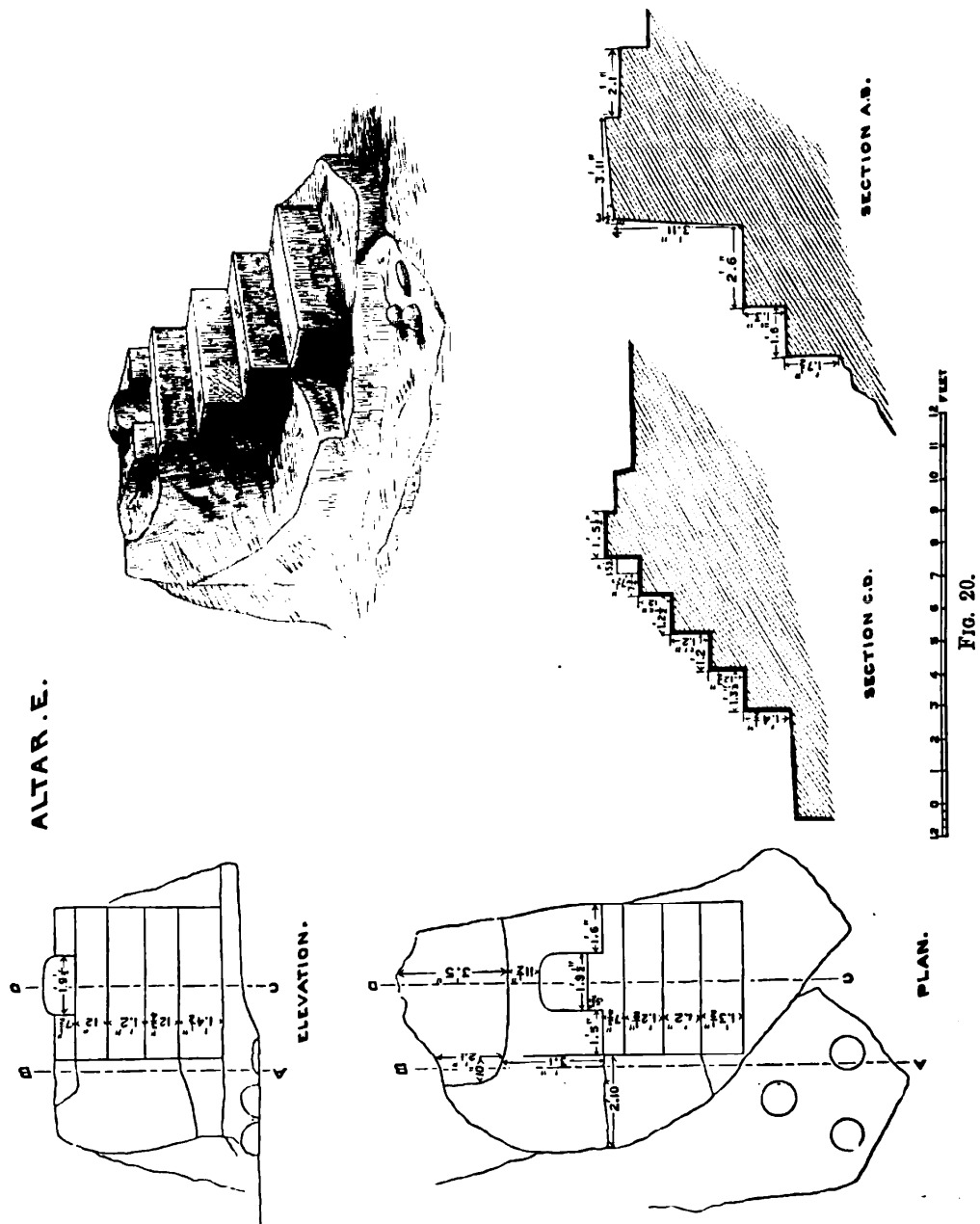
wishes to understand the arrangement of the fortifications must colour the remains in Fig. 11 in order to see them readily. The plan has been so much reduced in scale that it has lost all clearness.

<sup>1</sup> The word OUTWORK is by mistake printed a little too high in Fig. 12. It is placed almost outside of the probable line of fortification and on the dromos.

<sup>2</sup> The illustrations have now appeared in the

*Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 170ff. My reasons for holding these reliefs to be ancient, are (1) they are in all probability made along with the dromos, (2) the curve of the back, which seems of late style to M. Perrot, appears in figures which are unmistakably ancient (see above, Fig. 18, and *Mittheil.*, Fig. 4).

<sup>3</sup> A step too many is represented in front of the altar in the illustration. The drawing from which it was taken was done by Mrs. Ramsay



be so close to the wall. It is indicated on the plan, Fig. 12, close to the more southerly of the two 'probable gates' at the eastern extremity of the city.

The altar shown in Fig. 20 lies S.W. from the preceding, and is marked on the plan (Fig. 11) as altar E. It is still quite complete, and the details given in Fig. 20 show its nature much better than any mere verbal description would do. It also is close to the wall of the city. In front of this altar, on the left side, are three circular prominences of rock, which were left when the rest of the altar and surroundings was cut out of the rock. They are now so broken that their original height and shape are uncertain.

Altar D stands close to the chief gate (the only entrance practicable for vehicles) of the city, at the inner end of the dromos. Its position on the right as one entered was no doubt intended to give a favourable omen, and it is like the preceding two altars, closely connected with the city wall. When the dromos was cut out of the rock, the altar was left projecting from the scarp of the rock-wall. It cannot therefore have been made as an after-thought; it is part of the original plan of this entrance to the city. All the details of this altar and the reliefs which accompany it are given in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 170 ff., taf. vi. and figs. 4, 5. In front of the altar on the left are three circular holes, apparently intended to hold three cylinders which should project and give a grip for some purpose. They may be compared to the three circular prominences in a similar position beside altar E, Fig. 20. This altar faces nearly due S.E. (138°).

To explain the position of the next altar, it is necessary to describe the approaches to the gate beside D.

In Fig. 12 the traces that remain of the fortified outwork flanking the dromos on the right as one descends are indicated. It must be remembered in studying this plan that the road, which at the gate is on the level of the plateau, slopes downwards. As one descends from the gate along the road, the rock-wall overhanging one's left hand becomes higher, while the fortified outwork on the right must have been almost wholly built artificially. About fifty yards from the gate the dromos forks: one branch turns sharply to the right, and the other goes straight on. Advancing along the winding road we have still on our right hand the outwork, which rises above us higher as we descend. At one point there are distinct remains of steps leading up into the outwork; these steps are probably beds intended to receive the stones of the outwork. This extremity of the outwork was of irregular form, a trapezoid approximating to a triangle. Not far from the steps there is an inscription engraved on a perpendicular face of rock, which formed part of the outer wall of the outwork.<sup>1</sup> Above the inscription are traces of the beds for holding the squared stones of the fortified wall.

in 1881, merely to assist her memory without any thought of publication. The task of preparing drawings for publication belonged to Mr. Blunt, who however had in truth not time enough to do himself justice.

<sup>1</sup> This inscription differs only in one word and two letters from the one on the right side of the Midas-Tomb. I advance a suggestion about its interpretation at the end of this paper.

A few yards from this inscription there is a deep narrow path cut through the rock and leading upwards to the dromos above. The original arrangement is very distinct at this point. This narrow path was a concealed entrance,

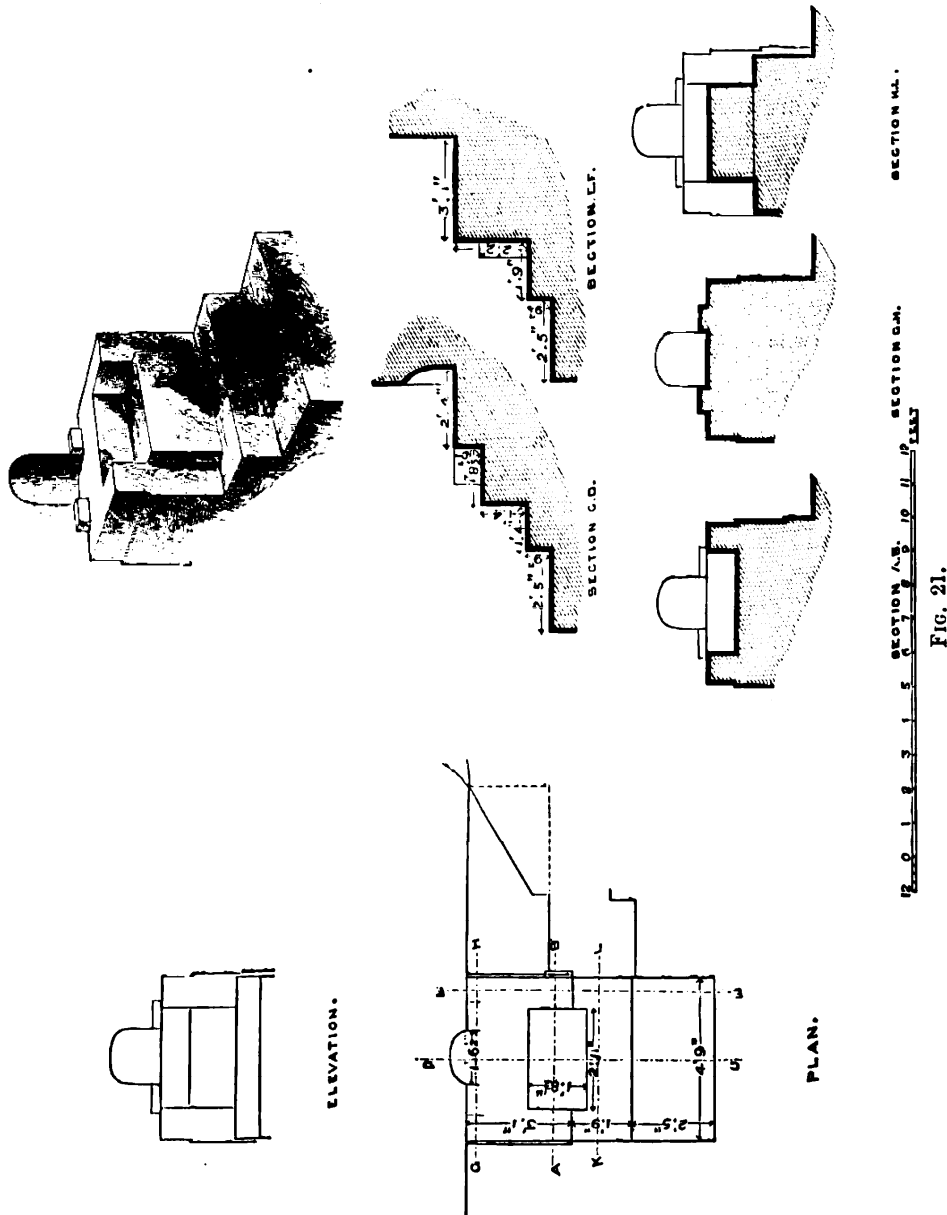


FIG. 21.

with a small gate at its lower end; and a good deal of cutting and building with squared stones was needed to make it. The perpendicular rock walls, artificially cut, rise eight to ten feet on each side of the narrow path at its lower end.

On the other side of the postern gate the wall of the outwork, a vertical face of rock ten to twelve feet in height, continues towards the south-west. Projecting from this rock is an altar of peculiar shape, represented in the accompanying Fig. 21.<sup>1</sup> On account of its shape, M. Perrot, p. 149, remarks on the resemblance to a Christian altar, but the pagan origin is made practically certain by the situation and by the inscription, now mutilated, on the rock over it. The connection of the inscription with the altar seems sure. Only the lower parts of a few letters remain at the beginning of the inscription. I have published them in the *Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia*, part iii., no. 4, and give here the transcript in Roman character: *abasimanakio*. The inscriptions always mark the separation of words; and as no punctuation occurs here, we must have one single long incomplete word. The inscription, which runs from left to right, continued for an unknown extent, but probably not far beyond the outer line of the altar-steps.

M. Perrot's idea that the altar might be Christian is probably partly true: I mean that the altar was perhaps adapted from a pagan to a Christian purpose. There may have been some pagan symbol, which was eliminated by making the little niche at the top—*une niche qui a pu recevoir une lampe ou une statuette: on dirait l'autel d'une chapelle chrétien*. All the other altars show some symbol or object that could be adored and anointed.

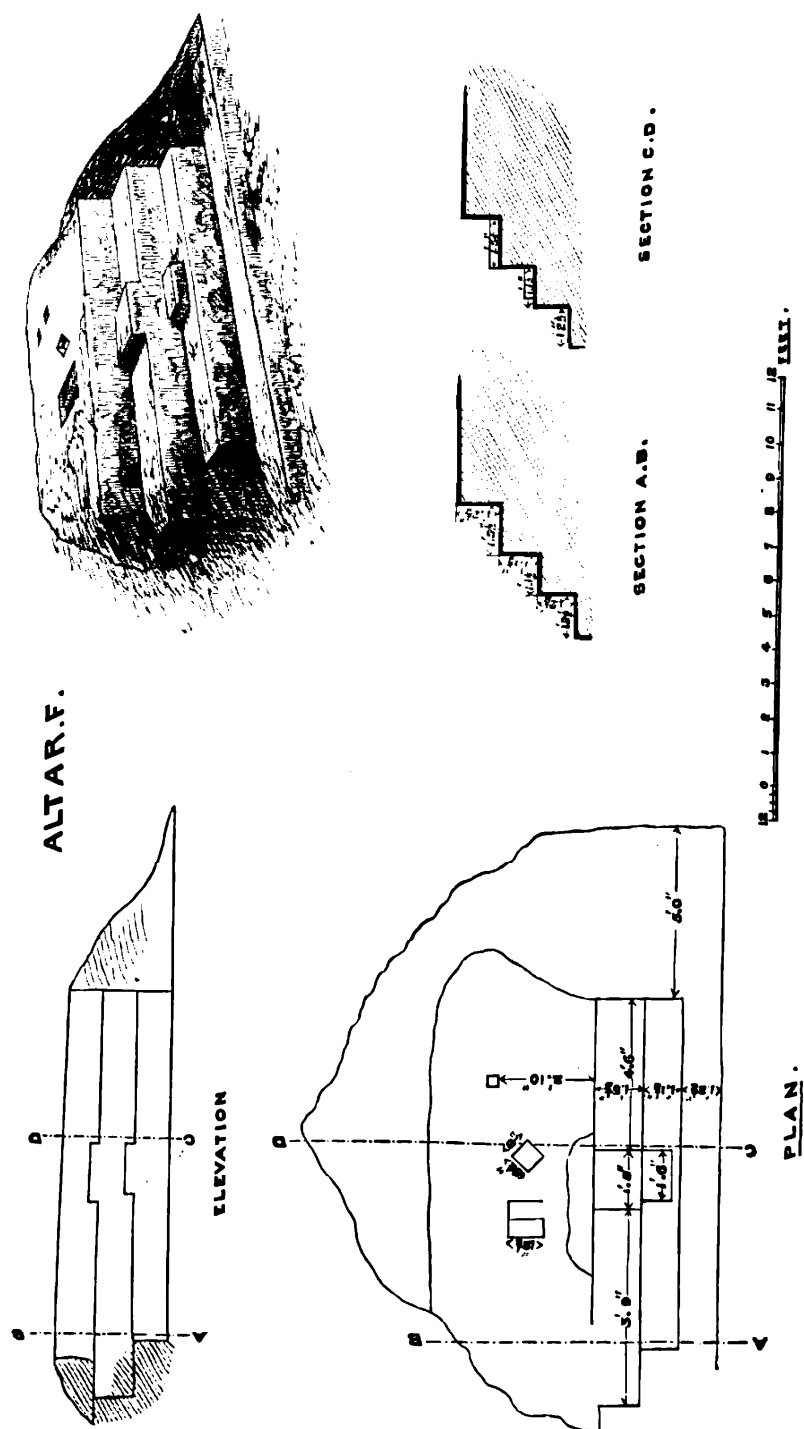
The altars hitherto described are all placed in close and obviously intentional connection with the wall of the city; they are probably intended to ward off evil fate from the defences. Several other representations, also, of apotropaic character, occur round the walls.<sup>2</sup> Of the other altars, F (Fig. 22), B (Fig. 24), and C (which is so much broken that its original form is doubtful), are in close connection with a large mansion or palace, if I may dignify with such a name the scanty traces described in the first part of this paper, p. 377. These altars probably had a similar apotropaic character. The remaining altar, A, Fig. 23, stands in a perfectly clear open space; in this *Journal*, 1882, p. 14, I have stated the opinion that it is an apotropaion, and see no reason to change. The drawings will it is hoped give a sufficiently accurate idea of these quaint monuments. Altars A and F face 111°, D 138°. On the upper surface of F there are two rectangular holes, which seem to have been cut to receive the feet of some sacred object (or statue).

The inscription on altar A is the most difficult of all the Phrygian inscriptions to read. By some accident the text is given in Fig. 23 with a slight fault: it should read 'mogro : fanak.' The inscription was apparently not continued on the broken right side of the altar, for, if it had been, there must have been traces on the part which remains. The letters are much

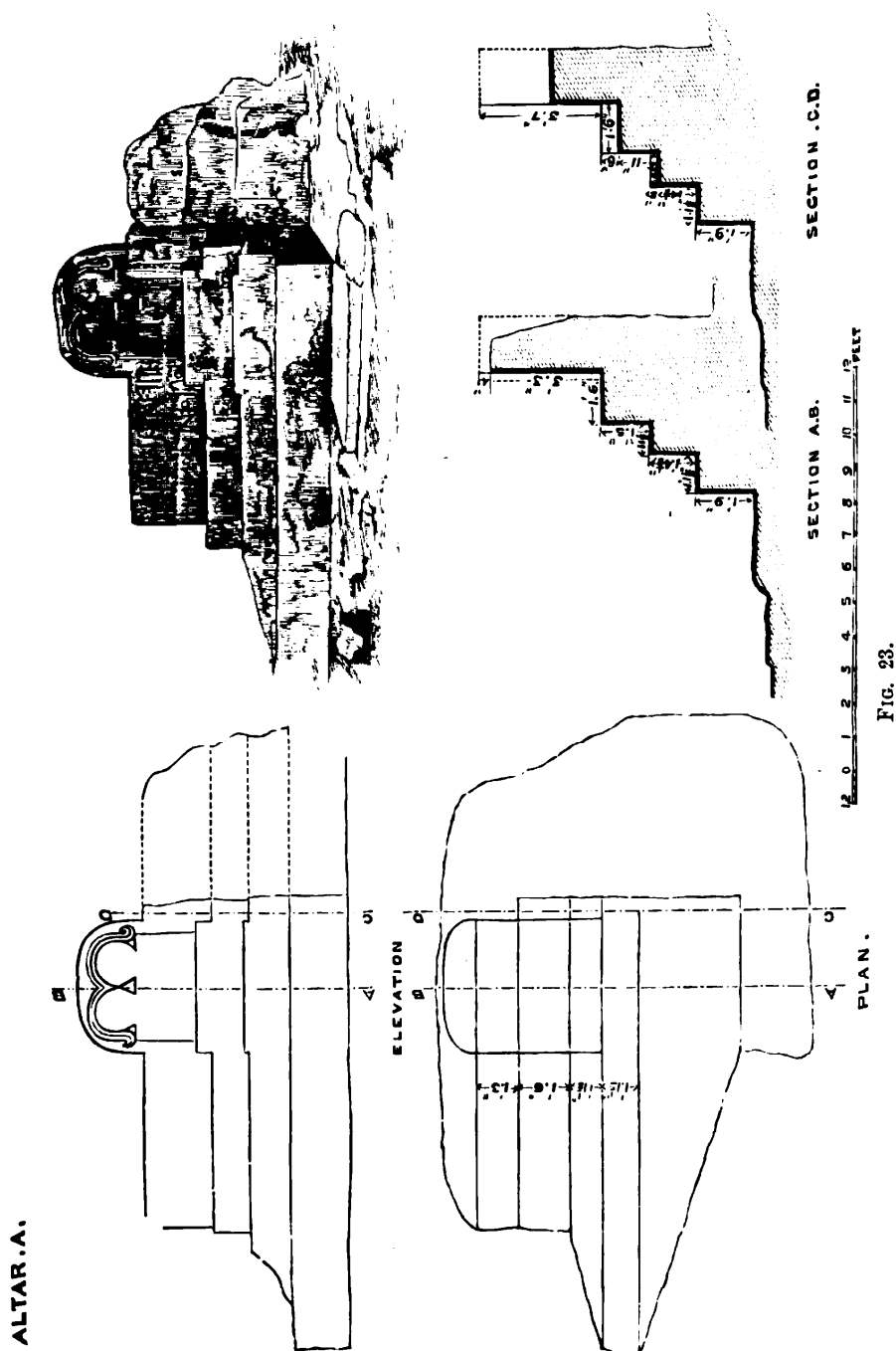
<sup>1</sup> I may here once for all acknowledge the skill with which Mr. McCann has from my measurements reproduced the form of these altars in perspective. To make drawings of objects which he had never seen was a very difficult task, and has been performed very skilfully.

<sup>2</sup> If my theory that the Midas monument is

a grave is untrue, I see no other possibility except to ascribe a similar character to it, to Perrot's Fig. 59, and to the monument given in my *Historical Relations*, Plate III., Fig. 10. These are all carved under the city walls. As I have stated above, M. Perrot's theory that they are commemorative cenotaphs suits none of the facts.







worn, and I cannot therefore guarantee the absolute accuracy of my copy, in several letters of which I have been forced to alter my first opinion.<sup>1</sup> The accusative 'akinanolafan' is an important form in comparison with the genitive 'akenanolafos.' I regard 'fanak' as accusative for 'fanaktan,' like 'bonok' on the tomb of Arezastis.

Altar B, Fig. 24, which is much broken, is given in plan to show the single circular prominence of rock, similar to the three shown in Fig. 20.

A tomb with a façade of the Doric order, which is near Fig. 18, has been mentioned above. M. Perrot gives a representation of it as Fig. 91, after Texier. I recognised in 1881 that this monument furnished a good test for the date of the late Phrygian tombs, and had the hope that a careful and accurate representation of the details might enable students of Greek architecture to determine the age to which it belonged. That it is influenced by Greek architecture is of course obvious to every one; but we should be glad to have some certainty whether it belongs to the fourth century before

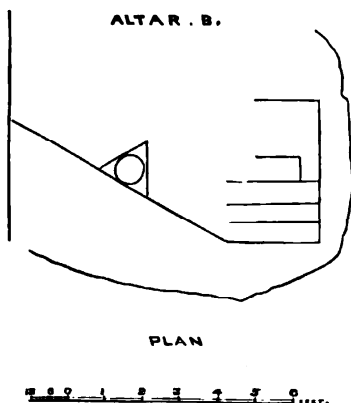


FIG. 24.

or the third century after our era. Mr. Blunt made notes and copies of Texier's drawing before we started from Smyrna in October, 1881, in order to compare them with the original monument. His opinion after making the comparison was that Texier's drawing was so inaccurate that new illustrations were necessary, but he has not given over to the Society any drawing of his own. Probably he found that his own notes made on the spot were not complete enough; and when we consider the circumstances in which he was placed, I cannot wonder if he omitted some necessary details. It was late in the afternoon of a bitterly cold November day when we came to the monument. I was nearly frozen while waiting for more than an hour with him to help in his measurements, and his sketches and notes of the points in which he considered Texier unsatisfactory were therefore made under great difficulties.

<sup>1</sup> Stewart's copy is barely recognisable as the same inscription, though in general his copies of the Phrygian inscriptions are better than those of Texier, Mordtmann, or even Leake.

We had afterwards to ride two hours in the darkness over a rough forest track back to camp, and the following morning we left the district, so that another visit to the monument was out of our power. Anxious as I was to get a trustworthy representation of this monument, I can only regret that circumstances frustrated our intentions.

M. Perrot considers that, according to Texier's drawing, the Doric-Tomb is of the 'Roman Doric' (p. 138). I should be glad if it could be placed about 300 B.C., but I have no right to offer an opinion about a question of architecture. My recollection, however, is that the monument has a more massive character than Texier represents, and that the slenderness of the proportions, which betrays to M. Perrot's taste the late, so-called 'Roman,' Doric, is partly due to Texier's brilliant imagination.

The reasons given below in connection with Figs. 28—33 make me prefer M. Perrot's first alternative '*pas antérieur au temps des Séleucides*,' and make me averse to dating any Phrygian monument between B.C. 260 and A.D. 200.

Another tomb, which so far as can be judged from the ruins, was similar in style and very nearly of the same dimensions as the preceding, is carved in an isolated mass of rocks close to the Tomb of Midas on the north side. Of this tomb, only the front of the sepulchral chamber and part of the ceiling of the portico now remain; the rest has fallen, and of the ruins the soft stone has crumbled and disappeared. But so recently as the year 1800, this monument was almost perfect, and Leake describes it as follows. 'Close by [the Tomb of Midas] is a very large sepulchral chamber with a portico, of two columns . . . The columns have a plain plinth at the top, and are surmounted by a row of dentils along the architrave. They are of a tapering form, which together with the general proportions of the work, give it an appearance of the Doric order, although, in fact, it contains none of the distinctive attributes of that order. It is an exact resemblance of the ordinary cottages of the peasants, having a portico supported by two posts made broader at either end. The sepulchral chambers differ only in having their parts more accurately finished: the dentils correspond to the ends of the beams supporting the flat roof of the cottage' (pp. 34—5). The details which remain convince me that this tomb is not far removed in date from the period of the Doric Tomb; but as the columns are not Doric, it shows an earlier stage of Phrygian art, and Leake's opinion is probably correct that the elements of the architecture are all of native non-Greek origin. When Doric columns were substituted for the plain native supports of the portico, the general proportions of the native portico were retained, so that even if Texier's slender proportions are accurate, M. Perrot's inference that the monument was imitated from 'Roman Doric' would not be necessary.

About five miles west of the Midas-Tomb (Yazili Kaya) is the large village of Kumbet, planted on a rocky hill in the middle of a level plain. The hill is of an elongated shape, and rises highest at the northern end, where the rocks either are scarped or fall naturally in precipices to the plain. A good view of Kumbet is given by M. Perrot, Fig. 45. There are traces which

make it probable that the whole hill was once fortified in the same way as the Midas-city, viz. by scarped precipitous faces of rock, supplemented by artificial walls; but the modern houses make it impossible to follow out these scanty traces completely. The only interesting remains now visible on the rock are at the northern end. The rocks here have been cut so as to form a mansion or palace of considerable size, the ground plan and some details of which are shown in Fig. 25. The lower part of the walls was hewn out of the native rock, and the upper part was built of squared stones which fitted into beds cut in the rock. In some places the rock walls remain eight to ten feet in height, while in other places the building began close to the ground.

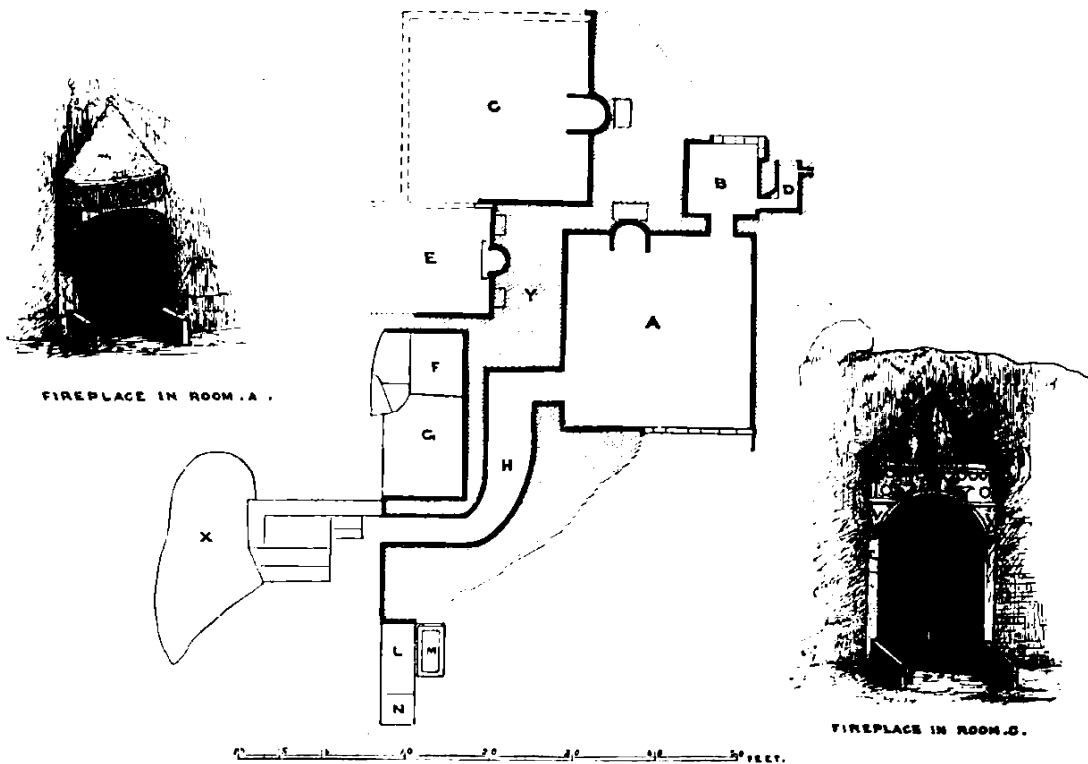


FIG. 25.

One enters by a flight of low broad steps cut in the rock into a space, the disposition of which is obscure, but which apparently contained several parts. On the right F, G, are above the level of this entrance or vestibule. Through this space we reach a chamber, E, which has apparently been turned into a chapel in Christian times: the eastern end has the appearance of a Greek church. Beyond this is a large chamber, C, with a fire-place and wide chimney in the eastern wall. The rock rises so high here that in M. Perrot's Fig. 45 it stands forth like an altar. The floor of these two chambers is covered several feet deep with earth. We employed several workmen in

1887 for a day to run trenches across them and show the ground plan. In this way we recovered the exact form of the fire-places shown in Fig. 25. The northern limit of the chamber, C, is given both by the end of the rock and by the recess cut in the east wall of rock to receive the stones of the north wall. The east wall and half of the south wall were of rock for part of their height, but the other walls must have been built from the floor upwards. We did not succeed in running a trench far enough to discover the line of the west wall, but I have indicated it conjecturally on the plan. The ornamentation over the fire-place is so commonplace and vulgar that I cannot accept it as ancient. Now the natives say that the house was inhabited until this century by a native Agha, and a few traces of walls built in miserable Turkish style remain to confirm their evidence. This ornament may be attributed to the modern inhabitants, but the fire-place must be ancient, both because the lower part projects into the chamber, and because the great cutting of the chimney cannot be attributed to Turkish hands.<sup>1</sup>

Going back to the entrance we observe that the lower steps do not extend so far to the east as the upper step, and two small steps lead down towards a narrow passage cut in the rock. The passage, H, winds along, growing rather wider as we advance, between walls of rock about eight feet high, till we emerge into a large, nearly square chamber, A, with a fire-place in the north wall. Part of the south wall must have been built from the floor, the rest of the walls was cut out of the rock. In the north wall of the chamber there is a doorway, which admits into a small inner chamber, B, part of the north wall of which was built from the floor upwards. A narrow door in the east wall admits into a third still smaller chamber, D. A hurried excavation which I made in this chamber showed a small runlet cut through the wall of rock, and in the only place where we reached the floor we found an apparent paving of a different kind of stone. I therefore considered this to be a bath-room with a runlet to carry off the water. The reader will remember that the outer limit marked on the plan, Fig. 25, towards east and north is the edge of a precipice about 100 feet high.

It is clear that in this Phrygian mansion the public apartments are separate from the Gynaikonitis. We enter the harem through the winding passage, and reach first the large women's sitting-room, then the little bed-room, and finally the bath-room.<sup>2</sup> The arrangements, while showing that seclusion of women was practised, also suggest by their small scale that monogamy was the Phrygian custom.

The fire-place in A must be wholly ancient, for the upper part projects in a semicircular form from the wall of the chamber. It may however have been tampered with in recent times, and especially the roughly cut holes

<sup>1</sup> Fire-places of the very same type are in use at the present day.

<sup>2</sup> M. Perrot, on p. 77, attributes to me an opinion, which I never for a moment held, that these rooms were bed-room, dressing-room, and bath-room. A sitting-room is a necessary part

of a harem, and a large chamber with a fire-place can never have been used for a bed-room. He also, on p. 76, makes the larger northern room of the *ἀνδρωνίτις* a Christian chapel; it is the smaller middle chamber that has been used for that purpose.

which form a zone of ornament in the upper part, seem to be modern. On the other hand the upper part of the fire-place in C is indicated by incised lines or low relief on the rock-wall; and great part of the ornament may be, and probably is, modern.

On the outside of this house, as we approach the stairs, there is a high rock on the right hand, containing a grave, M, and a lower bench, L, in front of it. The grave is deep, and was originally covered by a lid, the marks of which remain.

A few yards south of the house is an important monument which has been carefully studied and illustrated by M. Perrot, first in his *Exploration Archéologique*, and afterwards in his *Histoire de l'Art*, v. pp. 128 ff. Prof. G. Hirschfeld<sup>1</sup> has rightly denounced a tendency which I think both M. Perrot and myself had indulged over much, viz. to attribute to Greek influence everything in these later monuments that had a resemblance to Greek architecture. The whole question is one of degree. It is certain that there is clear evidence of Greek influence in Phrygia, but it is equally certain that the Phrygian art developed independently of Greek and mainly under influence from the East. Even in the earliest period the alphabet is Greek; I do not think there is any need to give reasons to prove the so evident fact that Phrygia borrowed the Greek alphabet, and not Greece the Phrygian. Before the Cimmerian invasion, there is probably no trace of Greek influence on Phrygian art; any analogies are rather to be explained by Phrygian influence on Greece. In the time of the Phrygian vassal-chiefs first under Lydian, then under Persian rule, the question becomes more difficult. How early did Greek influence penetrate into Phrygia? Had it no power in Phrygia until Alexander established Greek rule there, or had the subtly expansive civilisation of Greece diffused itself even earlier and established in the way of trade a certain inclination towards Greek deliverers from Persian rule, which perhaps facilitated the conquest of Alexander? An answer cannot be given until, as I suggested to the Society in the summer of 1881, a draughtsman with good architectural training is sent out to make a proper study of the later monuments. Such an expedition would cost far more than my humble journeys do, but unless an expedition is properly equipped, it cannot make the accurate observations which are necessary to settle this question.<sup>2</sup> The preceding paragraphs referring to the Doric Tomb and to Leake's Tomb show what close analogy there may be between two tombs, one of which is unmistakably under Greek influence in respect of the columns, while the other is probably absolutely non-Greek. Again in respect of this tomb at Kumbet and another at Yapuldak (see Figs. 28—33), the analogy

<sup>1</sup> 'Paphlagonische Felsengräber' in *Berl. Akad. Abhandl.*, 1885. I am glad to agree with almost everything that Hirschfeld says about the relations between Greek and Phrygian art, though I have been forced to dissent from some of his opinions on Syro-Cappadocian art (see *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 171 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> The journey of 1884, in which Mr. A. H. Smith co-operated with me till his health failed, was the only one in which I have had anything like proper equipment for accurate work; but the Asia Minor Exploration Fund could not stand another expedition on such a scale.

between them, already noticed by M. Perrot (p. 135), is in one respect even closer than he observes. The gorgoneion which appears on the outside of the Kumbet Tomb, is the chief ornament, repeated in fantastic varieties, within the Yapuldak Tomb.<sup>1</sup> At the first glance I felt clear that the Yapuldak Tomb must be Roman, yet I have since then been constrained to abandon this opinion and to place it as one of the latest monuments before the Gaulish invasion. M. Perrot places these two monuments unhesitatingly as contemporaneous, but he does not take any notice of the interior of the Yapuldak Tomb.<sup>2</sup> It is the interior which produces such an impression of Roman work, but technical considerations leave no doubt that the interior is of the same age as the exterior. The difficulty then is this: the Kumbet tomb is clearly pre-Greek, the Yapuldak exterior has a striking resemblance to it in character and proportions and details, and has little or nothing of the Greek type about it, but the Yapuldak interior with its peculiar type of gorgoneion, which seems late and even Roman, belongs to the same design as the exterior. My own impression is that Persian art has exercised much more influence in Phrygia than Greek art during the fifth century, that the type of tomb which is now under discussion shows Phrygian work under Persian influence, and that the gorgoneion and the Doric column are the first signs of Greek influence.

The plan of the Acropolis at Yapuldak which I give depends on insufficient measurements. I began to make the plan when pressed for time and after two hours' work went off with the intention of returning the next day. Circumstances changed my intention, and on this account I am reduced to give a plan, Fig. 26, of which I can guarantee only that it gives a general idea of the character of the Acropolis. I know that further examination would give the lines of the surrounding wall more fully.

The hill on which the Acropolis is placed is rocky and precipitous on the east side and is approached by a gentle grassy slope on the west side. A number of rocks of elongated plan project above the general level of the acropolis and are utilised in the lines of fortification. F is a mass of rock which on its western side rises about twenty feet above the level of the Acropolis, and 100 above the level of the plain on the eastern side. It has been scarped to some extent on every side, and has been cut to receive a wall which probably ran entirely round it and which rested in part against the rock.<sup>3</sup> In this rock is cut the monument published by Perrot, Fig. 75, after *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 256, and Plate XXVIII. 4.

South of F is another rock, along the outer face of which runs the line of fortification, while part of its inner face has been utilised along with F to form a dwelling-place. An exit from this dwelling passes through a sort of

<sup>1</sup> Stewart represents one gorgoneion clearly, and I felt no hesitation in identifying the ornament as a gorgoneion; but MM. Perrot and Guillaume were not so certain about it. But even M. Perrot admits that a number of smaller gorgoneia exist (Fig. 87).

<sup>2</sup> I showed to him the very same illustrations (drawn in Oxford in 1885), which have been reproduced as Figs. 29-33.

<sup>3</sup> A method of construction similar to that of the 'Wall of Romulus' on the Palatine.

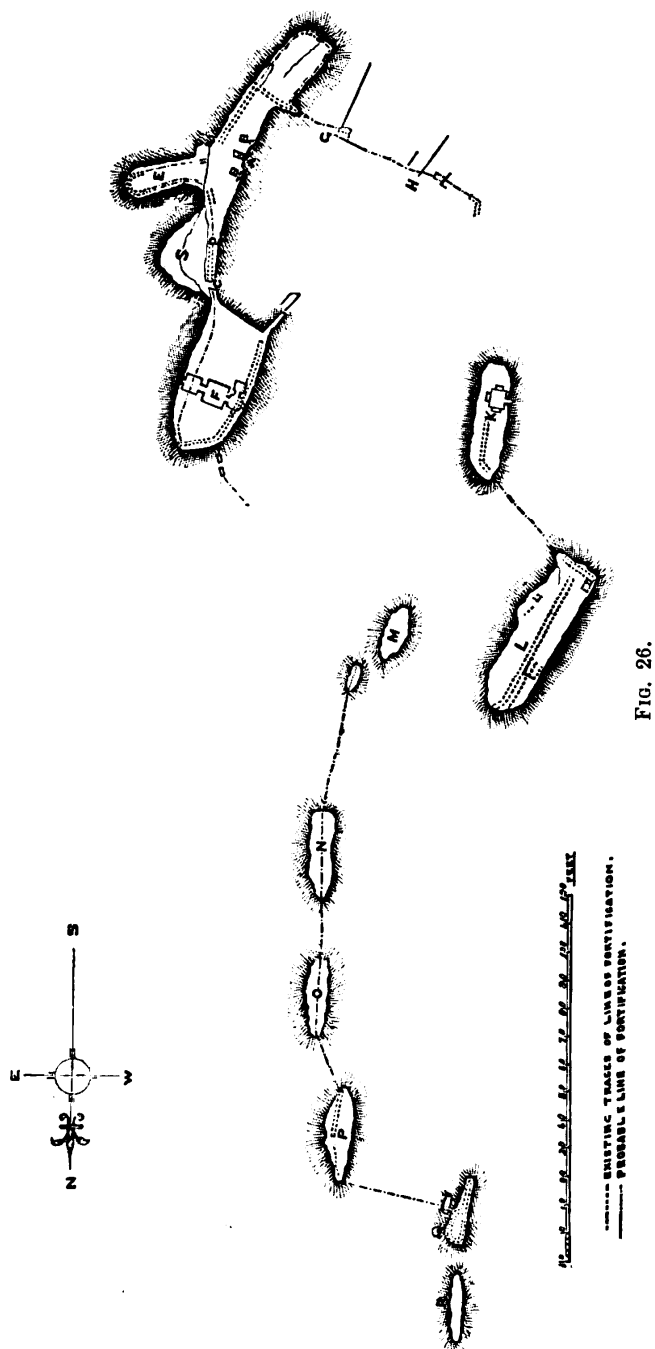


FIG. 26.



K is a rock scarped both inside and outside. Several tombs are cut in the outside: one is an *arcosolium*, another is shown in Figs. 28—33. On the



It may be noted that three fortresses of this district, Midas-city, Kumbet, Yapuldak, have a shape elongated from north to south, but this is due to the geological formation. Pishmish Kalesi is of a different shape.

examined the stair at Yapuldak more thoroughly if I had carried out my intention to return and map the Acropolis completely.

In Fig. 27 some additional details are given on the tomb in the rock F. Its close analogy to Fig. 18 has been already mentioned. The plan shows that it originally consisted of two chambers, which in all probability were entered only by the small door in the carved front which looks out on the precipitous eastern side of the rocky hill (Perrot, Fig. 75). In later time the tomb was violently broken into from the west, and two rude additional chambers were added, and the whole has been so treated as to become a rough Christian church. The two original chambers have a pointed roof of the usual Phrygian style: <sup>1</sup> the pediment of the west wall of the eastern chamber was supported by a slightly indicated column of the Ionic type (Fig. 27). The door between these two chambers has been enlarged in the rudest fashion when the church was formed; part of the pediment being cut away in the process. The pediment of the east wall is quite plain.

The exterior of this monument is shown according to Mr. Blunt's drawings, in the *Journal* 1882, Plate XXVIII. and after him by M. Perrot, Fig. 75. Mr. Blunt's drawing gives the general character quite well, and though it is

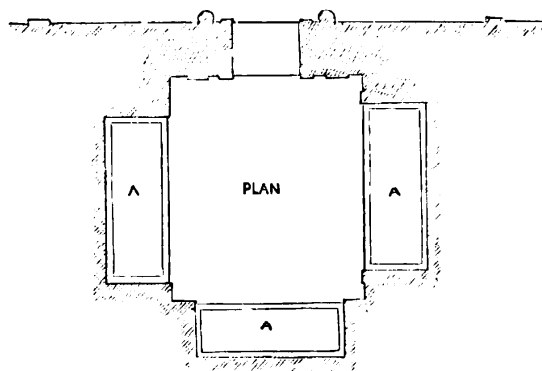


FIG. 28.

I think, incorrect in some details, yet the general fact that the mouldings consist entirely of plane surfaces without any curves is properly shown. This monument and Fig. 18 should probably be dated between the Lion-Tomb, Fig. 10, and the Broken-Tomb, Figs. 1—9.

The last monument which I have to describe is shown in Figs. 28 to 33, which are sufficiently detailed to relieve me from the necessity of making many remarks on its character. The tomb is a small chamber, with arcosolia,<sup>2</sup> A, in the two sides and the back, and ornament of an architectural type round the door both inside and out (Fig. 28).

M. Perrot has noticed the resemblance in proportions between the exterior of this tomb, Fig. 29, and the Kumbet Tomb (p. 135): 'même porte rectangulaire, mêmes proportions du fronton, mêmes modillons et mêmes denticules

<sup>1</sup> The roof of the later chambers is vaulted.      hundred in the Phrygian Necropoleis.

<sup>2</sup> Graves of the arcosolium type occur by the

dans la corniche qui en forment les rampants ; même preoccupation d'en orner le sommet et les deux autres angles au moyen de motifs qui, s'ils n'ont pas ici la même élégance, remplissent cependant la même fonction ; même bouclier au milieu du tympan.'

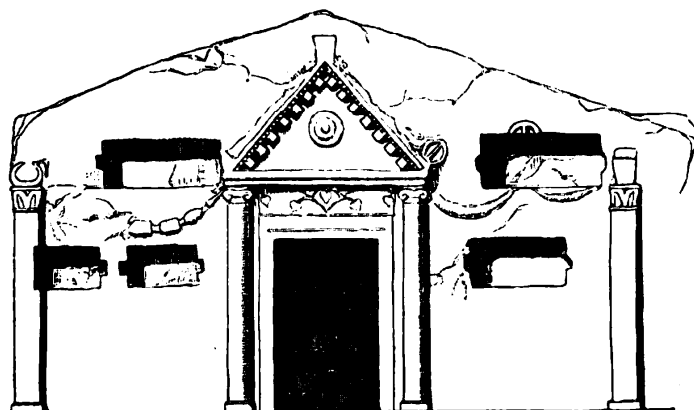


FIG. 29.

The floral pattern over the door is neatly executed in incised lines. The flanking columns are surmounted by objects, differing in shape ; that on the left is obscure, and that on the right is hopelessly defaced. A chain hangs between the two columns on the left, this chain represents a set of large beads

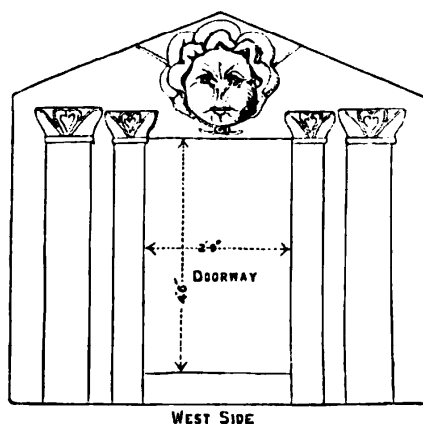
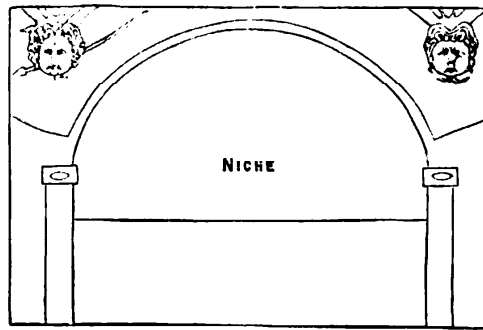


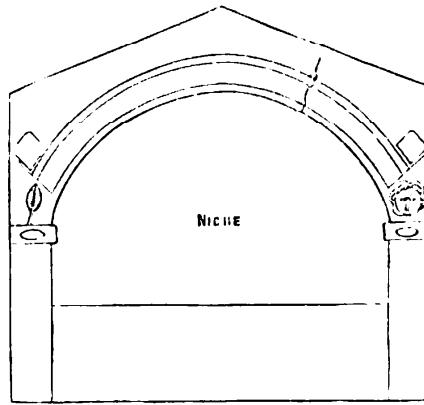
FIG. 30.

of different sizes and shapes strung on a thread, and connected with a ring projecting from the door-column by a metal hook that passes through the ring. The connection with the flanking column was probably the same, but is now decayed.



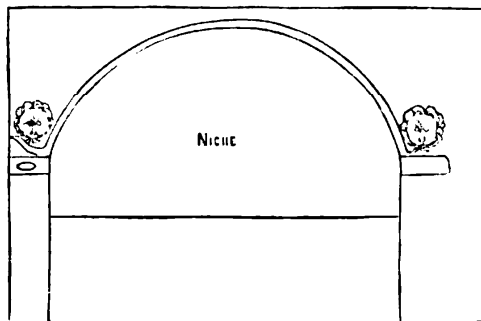
NORTH SIDE

FIG. 31.



EAST SIDE

FIG. 32.



SOUTH SIDE

FIG. 33.

Between the two columns on the right there hangs a chain of different shape, resembling two garlands looped up in the middle to an ornament which has been carefully defaced. The front of this tomb has been defaced by a number of rude rectangular holes cut in it in later time. The aspect of the interior, as I have already stated, suggests Roman work; but while I am not able at present to suggest any explanation of its peculiar character, I prefer to date the monument by the exterior sculpture. The wings of the gorgoneia are, according to M. Six, distinctly late, but a date in the first century before or after Christ seems to me to be excluded by historical conditions. Strabo describes in most emphatic terms the desolation of this region (p. 568), and as has been stated above, this desolation is to be attributed to the Galatian conquest. It is clear from Strabo that at the time of Christ the country was very sparsely inhabited, and all archaeological evidence shows that the first dawn of returning civilization in the district belongs to the third century after Christ. I refuse therefore to date any monument of the district between B.C. 260 and A.D. 200, and believe that the gorgoneia of Kumbet and Yapuldak are free Phrygian developments of a Greek type. The gorgoneion on the west interior wall is in very high relief; while those on the east and south are indicated by incised lines.<sup>1</sup>

Before concluding this paper I add a few notes on the Phrygian inscriptions and alphabet. These add some further analogies between Phrygian and Lucian, in addition to those which I have mentioned in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, 1888. I have also to suggest an interpretation of a word on the Midas monument, which if correct would put an end to all controversy about the character of that monument, and at the same time would establish a connection between the Phrygian of 700 B.C., and the inscriptions of the Roman period, which I have discussed in *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, 1887.

The inscription mentioned a few pages back as engraved on the wall of the outwork beside the stairs is written boustrophedon in three lines. I have published in my *Historical Relations*, No. 5, and give here the transcript in English characters:—

B[a]ba Memefais Proitafos	
kwi[z]anafezos akaralasun	
egaes	

The interest of this inscription lies especially in the fact that it is identical, except in the fifth word, with one of the inscriptions at the Tomb of Midas.<sup>2</sup> The same person, Baba Memefais, son of Proitas, was concerned with both

<sup>1</sup> The gorgoneion in fig. 30 is sculptured in flat relief, so that the features are almost on one plane, and the edges round the face are cut square down to the wall of the chamber. The gorgoneion is represented as looking down into the chamber, the upper part of the head projecting several inches further from the back-

ground than the lower part. This character distinguishes it from Greek work.

<sup>2</sup> Viz., Baba Memefais Proitafos kwizanafezos sikeneman egaes. The engraver of the other text has omitted two letters, a in Baba and z in kwizanafezos. The omission is probably accidental.

monuments. The last word, *egacs*, is unmistakably a verb, analogous to *edacs* at the end of another inscription. Its precise sense is uncertain, but if *edacs* is connected with the root *dha*<sup>1</sup> and means 'placed' or 'erected,' I have advanced the conjecture that *egacs* refers more especially to the operation of making or carving. In that case the two accusatives *sikeneman* and *akaralasun* would denote the two things that were made, *sikeneman* the Midas-Monument, and *akaralasun* the fortification, or the road, or the approach as a whole. If this be so, then in the interpretation of the word *sikeneman* lies the key to the character of the Midas-Monument, which is in dispute between M. Perrot and myself.

The interest attaching to the name and the monument of Midas may justify me in advancing an interpretation of the word *sikeneman*. It goes back to a form *skneman*, which appears in Phrygian in two dialectic varieties, *skneman* and *sknuman*. Similar dialectic varieties occur in later Phrygian in the forms *αιινυ* and *αιινουν*, Sibia and Soublaion, a fortress in southern Phrygia. The difficult combination of consonants at the beginning was avoided in two ways, either by weak vowel sounds developed between the initial consonants giving *sikneman*, or by dropping the initial letter, giving *knuman*. The dative of the latter word appears in all the Phrygian epitaphs of the Roman period, written in Greek characters, as *κνουμανει*. The interpretation which I have given of these late inscriptions leaves little doubt that *κνουμαν* means 'grave,' and this interpretation constitutes another reason in support of my view about the Midas-Tomb.

I may hazard another conjecture about *kwizanafezos*. The first part of this compound perhaps corresponds to the Lycian *kbedā* king, and *kbedan* kingly. The Lycian combination *kb* is a hardening of *kw*, just as according to my explanation is the case with Phrygian *afutos* and Lycian *äbättä*. Another Anatolian word meaning king has been traced by Lagarde and M. Schmidt; this word appears in Phrygian as *βαλήν* or *βαλλήν*, in Lydian (inferred) as *κοαλείν*, in Carian as *γέλαν*, and in Lycian as *παλήν* (according to M. Schmidt's accentuation and interpretation). Schmidt remarks that Lydian *κο* stands for *qu*. He arranges the glosses of Hesychius as *κοαλδδείν ἢ κοαλιεῖν* Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα, and *Κόαδοι βάρβαρον ἔθνος*: but perhaps the Lycian words (together with *καλοῖς*, *βασιλεύς*) have arisen from two Lydian forms corresponding to the double Lycian and Phrygian forms, one with *λ* and one with *δ*. I need not here do more than refer to Fick's discussion in his *Ehemalige Spracheinheit* and to Schmidt, *Neue Lykische Studien*, p. 130.


In my 'Early Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia' I advanced the conjecture that the Greek alphabet was communicated by the Milesian traders of Sinope to the inhabitants of Pteria and to the people of Phrygia. The connection of Phrygia and Cappadocia with the traders of Sinope is certain, and the communication of the alphabet in this way is paralleled by the history of the Italian and the Celtiberian alphabets. But


<sup>1</sup> Deecke (*Lyk. Studien* p. 318 in *Bezz. Beitr.* vol. xii) also makes *edacs* equivalent to *εθηκε*.

Fick has shown that the Phrygian glosses prove the aspirates to appear in Phrygian as sonants

an examination of the peculiar symbols in the Phrygian alphabet suggests a different line of communication as perhaps more probable.

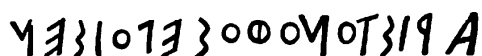
One of the peculiar letters occurs in a word which is used in two different inscriptions, and the letter in question is represented by a slightly varying symbol in each case.

(1) 











(2) 

Coming after *kappa*, this symbol can hardly denote anything except a sound like the English *w*, so that *kappa koppa* together are equivalent to *qu*.<sup>1</sup> ↑ would then be an abbreviated form of Φ, a simple variant of ϙ.

This use of ϙ in Phrygian is to be compared with the Pamphylian of Aspendos, in which ϕ appears where we expect digamma (φίκατι = twenty). The only similar example known to me is the inscription on the famous vase of Caere,



in which Bolte has already<sup>2</sup> showed that we must probably understand 'Ἀριστόνοφος as equivalent to 'Ἀριστόνοφος. The explanation of these facts is to be sought in the trading connection of some Greek city alike with Aspendos, with Caere, and with Phrygia.

Another fact is to be compared with these. At Sillyon, a neighbouring city to Aspendos, we find the symbol  used in the sense of the English *w*. In the alphabet of the famous Galassi vase, which was found at Caere, the same symbol  appears in the place where *koppa* is to be expected, between *pi* and *rho*. Kirchhoff's treatment of the Galassi alphabet is singularly unsatisfactory. The symbols which do not square with his theory are explained as being symbols retained in the alphabet, but not actually used: they are  and . In the preceding paragraph we have seen one remarkable analogy between Pamphylia and a Greek vase found at Caere. Now precisely the two strange symbols of the Galassi alphabet are the two most characteristic symbols of the alphabet of Sillyon,  (which Kirchhoff expressly recognises as a modification of ) and . The conclusion is clear: we must recognise the Galassi alphabet as being that of a Greek city closely connected by trade alike with Caere and with Pamphylia. That city used the symbol  in its alphabet with the sense of English *w*, and the symbol  or  in its alphabet

<sup>1</sup> I have now unconsciously adopted an interpretation of ϙ which was advanced some years ago by Professor Sayce.

<sup>2</sup> De monumentis ad Odysseam pertinentibus, p. 5. Dümmler's explanation, 'Ἀρίστων δ Κώ[ι]ο[ι]ς

(see *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.*, 1888, p. 17), seems to me inadmissible. Anything can be made out of an inscription if we may insert letters *ad lib.*

with the sense of *x*. The city which fulfils these conditions is in all probability either Cyme Aiolis or Phocaea, and most probably the former.

The connection of Cyme Aiolis with Pamphylia has been already indicated by Bergk, who traces two Cymaeon colonies on the Pamphylian coast.<sup>1</sup> One of these, Side, is vouched for by Strabo, p. 667; the other is not so well attested, but Bergk's authority shows that I am not straining facts to suit my views. The connection of Cyme with Italy is vouched for by the name, and by the probability of its close relations with the neighbouring Phocaea, the leading city in the Italian trade. Cymaeon vases could go to Caere in Phocaeon ships, even if a direct trade from Cyme to Etruria is not proved. In the third place the one Greek city which is actually recorded to have been in relation with the ancient Phrygian kingdom is Cyme Aiolis.

It is true that Sillyon and one of the Caerite vases use the symbol **W** for *w*, while Aspendos, Phrygia and the other Caerite vase use koppa in that sense. But the former vase puts **W** where koppa should occur in the alphabet and does not use koppa at all. The alphabet of Aspendos used the koppa in its sense of *w*, and adopted alongside of it the ordinary Greek symbol  $\phi$ , and the two symbols are apparently confounded in the late inscriptions, one form being used in both senses. This group of alphabets use a symbol for *w* in addition to digamma: some use koppa, some **W**, but none of them employ both symbols.

As to the last three symbols of the Galassi alphabet, +, which is used in the Sillyon inscription for *khi*, must therefore be so interpreted, and not with Kirchhoff taken for *xi*;  $\phi$  is apparently the second last symbol.<sup>2</sup> The last symbol  $\Psi$  occurs also in Phrygian, and a very similar symbol  $\Upsilon$  occurs at Perga in Pamphylia in the sense of a palatal sibilant. It is not safe to try to fix the value of  $\Psi$  in the Cymaeon alphabet until the word  $\lambda a \Psi et$  in Phrygian shall have been explained.<sup>3</sup>

These remarks will explain my change of view about the origin of the Phrygian alphabet, and will show that M. Perrot's objection to my derivation from Cyme or Phocaea (p. 9) implies a misapprehension. He says 'la difficulté est que l'alphabet ionien ne parait pas avoir eu le *F*.' It is true that we have no ancient monuments of either the Cymaeon or the Phocaeon alphabet. But certainly the probability (we might say certainty) is that the former alphabet used the digamma, and Pauli<sup>4</sup> sees no difficulty in the supposition that the Ionic alphabet possessed the digamma in the seventh century.

On this theory the alphabet of Cyme Aiolis was originally almost identical with that which is used in Phrygia in the latter part of the eighth century. It retained koppa, combining it with kappa to indicate *qu* or *kw*.

<sup>1</sup> See Bergk in *Zft. f. Numismatik*, 1884, p. 333. He argues that Aspendos, which is called an Argive colony, was founded by Achaean Argives, who had gone to Cyme. Selge, an Amyclaeon colony, might be explained in a similar way (Dionys. Perieg. 860 and Eustath. *ad loc.*).

<sup>2</sup> The form is rather blurred, but there can be little doubt about it.

<sup>3</sup> It may however be safely asserted that  $\psi$  in Phrygian is not the Ionic *psi*. Phrygian used  $K\Sigma$ , not *xi*, and cannot have adopted *psi* before *xi*.

<sup>4</sup> Eine vorgriech. Inschrift aus Lemnos, p. 17.



It had a symbol of doubtful value (probably a sibilant)  $\Psi$ , and also it probably used the  $\boxplus$  and certainly  $\ominus$ , which Phrygian does not require: perhaps it also used the symbol for *khi*. Owing to its situation Cyme early passed under the influence of the Ionic alphabet, adopting *xi*, *phi*, and perhaps also *khi*. The alphabet of Cyme was originally an island alphabet, and an example of its early form remains in the two famous Lemnian inscriptions, whose close analogy with the Phrygian inscriptions is an accepted fact.<sup>1</sup> The only other case in which I have been struck with an analogy to Phrygian is in a well-known inscription of Thera, now in the National Museum at Athens. The letters are cut in a way that closely resembles the Phrygian. They are long, deeply cut letters, and seem to have been cut with a square chisel, which makes a rectangular groove in the stone. The Phrygian letters are all of the same character, tall, narrow, deeply and squarely cut.

The objection, that this theory of the Kymaeian alphabet does not agree with Kirchhoff's classification, will readily suggest itself to any reader. I do not regard Kirchhoff's classification as being in agreement with the facts of the seventh century. His classification comes to suit the sixth century much better than the seventh, though it does not suit perfectly even that time. The Greek alphabets strove from diversity towards uniformity. Two powerful types gradually established themselves, and finally one of these replaced the other and became universal.<sup>2</sup>

W. M. RAMSAY.

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<sup>1</sup> The analogy with Phrygian so struck me at the first glance, that I immediately concluded they were in the Phrygian language, till examination showed that they were certainly in a different language.

<sup>2</sup> After this paragraph was in type Professor

Hirschfeld's article in *Rhein. Mus.* 1889, p. 461, appeared. He considers, rightly as I think, that the so-called Ionic alphabet is simply the alphabet of Miletos, which gradually was adopted, first by the other Ionic cities, and finally by the whole of Greece.



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Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands (I)

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 3, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1887), pp. 344-368

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

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## ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTHERN PHRYGIA AND THE BORDER LANDS.

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### I.

It is impossible to discuss the southern cities and frontier of Phrygia without discussing the cities on the other side of the frontier. If the site of each city were proved by epigraphic evidence of the name, found on the spot, the case would be different: but a number of names can be placed only by balancing evidence, whose value depends on the ancient condition of a wide extent of country. It happens that the central cities of western Pamphylia (I use the word in the late-Roman and Byzantine sense) are almost all fixed by independent epigraphic evidence, but the Pamphylian cities on the Phrygian frontier can be placed only by an investigation extending over the entire province of Pamphylia Secunda. Hence, the rather complicated plan of the present paper is forced on me. I discuss the border, city by city, and, after fixing the position of each city, mention any facts about its history in ancient time which seem to be as yet unknown.

Prof. Hirschfeld's careful *Reisebericht* (Berlin *Monatsber.*, 1879) has been most useful: I am the more anxious to lay stress on this, as the want of positive identifications in this district would lead those who look merely at definite positive results to undervalue his work. Clear statement of geographical facts and of ancient authorities make his work continually suggestive to the student,—far more so than if he had made a series of guesses, on insufficient evidence, at the ancient names of the sites which he visited.<sup>1</sup> Since Leake, guesses are no longer allowable: no other person's guesses can compete with his in authority, and modern travellers must rest on definite balancing of evidence. Each new guess at a name makes a new difficulty in the progress of our knowledge.

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### A. PHRYGIA.

I. **LAODIKEIA.**—I may contribute a few points toward the history of this important city, a detailed study of which is very much required.

<sup>1</sup>I refer to his work as Hirschf., p. —: and to Mr. A. H. SMITH's article in the *Journal of Hellen. Stud.*, 1887, as A. H. S., p. —. Where a coin is mentioned without any reference, it is to be found in Mr. HEAD's *Historia Numorum*.

1. GARGILIUS ANTIQUUS, Proconsul of Asia. In April 1884, I copied the following inscription on a fragment of the cornice, buried upside down amid the ruins of a large building on the north side of the stadium.

///ΙΑΝΩΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΚΑΙΞΑΡΙΞΕΒΑΣΤΩΚΑΙΞΑΒΕΙΝΗΞΕΒ///

///ΤΙΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥΓΑΡΓΙΛΙΟΥΑΝΤΕ///ΚΟΥΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΞΑΝΤΟ///

. . . Τρα]ιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ καὶ Σαβείνῃ Σεβ[αστῇ  
οἱ.....ἐ]πὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γαργιλίου Ἀντε[ί]κου καθιέρωσαν τὸ [γυμνάσιον;]

Gargilius Antiquus may have been proconsul of Asia in the year that Hadrian visited Laodikeia, Nov.-Dec. 129 A. D., or soon after: his consulship is unknown, but may have been about 115-16. Hadrian perhaps ordered the Gymnasium (?) to be built, or it may have been dedicated during his visit.

2. ΧΩΡΟΙ. The territory of Laodikeia was divided into ΧΩΡΟΙ, of which the following are known.

(1) *Eleinokaprios*: It is known from the following inscription, on a sepulchral stele at *Budjali Cahve*, on the main road from the interior to the coast, about two miles west of Kolossai: copied by Arundel, by Renan 1865, by Ramsay 1881, and by Smith 1884: published *C. I. G.*, 3954, and Lebas-Wadd., 1693 a. As there are several inaccuracies in the published texts, I give it in full: τοῦτο τὸ θέμα καὶ (ὁ) ἐπ' αὐτῷ βωμός ἐστιν Τατίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Μοσχᾶ· ἐν ᾧ κεκίδευνται ἡμῶν ἡ θυγάτηρ Τατάριν· οὐδενὶ δ' ἐξέσται ἄλλῃ κηδευσθῆναι εἰ μὴ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ· εἰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν τελευτὴν ἀπειθήσει τις τῶν προγεγραμμένων, δώσ(ε)ι τῷ Χώρῳ τῷ Ἐλεινοκαπριτῶν (δηνάρια) φ'.

The name of this district is probably derived from the fact that two rivers, Kapros and Eleinos,<sup>2</sup> flowed through it. In that case it must have been the northwestern *choros* of Laodikeia, including the district about *Urumlu*, *Serai Keui*, and *Gerehi*, and the Eleinos is probably the stream that flows past *Urumlu* and joins the *Lykos*. The stone has therefore been carried a long way from its original to its present position, a very common occurrence.

(2) *Kilarazos*: It is mentioned in an inscription at the village *Hadji Ayubli*<sup>3</sup> (Smith-Ramsay, 1884).

<sup>2</sup> (See, below, 3. RIVERS.)

<sup>3</sup> Pronounced Hadji Ipli. The text of l. 1 is certain: the division of the names doubtful.

ZΩΞΑΔΙΜΟΛΟΞΩΧΩΡΟΞ	Zωσάδι? Μολοσῶ? ὁ Χῶρος
ΟΚΙΛΑΡΑΖΕΩΝΜΝΙΑΞΧΑΡΙΝ	ὁ Κιλαραζέων μν(ε)ίας χάριν.
ΕΛΠΙΞΠΑΡΟΔΙΤΑΙΞΧΕΡΙΝ	ἐλπὶς παροδίταις χ(αί)ρ(ε)ιν.

Kilarazos is placed on the map on the hypothesis that this inscription is near its original position. This place suits the authority quoted in the next paragraph.

To these we may probably add the following places, mentioned by Niketas Khoniates, a native of this district.

(3) *Panasios* is mentioned by Niketas Khoniates (p. 254) along with *Lakerios*, as *choroi*. The description of Manuel's operations suggests the situation about Denizli given on the map. *Lakerios* is perhaps identical with Kilarazos.<sup>4</sup>

(4) *Karia*: The references (Niket. Khon., pp. 655 and 523) show that it lay on the main road not far from Kolossai. It is called a *komopolis*, which in this place probably means merely a village.<sup>5</sup>

(5) *Tantalos* is mentioned along with *Karia*, as a *komopolis* on the march from Ikonion past Kolossai, towards Antioch on the Maeander.

*Harmala* (Niket. Khon., p. 549) may be in this district, but is more probably lower down the Maeander. *Hyelion* and *Leimmocheir* (Niket. Khon., p. 252) are two villages on the Maeander, where the bridge on the great eastern highway spanned the river. In Roman time the bridge was near Antioch: in Byzantine time the bridge was probably in the same place, though it may possibly have been higher up. In neither case could these villages have been within the bounds of Laodikeia. *Louma* and *Pentacheir* are placed by Haase (Ersch-Gruber, *Encycl. s. v. Phrygien*, p. 274) in the Lykos valley: the only reference to them (Niket. Khon., p. 251) shows that they were further west, perhaps even beyond Tralleis; in that neighborhood, Mount Latmos is called *Besh Parmak* (i. e., "Five Fingers").

3. RIVERS. Two are named on a coin, which is described by Mionnet (*Supplem.*, VII, p. 587):

“Obv. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ·ΔΟΜΝΑ·CΕΒ. Buste de Julia Domna.

Rev. ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ·ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ·ΤΟ·Π·Η· Femme debout tenant une patère de la main droite, et de la gauche le simulacre de Jupiter *Laodiceus*, debout à gauche entre un loup

<sup>4</sup> Byzantine names often occur greatly changed from the old forms: e. g., Kapatiana for Pakatiana, Morea for Romea (Ῥωμᾶλα).

<sup>5</sup> NIKETAS is singularly loose in his use of words: see below, under SEIBLIA.

et une chèvre : au-dessus du premier on lit dans le champ  
ΛΥΚΟC; au-dessus de l'autre ΚΑΠΡΟC."

This coin refers to the position, not of the town, but of the state of Laodikeia. The town is placed between the Asopos and the Kadmos, but the boundaries of the territory, *i. e.*, the state Laodikeia, are the Lykos and the Kapros: the latter separates it from Attoudda, the former from Hierapolis. The entire population of the territory, whether or not they resided within the walls of the town, were equally styled *Λαοδικεῖς*; and the coinage is struck in the name of the corporate body, the *Λαοδικεῖς*. The Kapros was a tributary of the Maeander (Strab., p. 578): it therefore must be the river of *Serai Keui*.

The Eleinos is the river next to the Kapros on the east (see (1)). Its name is doubtless the same as the Selinos of Ephesos and of Elis (Xenoph., *Anab.*, v. 3, 8).

The Asopos washed the walls of Laodikeia. The Kadmos was recognized both by Arundel and by Hamilton: the remarks A. H. S., pp. 224–5 seem to me correct. A glance at the map annexed will show that Pliny's description of the city is rather confused: *imposita est Lyco flumini, latera adluentibus Asopo et Capro* (*N. H.*, v. 105).

The natural boundaries of Laodikeia on the south and the southeast are determined by the lofty mountains of Kadmos (*Chonas Dagħ*) and Salbakos (*Baba Dagħ*) (Hirschfeld, p. 325). The little valley of the river Kadmos, which flows between the two ranges, probably belonged to the territory of the city.

4. GATES. The gate on the eastern side of Laodikeia was called the "Syrian Gate" (*αἱ Σύριαι Πύλαι*: Philostr., *Vit. Soph.*, I. 25). City gates were commonly named after some important town on the road which issued through the gate: so at Smyrna we have the "Ephesian Gate;" at Ephesos the "Magnesian Gate." The commerce of the East passed through the gates of Laodikeia: for example, the red earth of Kappadokia, which had in early times reached the Greeks by way of Sinope, was afterwards brought along the great eastern highway through Laodikeia to Ephesos (Strab., p. 540). The North and West gates were perhaps called "Hierapolitan" and "Ephesian."

5. TRIMITARIA was a title applied to Laodikeia: it is derived from *τρίμιτος*, a kind of cloth evidently manufactured in quantity there. The district is one which has preserved manufacturing power through the Turkish occupation. The title has been misunderstood by Wesseling.

II. HIERAPOLIS.—The inscription Lebas-Wadd., 1687, is of the highest interest as referring to *une véritable société mutuelle établie entre les ouvriers teinturiers en pourpre*: this suggests to M. Waddington the influence of Christianity. Unfortunately, a false reading<sup>6</sup> is the only authority for this interest: knowing M. Waddington's text, I yet read the stone clearly and unhesitatingly τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυραβαφῶν, "the council of presidents (πρόεδροι) of the purple dyers."

The text *C. and B.*, p. 375,<sup>7</sup> ought to be read Μονο[γέ]ν[η]ς εὐχαριστῶ τῇ θεῇ. The formula occurs also in the Katakekaumene (Ἀπολόνιος Δράλας δυνατῇ θεῇ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῷ<sup>8</sup>), at Ephesos (εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κυρία Ἄρτεμι, Wood's *Ephesus*, *App.*, Augusteum 2-4, 8), and at Dionysopolis (εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ Λητῷ, *C. and B.*, p. 385). The formula is peculiarly connected with the worship of Meter Leto. This goddess is traced by inscriptions: (1) at Perga of Pamphylia, where she is identical with the Ἀνασσα Περγαία, usually known by the Greek title Artemis. This follows from the inscription of Attaleia ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Λητοῦς τῆς Περγαίων πόλεως.<sup>9</sup> (2) In Lykia generally, where she is one of the θεοὶ πατρῶοι, and the guardian of the tomb: cp. Bennd.-Niem., No. 96, p. 118 ff.; Treuber, *Gesch. d. Lykier*, p. 69 ff. (3) In the district of Hierapolis, Tripolis, Attoudda, and along the whole line of Mt. Messogis to the sea. A coin of Tripolis, with the legend ΛΗΤΩ ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, shows the goddess sitting with sceptre in hand. The type of Leto, carrying the infants Apollon and Artemis, occurs on coins of Tripolis, Attoudda, Mastaura and Magnesia. A coin of Hierapolis has the legend ΛΗΤΩ ΕΙΛΑΠΥΘΙΑ. Lethaios at Magnesia, a river flowing out of Mt. Messogis, perhaps means the river of Leto, being Grecised in accordance with the false idea that Λητώ is

<sup>6</sup> Viz., προσδέας. In the same inscription l. 1, for [βωμῶ] read βαθρικῶ; for κορήσκου read κοριάσκου; for Ἀσβέ[στ]ηρ read Ἀσβόλου ν(εωτερον?); for [ἐπε]τέ[λ]ε[σε] read κατέλειπε. ΠΑΠΩΝ seemed certain to me also. Read also ὅσον ἂν πορίσῃς βίον, ὃ φίλε παροδείτα, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν τοῦ βίου ταῦτα.

<sup>7</sup> I refer to my paper *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1883, as *C. and B.*

<sup>8</sup> Smyrna *Mouseion* no. τκζ, where it is wrongly printed εὐχαρίστῳ as an adjective.

<sup>9</sup> This must mean "the great goddess of Perga." In publishing this inscription (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1883, p. 263) I did not observe that Leto of Perga is here identical with Artemis of Perga. The inscription is misunderstood by TREUBER, *Lykier*, p. 76. A Messapian inscription has the expression *Artemis-Leto*: see DEECKE, *Rh. Mus.*, 1887, p. 232, who wrongly separates the names by a comma. In both cases, the names Artemis and Leto are applied to the same deity.

connected with *λανθάνω*.<sup>10</sup> (4) In the Katakekaumene, where she is more commonly known as Artemis Anaitis, with a Greek title Artemis and a Persian title introduced by the settlers planted in eastern Lydia by the Persian kings. (5) In Ephesos, where also she is usually known as Artemis. An Ephesian coin bears the legend ΑΗΤΩ. (6) *Leto πρὸ πόλεως* at Oinoanda, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1886, p. 234.

These traces of the worship of Leto the Mother point to its entrance from the south into Asia Minor: if Lykia were its point of entrance, it must have come from Rhodos, but, if Pamphylia be its first seat in Asia Minor, it must have come through Kypros. The pair of deities, mother and son, Leto and Lairbenos Apollon,<sup>11</sup> become in time the triad, Leto, Artemis and Apollon, mother and daughter in the divine nature being distinguished. The Kybele and Attys of northern Asia Minor are probably in origin the same pair as the Leto and Lermenos of the south, borne along a different road and perhaps also at an earlier time: in Ephesos and in the Katekekaumene, the two have met. My friend Prof. Robertson Smith's suggestion that the name *Λατώ* is the old-Semitic *Al-lat*, 'Αλλάτ of Herodotos<sup>12</sup> (I. 131; III. 8) agrees perfectly with the geographical distribution, and derives additional probability from the agreement.

Hierapolis is a name obviously of the Greek period: the pre-Hellenic name appears to have been Kallatēbos (Herod., VII. 30). Some time between 530 and 553<sup>13</sup> Hierapolis was raised to the dignity of a *metropolis*. A district of Phrygia was separated from the rest of the province and placed under Hierapolis. This arrangement had certainly not taken place in the time of Hierokles (about 530), but is clearly implied at the council of 680.<sup>14</sup> The remodelling of the two Phrygias, which took place under Justinian, was probably the occasion when the new department (which for the sake of a name I call Phrygia Hierapolitana) was formed. Considering how close was the connection of ecclesiastical and political organisation, it is probable that a civil governor, as well as a metropolitan bishop, resided henceforward at Hierapolis until the Provinces were replaced by Themes.

<sup>10</sup> Also known at Ephesos and Stectorion.

<sup>11</sup> On the epithet *Lairbenos* or *Lermenos*, see *C. and B.*, v.

<sup>12</sup> *Al*, the definite article: for another explanation (*Alilat* feminine of *helel*, "the shining one") see SAYCE on HERODOTOS, I. 131

<sup>13</sup> Hierapolis is a *metropolis* in (*Concil. Constantinop.* III) A. D. 553.

<sup>14</sup> Where Sisinnios signs *ὕπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑπ' ἐμὲ συνόδου*. This was probably the case in 553 also (though not expressly stated), since Hierapolis ranks there as *metropolis*.



In *Notitiae VII, VIII, IX*, and *I*, the bishoprics subject to Hierapolis were Motella, Dionysopolis, Anastasiopolis, Attoudda, and Mossyna. In the late *Notitiae*, a northern district (comprising Kadoi, Aizanoi, Tiberiopolis, Ankyra, and Synaos) was added: this arrangement, which is later than the institution of Themes, has obviously a mere ecclesiastical, and never a political, significance.

III. **MOSSYNA**.—I placed this bishopric (*C. and B.*, p. 377) between Dionysopolis and Laodikeia. The name was known only from the Byzantine lists, and I restored it conjecturally, in an inscription, ὁ δήμος ὁ Μο[σσυνέων].<sup>15</sup> I can now confirm this by the following inscription, which is the first half of one copied by me in 1883 and published (*C. and B.*, No. 8):<sup>16</sup>

Διὺ Μοσσυνεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ · Γ(αῖος) Νώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου  
 υἱὸς Ἀνιηνσίᾳ Διόφαντος, ὁ διὰ γένους ἱερεὺς, τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα καὶ τὸν βωμὸν σὺν τῇ ὑποσκευῇ πάσῃ ἀνέσ-  
 τησε δούς ἐκ τῶν ιδίων (δηνάρια) . . τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οἱ ἐπαν-  
 γειλάμενοι καθὼς ὑπογέγραπται · Ἀπολλώνιος β' τοῦ Φιλοξένου  
 ΑΝΑΙΞ (δηνάρια) ι' · Ἀπολλόδοτος Διοδώρου ἀγορανόμος  
 (δηνάρια) κέ' · Ἀπολλόδοτος κ. τ. λ.<sup>17</sup>

ΑΝΑΙΞ is quite distinct. The date of this inscription about A. D. 100, as given when the other part was published, is confirmed by the whole style of the first half and by the name Γάλας. But, whereas formerly I assigned the inscription to Dionysopolis, it must now be transferred to Mossyna. *Sazak* is a village on the border of the two districts, and the other inscriptions found there (and already published) are certainly Dionysopolitan. The country, which I formerly divided between Mossyna and Metellopolis, belongs entirely to Mossyna. Metellopolis is identical with Motella, in the same neighborhood (see **A. XI**).

<sup>15</sup> Formerly I restored Μο[σσύνων]: the correct form is given by the text which follows. The coins published by Mionnet as reading ΜΟΞΞΙΝΩΝ are all misread: they belong to the Mostenoi.

<sup>16</sup> Half of the inscription was concealed beneath the floor of the mosque at *Sazak*. In 1883 I could not induce the inhabitants to let me tamper with the planks: in 1887 I got their consent.

<sup>17</sup> The inscription is in a very dark corner of the mosque: in 1883 we read it by light reflected from a pocket-mirror: in 1887 I procured a small lamp, and read two words more correctly than in 1883: in 5, Γάλας for Γαλαῆς, and in 4, Ἀλλειδίων for Ἀλεξιδίων (noted in the publication as uncertain). I find in my old notebook that I had made the second correction in revising the inscription on the stone, and in publishing took the first false reading.

IV. **ATTOUDDA.**—The evidence that Attoudda (*C. and B.*, xvi) stood at the village of Assar is very strong: *C. I. G.*, No. 3950, an inscription erected by the people of Attoudda, is said to have been found at Assar,<sup>18</sup> and an inscription (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1887, p. 348) in honor of a person named Karminios, who certainly belonged to a family closely connected with Attoudda, was copied at Assar by M. Clerc. It is quite certain that Attoudda stood in this neighborhood, and I formerly (*C. and B.*, xvi) accepted the view that the actual site was at Assar. I am now obliged to slightly modify this view, and place Attoudda beside Haz Keui, 1½ miles west of Serai Keui, and 6 miles N. E. from Assar. No problem in the topography of Phrygia has cost me so much time and trouble as the placing of Attoudda and Trapezopolis, and yet Attoudda was one of the few places whose site was considered certain before I first travelled in Phrygia. The modification I adopt is so slight that it may appear a waste of time to discuss it, and I should not mention it here, if it were not necessary for the placing of Trapezopolis.

As to the actual value of the abovementioned evidence: inscr. 1 is attributed by Sherard, who alone saw it, to Aphrodisias. His notes were evidently hasty and inaccurate, as is obvious from the remarks of Franz<sup>19</sup> (*C. I. G.*, No. 3950, and *Add.*, No. 3946): inscr. 2 mentions a member of a family which was closely connected with both Attoudda and Aphrodisias (*C. I. G.*, 2782–3), and which therefore may have been connected also with the intermediate city, Trapezopolis. Again, inscriptions might easily be carried from a site near Haz Keui to Assar: though the road is uphill, the distance is not great; and it is also quite possible that an inscription of Attoudda might have been sent in ancient times to Trapezopolis.<sup>20</sup> Finally, it must be remembered that Assar itself is not an ancient site, though it is certainly near an ancient site, which I shall prove to be Trapezopolis.

The district of Phrygia which we have to examine consists of a low

<sup>18</sup> It is wrongly called *Ipsili Hissar*: the name must have been reported by a Greek servant. Assar is the only name known in the district (A. H. S., p. 223: *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, l. c.).

<sup>19</sup> So, *C. I. G.* 388, an inscription of Eukarpia is attributed, through a fault in Laborde's notes, to Eumeneia, 25 miles distant (*C. and B.*, p. 402). Experience teaches me how easily such an error may creep into a road-book. Sherard may have found the inscription at Gereli (see below).

<sup>20</sup> In this way a Prynnessian decree at Nakoleia long produced the false belief that Prynnessos was situated where really Nakoleia stood.

level plain along the Maeander, and of a large tract of hilly country, consisting of alluvium intersected by deep ravines, which extends between the actual valley of the Maeander and the lofty rocky Mt. Salbakos (*Baba Dagħ*, "Father Mount"). In this district two ancient cities existed: one, corresponding to the modern town *Kadi Keui*, was situated somewhere near Assar or Kadi Keui; the other, corresponding to the modern town *Serai Keui*<sup>21</sup> was situated beside Haz Keui. The latter was Attoudda: Men Karou, whose temple beside the Maeander is described by Strabo (p. 481), is celebrated on coins as the chief deity of Attoudda. At the temple, which stood near the Maeander, between Karoura and Laodikeia, *i. e.*, somewhere a few miles west of Serai Keui, a great medical school, following the system of Herostratos, existed in the first century B. C., founded by Zeuxis and Alexander Philaethes. This fact shows that the Anatolian deity Men had some of the character of the Greek Asklepios. No traces of the temple are now known, but this district, lying under the hills, very subject to earthquakes, and full of hot springs of the most varied character, is peculiarly liable to be silted up. The remains of Attoudda also have, in modern times, almost disappeared, which is partly accounted for by the close neighborhood of the rapidly growing town, Serai Keui. The centre of modern life has changed to Serai Keui, but the change is quite recent. The weekly Bazar of the district was held in an open space on the south side of Haz Keui, until thirty years ago, when it was transferred to Serai Keui. Such markets, held not at the modern centres of life, are always good evidence of ancient custom: in some cases they mark the site of an ancient city, now deserted; in others, they continue the ancient meeting-place of a people living in villages without a city-centre. Strabo (p. 341) gives an example of the former: Aleision, a city mentioned by Homer, had ceased to exist, but a market called *Ἀλυσιαῖον* was held near the site. *Kara Eyuk Bazar* is the ancient site, but *Adji Badem* is the government town, in the territory of Themissonion (A. VIII): at Keretapa (A. VII) *Kayadibi* is the Bazar and the ancient site, and *Satirlar* the government town: in the Hyrgalean Plain, *Kai Bazar* is the seat of a weekly market for the district, but is otherwise absolutely deserted: the same is the case at Eriza (B. 6) with *Ishkian Bazar*, and among the Perminodeis (D. 9) with *Kizil Kaya Bazar*.

<sup>21</sup> It is a most useful principle for ancient topography that a modern town almost always exists in the neighborhood of a Græco-Roman town; but the site is usually changed. I hope soon to publish a study of this subject in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society. Kadi Keui is the seat of a Mudir, Serai Keui of a Kaimakam.

I group together the inscriptions of this district, one or two (especially *C. I. G.*, 3951–2) may belong to Trapezopolis, but the most of them are certainly Attouddan: (1) *C. I. G.*, 3948; (2) 3949; (3) 3950; (4) 3951; (5) 3952 and *add.*, Lebas-Wadd. 743, and *A. H. S.*, No. 1; (6) *C. I. G.*, 3953; (7) *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1887, p. 348, No. 4; (8) *ibid.*, No. 5; (9) *C. I. G.*, 3947 may belong to this district, but Dr. Sherard mentions it and 3946 as found in *Dere Keui*, and the latter is really an inscription

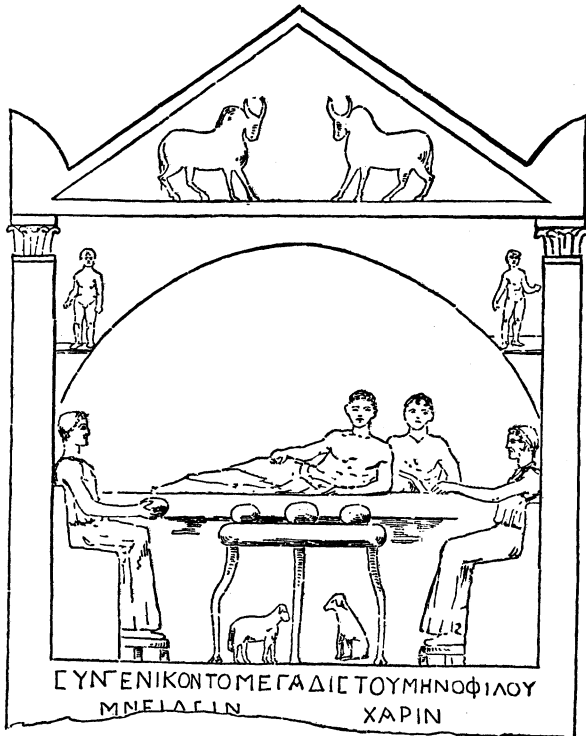


FIG. 19.—Tombstone from Attoudda, Phrygia; found near *Serai Keui*.

of Sardis; the text which is not understood by Franz ought to be read [τοῦτο τὸ . . . . ἀνέθηκεν] Ἐπαφροδεῖτος Ἑρμᾶ? καὶ τὸ ναῖδιον. (10) In 1883, I saw, at *Serai Keui*, two tombstones, found in the neighborhood. They belong to Attoudda, and show an interesting variety of the "Sepulchral Feast." I give a sketch of one of them (*fig. 19*). The inscription beneath is *συγγεικὸν τὸ Μέγα δις τοῦ Μηνοφίλου μνείας χάριν*: "The family tomb of Megas, son and grandson of Menophilos,

*in memoriam.*" The second stone had lost its inscription: it was very like the other, but the sheep and dog, instead of being under the table, occupied the angles where the other stone has two children, and three persons reclined at table. (11) Fragment found at Assar (Smith-Ramsay, 1884): broken on three sides, complete on right, except where dots indicate lost letters. It seems to be connected with some local games:

ἀν ΔΡΑΞΙ · ·  
 ΟΥΤΟΥΛ ·  
 ΞΩΤΑΤΟ ·  
 ἐπὶ ἀγωνο ΘΕΤΟΥΔΙ  
 ουνσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου  
 ἀ ΛΙΠΤΗΝ  
 λονγΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΝ  
 πολυ? ΧΡΟΝΙΟΥ

(12) at Assar: copied by me in 1883:

//////////	[ὁ·δεῖνα ···· νο]
ΞΘΕΥΥΕC	ς θεῶ ὑψέC-
ΤΥΕΥΧΗΝ	τῷ εὐχῇ.

**KAROURA** was a village 20 miles from Laodikeia on the road to Antioch (and thence to Ephesos). Reading Strabo (p. 579) in the country, one feels no doubt that he places Karoura on the south side of the river. The railway-survey measures 12 English statute miles from Serai Keui to Laodikeia, but the line of the Roman road was straighter, and we may safely estimate 12 Roman miles from Laodikeia to Serai Keui, and place Karoura 8 Roman miles west of Serai Keui on the south bank of the Maeander. Beside Antioch, the Roman road crossed the Maeander by a bridge,<sup>22</sup> and went by way of Nyssa, Tralleis, and Magnesia to Ephesos.

Karoura is unknown in Byzantine times: it was a mere village of the territory of Attoudda. The name is obviously derived from the Attouddan Men Karou: the Greek idea that it meant *Καρίας ὄρια* is merely popular pseudo-etymology.

**V. TRAPEZOPOLIS** is localised at the site near Assar and Kadi Keui by a series of arguments, which are difficult to state clearly and briefly: Trapezopolis was in the *conventus* of Alabanda, and is reckoned by Ptolemy to Karia:<sup>23</sup> it must therefore have lain west of the Roman

<sup>22</sup> On a coin the bridge has six arches.

<sup>23</sup> Ptolemy's authority would be small, if not supported by *PLINY*, v. 109.

road from Laodikeia to Kibyra, or it would have been included in the conventus of Kibyra-Laodikeia. Trapezopolis was reckoned to Phrygia Pacatiana throughout the Byzantine period: it cannot therefore have lain in the great plain of Taba, for the towns of that plain, Taba, Herakleia, Apollonia, all belong to Karia. Careful examination of the hills between the plain of Taba and the Laodikeia-Kibyra road, by Sterrett in 1884 and Ramsay in 1886, shows that no city ever existed there except Sebastopolis, which was Karian.

The previous arguments prove that Trapezopolis was on the Phrygo-Karian frontier, west of the Laodikeia-Kibyra road, and that there is no place south of Mt. Salbakos where it could possibly have stood: therefore it must have been north of the mountain, *i. e.*, it must lie in the district between Attoudda and the modern Denizli on the east and Antioch and Aphrodisias on the west. The little that we know about Trapezopolis suggests that it was situated in this neighborhood. The order of Hierokles points distinctly here: he first enumerates the cities of the Lykos valley, Laodikeia, Hierapolis, Mossyna, Attoudda, Trapezopolis, Kolossai. We have alliance-coins of Attoudda and Trapezopolis. The Byzantine evidence tends to connect Trapezopolis with Laodikeia, and on the other hand to connect the cities south of Mt. Salbakos with Kolossai. The situation now given to Trapezopolis explains why it was included neither among the bishoprics subject to Hierapolis nor among those subject to Khonai (see A. II, VI).<sup>24</sup> Trapezopolis was formerly placed at Makuf in the plain of Taba. M. Waddington proved long ago that Makuf was the site of Herakleia *ad Salbacum*, and transferred Trapezopolis to Kizil Hissar, but this village is on the Laodikeia-Kibyra road, and is not an ancient site.

## B. THE PHRYGO-KARIAN FRONTIER.

The Phrygo-Karian frontier lay between Aphrodisias on the one side and Trapezopolis on the other, and one who sees the country is at once led to place it along the long ridge now called Tchibuk Dag:<sup>25</sup> the mountain and the frontier pass into the lofty ridge of Salbakos. The rest of the frontier north of Salbakos results from a study of the border cities of Karia. Many of these are very obscure: two, Kidramos and Hyllarima, are not mentioned in Forbiger's *Alte Geographie*.

<sup>24</sup> For a further confirmation, see B. I. KIDRAMOS.

<sup>25</sup> *Tchibuk*, a pipe with a long stem.

**B. 1. KIDRAMOS** is assigned to Phrygia by numismatists except Head (*Hist. Num.*). The only ancient authorities, the *Notitiae*, assign it to Karia. But the style of the coins is rather Phrygian,<sup>26</sup> and this would lead us to place the town on the Phrygo-Karian frontier. It also places ΖΕΥC ΑΥΔΙΟC on its coins, which proves that it must have been on the Karo-Lyidian frontier, *i. e.*, in the Maeander valley<sup>27</sup> and near the river. I should expect to discover the site of Kidramos between Antioch and Attoudda, a little west of Karoura, about due south of the modern village Ortakche, on a spur of the hills that fringe the valley.

After this discussion of the sites of Trapezopolis, Attoudda, and Kidramos was written out, I observed a confirmation so striking as to constitute a very strong argument in its favor. Imhoof-Blumer (*Numism. Zft.*, 1884, p. 272) points out that the coins of Laodikeia, Attoudda, Trapezopolis, and Kidramos, agree in giving magistrates' names in the genitive with *διδ*, a peculiarity unknown in any other city: precisely these four cities lie side by side on my map.

**B. 2. HYLLARIMA** is to be looked for in the east of Karia: under the Empire it struck coins whose style suggests the Phrygian rather than the Ionian side of Karia, and it is mentioned in the Byzantine lists: Hierokles has *Harpasa—Neapolis—Hylarema—Antiokheia—Aphrodisias*, which suggests that Hyllarima is to be looked for south of the Maeander and west of the Morsynos.

**B. 3. GORDIOU TEICHOS** is fixed near Kara Su by the route of Manlius (see **E**). It occurs in no Byzantine lists.

**B. 4. APHRODISIAS.**—The site has long been known, and the ruins are a popular resort for tourists.

### C. THE PHRYGO-LYDIAN FRONTIER.

**C. 1. TRIPOLIS.**—The river Maeander above the junction of the Lykos was, throughout ancient history, the boundary between Phrygia and Lydia. Close on the opposite bank, geographically a part of this district of Phrygia which I call "the Lykos valley," yet historically always a city of Lydia, lies Tripolis. It was in the *conventus* of Sardis, which proves that Ptolemy, when he places it in Karia (so also Steph. Byz., in

<sup>26</sup> Except one: *les types et l'aspect de cette monnaie rappellent tant ceux de certains bronzes de Termessos*: IMHOOF, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 397.

<sup>27</sup> IMHOOF, *l. c.*, who draws the proper inference as to the situation of the city. Zeus *Αυδιος* is also known at Sardis but not elsewhere.



his confused and inaccurate remarks), makes a pure mistake. According to Pliny<sup>28</sup> it bore the name Antoniopolis. An inscription of the Roman period calls it *Μαιονίη Τρίπολις*. The Byzantine lists always reckon Tripolis to Lydia, and Herodotos VII. 30 is conclusive evidence that it was Lydian in the fifth century B. C.

**C. 2. BRIOULA** was in the Maeander valley, on the north side of the river, in the district round Nyssa but west of Mastaura,<sup>29</sup> in the *conventus* of Ephesos (Pliny, v. 111). These indications point to the ancient site beside the village of Billara, in which name we recognize the ancient word. Billara lies near the railway station at Kuyujak: Mr. Hogarth, who visited it at my suggestion in 1887, reports that the ancient city is distinct, but inscriptions are wanting. On its coins appear *HAIOC* and *MHTHP ΘΕΩΝ*, in whom we may recognize Lairbenos and Leto (see **A. II. HIERAPOLIS**).

**C. 3. HYDRELA**.—If there were any authority for placing Hydrela in Lydia, the Maeander would then be the boundary between Lydia and Phrygia from the Lykos to the Ionian coast, but the scanty references place Hydrela in Karia. Considering that several authorities place Tripolis and Laodikeia in Karia, it is probable that Hydrela, also, in spite of Livy and Stephanos, should be assigned to Lydia. After the preceding exposition, the statement of Pliny (*N. H.*, v. 105), that it was in the *conventus* of Kibyra-Laodikeia is clear evidence that it lay near Ortakche, and Livy's words<sup>30</sup> agree exactly with this position. The statement of Strabo (p. 650) that the inhabitants of Hydrela, Athymbra, and Athymbrada were transplanted to the new city Nyssa in Seleucid times (which can hardly be quite true), while pointing to some situation in the Maeander valley, gives no precise indication of locality.

The limits of the Kibyritic *conventus* are now fixed. The *conventus* of Alabanda was bounded on the north by the Maeander, and the two *conventus* of Kibyra and Ephesos touched each other on the north bank between Brioula and Hydrela. Hydrela is never mentioned in Byzantine lists, though it coined money from Hadrian to Geta, and was therefore an independent city under the Empire. It lies on the fron-

<sup>28</sup> *Tripolitani iidem et Antoniopolitae Maeandro adluuntur*: v. 111.

<sup>29</sup> *I. e.*, if we can trust that STRABO's order (p. 650) *Βριούλα, Μάσταυρα, Ἀχάρακα*, is strict.

<sup>30</sup> *Cariam quae Hydrela appellatur agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem*: LIV., 37, 56. *Ῥδρηλα πόλις Καρίας*: STEPH. BYZ.



tier of Byzantine Asia, Phrygia, and Karia, and might perhaps be expected in the lists of Asia.<sup>31</sup>

#### A. PHRYGIA.

VI. KOLOSSAI.—The name occurs also, in the singular, as that of a city in the Kaystros valley, the modern Keles. This Kolose is also frequently mentioned in Byzantine lists as Koloe, which proves that the lake Koloe near Sardis, and the village Koloe in the Katakekau-mene bear the same name as the Phrygian city: Kolossai, Kolose, Koloe, Keles, are various forms of the same Anatolian name.

Kolossai was a station on the great eastern highway, 8 miles from Laodikeia. The ruins of the city lie on the banks of the Lykos about 3 miles north of the village of Khonas. The ruins of a large church, probably the famous church of S. Michael,<sup>32</sup> could be traced emerging above the soil at least as late as 1881. The natural phenomenon at Kolossai described by Herodotos (VII. 30) has often been discussed by travellers. The explanation given by Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, I, 511), though generally approved, appears to me wholly unacceptable: violent change in the landscape is in all cases a doubtful hypothesis; but only the supposed necessity of explaining Herodotos could lead any one who had seen the Lykos to suppose that a river which deposits calcareous matter once covered itself over entirely for five stadia and is now quite open. The words of Herodotos<sup>33</sup> describe the common natural phenomenon now called in the country a *duden*, where the water of a high-lying plain finds a subterranean exit and emerges in a large fountain in a lower country. The Lykos rises in such a *duden*, and it seems to me not open to doubt that this is the phenomenon to which Herodotos alludes. His words indeed suggest that the water disappears in the city: but, in the first place, the term Kolossai means strictly the entire state and not merely the space of the city; and, in the second place, I can only apply to Herodotos's account

<sup>31</sup> It is clear that the known conditions would be almost equally well fulfilled if Hydrela and Kidramos were transposed: careful exploration of the situation, which I have seen only from the railway, might decide. If we could find Hydrela in Byzantine Asia, or if Kidramos were known to be in the *conventus* of Alabanda, we should have a definite proof of the correctness of the positions above assigned.

<sup>32</sup> αὐτὸν τὸν περιβόητον ἐν θαύμασι καὶ ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου ναόν: SCYLITZ., p. 686.

<sup>33</sup> Κολοσσὰς . . . ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ἐς μάλιστα κη πέντε ἀναφαινόμενος, ἐκδιδοί: VII. 30.

of Kolossai the remark made by Hirschfeld about his account of Apameia: *er spricht offenbar nicht als Augenzeuge*.<sup>34</sup>

**KHONAI.**—At the Council held in Constantinople in 692 A. D. the bishop of Kolossai is mentioned. In all later notices the phrase is *ἐπίσκοπος Χωνῶν ἦτοι Κολοσσῶν*,<sup>35</sup> or simply *ὁ Χωνῶν*. The earliest instance of the name Khonai known to me is *Concil. Nicaen.* II, A. D. 787. In the lists of cities whose names have been changed (Parthey, *Hierokles, etc., app.*), Khonai is given as the later name of Kolossai; and this view is commonly accepted. The actual fact, however, is that Khonai was a new city, in a different situation, which dwarfed the old city of Kolossai. Kolossai stood in the open plain, in a most exposed situation, and could not be made a strong city. Its defenceless condition was no disadvantage in the Roman and early Byzantine time, while it was conveniently situated so that the high-road along the Lykos valley passed through its gates. But when the troubled times began, and when the whole of Asia Minor was exposed to the ravages of Arab armies, the situation was a serious disadvantage: a new city with a strong citadel on an outlying peak of Mt. Kadmos grew up, and attracted the population of Kolossai. It is possible that the change was hastened by an actual sack of the old city, but as to this we have no information.<sup>36</sup> The change from Kolossai to Khonai occurred between 692 and 787, in the period when the Byzantine empire was weakest and the Arab incursions most wide-spread and dangerous. Khonai, the most powerful fortress in the Lykos valley, was probably (though no actual authority exists among the miserably scanty records of the social history of Anatolia) a *thema* or station for troops. In 857 it was raised to the rank of an archbishopric. Photios, who had just been irregularly appointed to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, desired to strengthen his cause by the support of the Roman Pontiff: he sent the bishops of Amorion and Khonai as envoys to Rome, honoring the latter with the title of archbishop (see *Vit. S. Ignatii*, in *Mansi Act. Concil.*, XVI, p. 235). In the earlier and intermediate *Notitiae*, Khonai is never mentioned, and along with it are omitted four bishoprics of

<sup>34</sup> *Kelainai-Apameia*, pp. 11, 19, in *Berlin. Abhandl.*, 1885.

<sup>35</sup> In all cases which I have observed, this phrase (*e. g.*, *Ἀπόλλωνος Ἱεροῦ ἦτοι Ἀετοῦ, Στρατονικίας ἦτοι Καλάνδου*) has the same meaning: the two names denote not the same but different cities; the centre of population has changed, or is changing, to a new site.

<sup>36</sup> In *Mittheilungen (Athen.)* 1882, I explained the relation between Khonai and Kolossai, and compared it with the history of Prymnessos and Akronios.

southern Phrygia, Keretapa, Themissonion, Sanaos, and Valentia: the five form a well-marked group, and a line drawn around them cuts off the whole southern district of Pacatiana. The inference is, that, in the year 857 or very soon after, this district was separated from the metropolis of Laodikeia and subjected to the metropolis of Khonai. The fact that Khonai is entirely omitted from the *Notitiae* of this period (I, VIII, IX) proves that the lists there given are not absolutely complete, and we shall find another omission in the case of AKMONIA.<sup>37</sup> In the latest *Notitiae* (III, X, XIII), Khonai is mentioned as a metropolis, without any dependent bishoprics, and Keretapa, Themissonion, and Sanaos reappear among those dependent on Laodikeia. Such variations are not uncommon: e.g., Eukhaita has four dependent bishoprics in *Not.* X, but in *Not.* III: τῷ Εὐχαιτῶν θρόνος ὑποκείμενος οὐκ ἔστι.

VII. KERETAPA (*C. and B.*, xv).—I previously followed Professor Kiepert's opinion, that Keretapa was situated on the Adji Tuz Göl, on the road from Laodikeia and Kolossai to Apameia, with the necessary correction of transferring the site from Tchardak at the western end of the lake, where no Græco-Roman ruins exist, to Sari Kavak, on the lake not far from its northeastern end. I have, however, found it necessary to desert the old view: Sanaos was situated at Sari Kavak.

Keretapa was in all probability situated at Kayadibi, and the ΑΥΛΙΝΔΗΝΟΞ of coins is the lake that lies between Kayadibi and Salda. The evidence may be put briefly thus. The order in Hierokles puts Keretapa and Themissonion together in southern Phrygia: Ptolemy agrees: the site at Kayadibi was in Phrygia, and it is not possible to put any other city there except Keretapa. Some slight arguments also tell directly in favor of placing Keretapa at Kayadibi. (1) Its territory then adjoins Kolossai and Themissonion, and Hierokles mentions the three cities together. (2) The name Diokaisareia, which was applied to it, is explained by the inscription on an altar at Kayadibi (A. H. S., No. 54) Διὲ Καίσαρι: there was at this place a cultus of Cæsar as Zeus, and the city might readily acquire the name Diokaisareia. (3) In the brief account of S. Artemon<sup>38</sup> it is told that Patricius, *Comes* and governor of Phrygia-Pacatiana, proceeding from

<sup>37</sup> See my *Cities and Bishoprics*, No. xxii, in J. H. S., 1887.

<sup>38</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, October 8th, p. 46. The title *Comes* applied to the governor, shows that the life of the saint was composed later than 536 A. D. The scene is laid under Diocletian. A mere abstract is given by the Bollandists: if any fuller ms. of the biography of Artemon exists, it would probably contain much local detail.

Laodikeia εἰς τὴν Καισαρέων [read [Διο]καισαρέων, there is no city Kaisareia in the province] πόλιν, arrested Artemon on the road three miles from Laodikeia. At Kaisareia [Diokaisareia] Artemon produced by his prayers a lake, whereupon Vitalius the priest and many others were converted.<sup>39</sup> (4) There is some reason to think that Khonai and Keretapa were conterminous. An appearance of S. Michael of Khonai at Keretapa on Sept. 6th is celebrated by the Greek Church: Le Quien (*Or. Christ.*, I, 813) uses the expression (which he either infers from this appearance or derives from some *menologion* unknown to me): *Chonae, quae juxta Ceretapa*. Kayadibi and Khonai are divided only by mountains, no other city intervenes, and there is no other site unappropriated whose territory could be conterminous with Khonai. (5) A coincidence connected with the name is of some interest, if it be not unreal. Keretapa seems to belong to the large class of Anatolian names containing the element KEP, to which class perhaps the national name "Karia" belongs. The second part, *tapa*, seems to be the same word as the Karian *taba*, "rock."<sup>40</sup> *Kayadibi*, in Turkish, means "under the rock;" and the most remarkable feature in the situation is a lofty peak on the north, which rises so abruptly that it seems actually to overhang and overshadow the town. (6) This position of Keretapa explains its omission in some *Notitiae* (see KOLOSSAI).<sup>41</sup>

The bishops of Keretapa are often mentioned in the Councils of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. In 359 A. D., Theodoulos, bishop of Keretapa, seems to be a dignitary of some consequence, and not of an obscure town. The coinage is rich, from Augustus onwards. A fertile country of great extent belongs to the city, and it lay on the Roman road from Themissonion to Takina and Apameia.

With regard to the reported pre-Hellenic rock-sculptures of Karat-li, close to Kayadibi:<sup>42</sup> I went to examine them in 1886, and found only three figures nine inches high, in a niche—rude village-work of the Roman period.

<sup>39</sup> διὰ προσευχῆς ἐν τῇ τόπῳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξήγαγεν ὕδωρ πολὺ: the ἐξ shows that ὕδωρ cannot mean rain, but either a fountain or lake. Artemon was presbyter in Laodikeia, and Sisinus bishop.

<sup>40</sup> STEPH. BYZ., s. v., *Taba*.

<sup>41</sup> On the top of the hill overhanging Kayadibi are extensive ruins of one of the most curious, probably pre-Hellenic, fortifications that I have seen in Asia Minor. H. A. Brown and I visited them late one evening in 1886: we found nothing except great lines of walls formed of loose small stones, surrounding a considerable extent of country.

<sup>42</sup> DAVIS, *Anatolica*, p. 135; PERROT, *Hist. de l'Art*, IV, p. 742.

VIII. THEMISSONION.—M. Waddington proved conclusively, many years ago,<sup>43</sup> that Themissonion was in the valley now called Kara Eyuk Ova. Defective knowledge of the district led him to place it at Kadja Hissar,<sup>44</sup> and to make some incorrect statements about the topography: but his proof is a masterpiece of topographical analysis, and leaves me nothing to do except to apply it to the proper site, Kara Eyuk Bazar.<sup>45</sup>

Pausanias (x. 32) mentions Themissonion τὸ ὑπὲρ Λαοδικείας as a city of Phrygia, and says that a large cave 30 stadia from the city sheltered all the inhabitants from the invading Gauls. In front of this cave stood statues of Herakles, Apollon, and Hermes, which embody different aspects of the character of the native deity. Coins show that the chief deity of Themissonion was ΑΥΚαβας,<sup>46</sup> ΞΩΖΩΝ. The Saving-god—*Theos Sozon*—was worshipped in Antioch Maeandr. (a coin reads ΩΖΩΝ) and in various parts of Kabalis. A number of monuments of this cultus have been described by M. Collignon (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, iv, p. 291; pl. ix) and Mr. Smith (*A. H. S.*, p. 236). I copied a rude and very faint inscription below one of the reliefs mentioned by M. Collignon: <sup>47</sup>

NICEPMOΓΕ  
NOYHPAKΛIEY  
XHN

Mῆ]νις Ἑρμογέ-  
νου Ἑρακλ(ε)ῖ εὐ-  
χῆν.<sup>48</sup>

An inscription on the rocks at Tefenni<sup>49</sup> (incorrectly published, *A. H. S.*, p. 236), also beneath a relief, ought to be read Μενέλαος Μήνιδος

<sup>43</sup> *Bull. Archéol. de l'Athenaeum Français*, 1855: reprinted in *Mél. Numism.*, i, p. 107.

<sup>44</sup> Kai Hissar or Kaya Hissar (Kaja Hissar, where *j* represents *y*, is mistaken and given according to the French spelling as Kadja) is the proper name. It is not an ancient site.

<sup>45</sup> "The Bazaar of the Black Mound," a large tumulus beside the village: the valley takes its name from the village on the ancient site. Adji Badem, "Bitter Almond Tree," is the seat of the governor, a Kaimakam.

<sup>46</sup> Mr. HEAD has ΑΥΚΙΟΣ ΞΩΖΩΝ.

<sup>47</sup> These reliefs are in a rock at the village Yuvalik, which is strangely misspelt by MM. Duchesne and Collignon, "Djouk Ovarlak": *Yuva* is a kind of tree, *lik* is the collective termination.

<sup>48</sup> M. Collignon gives one line of an inscription, below one of these rock-reliefs, which either is an incorrect copy of my line 2, or is a second instance of the name Herakles applied to this god.

<sup>49</sup> Tefenni is quite near Yuvalik.

Ὁροφύλα[κι] εὐχὴν · ἔτους σορ'<sup>80</sup>: the deity to whom the vow is paid is almost invariably specified in inscriptions. We have, therefore, three names for this god: Orophylax, Sozon, and Herakles. The first is a mere title; the third identifies him with a Greek deity to whom he shows some analogy; Sozon is more remarkable. The following inscription from Sinda (which I copied in a cemetery beside Aghlan Keui in 1884, and which therefore belongs to the same district as the rock-reliefs) throws some light on it:

MHNICATTOΛΩΝ  
 ΟΥΕΑΥΤΩΖΩΝ  
 ΚΑΙΝΑΝΑΤΗΓΥΝΑ  
 ΖΩCH KI  
 ΙΕΡΕΥCΔΗΜΗΤΡΟC  
 ΚΑΙCΑΟΑΖΟΥ

Μῆνις Ἀπολ(λ)ων[ί-  
 ου ἐαυτῷ ζῶν  
 καὶ Νάνα τῇ γυναι[ι]κι  
 ζώσῃ  
 ἱερεὺς Δημητρός  
 καὶ Σαοάζου.

*Saoazos* is a variant of the commoner *Sabazios*, and is probably nearer the pronunciation of the district. The worship of *Sabazios* has been recognised at Tefenni by MM. Duchesne and Collignon, and there can be little doubt that this "Saviour-god," who was the great object of worship in the district, is simply the well-known Phrygian *Sabazios*. The name *Sozon* was, I believe, suggested as a Greek title of suitable meaning approximating in sound to the native *Saoazos*. The series of figures of various types, a horseman bearing club or battle-axe and sometimes with radiated head, must be interpreted as representing *Sabazios*; and the common type on Phrygian, Pisidian, and Lydian coins, which Mr. Head catalogues as an Amazon, ought to bear the name *Sabazios*. A dedication Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Μητρὶ Ἀπόλλωνος (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, II, p. 174), i. e., Apollon and Leto, may serve to prove that in this district *Sabazios* was the name given to the son of the goddess Leto, and may show us the cultus of Leto at an intermediate point between Perga and Hierapolis (see II).

The worship of Men in the same district is also vouched for by inscriptions, both published and unpublished. Men and *Sabazios* appear to me almost equivalent names. The idea that Men was the moon-god is due to popular etymology identifying the name with the Greek word for "month." The crescent horns, which in many representations mark him as the moon-god, are, I think, a mere misunderstanding of archaic wings on the shoulders.

<sup>80</sup> I read *sop'* on the rock: my copy indicates no doubt. Mr. SMITH prints ΣΟΡ, and transcribes (ε)ορ'.



## B. THE PHRYGO-KARIAN FRONTIER.

Following the lines of Diocletian, I shall enumerate under Karia the next towns south of Themissonion. The frontier lay, as is plain from Hierokles, between Kibyra and Themissonion. I shall now show more narrowly that it lay between Themissonion and Phylakaion, and north of the river Indos.

**B. 4. PHYLAKAION** or Pylakaion is mentioned only by Ptolemy, as in southern Phrygia, and by *Geographus Ravenn.*, which proves it to have been on a Roman road. We have now completely exhausted southern Phrygia except the road between Themissonion and Kibyra. Beside Derekeui, about 9 miles south of Themissonion, on the road to Kibyra, there is an ancient site. Now in the Peutinger Table we find :

“Laudicium Pylicum

Temissonio XXXIIII Cormassa XII Perge.”

It is usual to understand Laudicium Pylicum as *Laodikeia ἐπὶ Λύκῳ*; but, first, the Table was taken from a Latin, not a Greek source;<sup>51</sup> secondly, *ἐπὶ Λύκῳ* does not explain the termination of Pylicum. In *Pylicum* I recognize Pylakaion, and find two roads mixed and confused in the Table :

“(1) Cormassa [XXI Comama XIII Cretopolis XXVI] Perga. (2) Laodiceia XXXIIII Themissonion [IX] Pyliceum [XX Cibyra XXXVI Isinda] XII [Termessos XVIII] Perga.”

Phylakaion may be recognized in the Byzantine period. The last three names on Hierokles' Karian list are *Χωρία Πατριμόνια, Κιβύρα, Κοκτημαλικαί*: the last is obviously corrupt: the beginning is assimilated to the preceding Kibyra, and the word is Ktema-likai. The original form was Ktema [Py]likai[on], and *Χωρία Πατριμόνια* is a dittography. If Phylakaion was an imperial estate, we should then understand why it alone of all the towns on this road did not coin money.

This position of Phylakaion near the Lykian frontier is confirmed by a passage in Ptolemy v. 2. 27, which should be read *παρὰ μὲν τὴν Λυκίαν Φυλακήνσιοι*<sup>52</sup> *καὶ Θεμισώνιοι, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Βιθυνίαν Μοκκαδηνοί[?] καὶ Κιδυησσεῖς, ὑφ' οὓς Πελητηνοί[?], εἶτα Μοξεανοί, εἶτα Λυκάονες, ὑφ' οὓς Ἱεραπολῖται.* With this slight change, which crept in through the similar beginning of *Λυκάονες* and *Λυκίαν*, the geographical order is correct: on *Μοξεανοί* see my *C. and B.*, p. 422; the Lykaones

<sup>51</sup> Compare *Tavium [T']rogmor[um]*, *Massilia Grecorum*, etc.

<sup>52</sup> This form can hardly be correct. *Μοκκαδηνοί* should be *Μακ(εδόνες) Καδοηνοί*.

are the people in the valley called Cutchuk Sitchanli Ova between Sandikli and Afion Kara Hirsar, immediately east of the Moxeanoi, and I long ago proved that the Hierapolitai are the people of the Sandikli valley.<sup>53</sup> The proper form of the name is uncertain: Pylik[ai]um (*Tab. Peut.*), [Phy]likai[on] (*Hier.*), Pylakaion and Phylakaion (*Ptol.*), Filaction (*Geogr. Ravenn.*) all occur. The forms in Ptolemy are probably Grecised to suit a supposed connection with φύλαξ.

**B. 5. ERIZA**, which lies near Ishkian Bazar, between Phylakaion and Kibyra,<sup>54</sup> is mentioned by Hierokles as Erezos, and in the *Notitiae* as Siza. Included in Phrygia, before the time of Diocletian, it was thenceforward comprised in Karia. A few coins ΕΡΙΖΗΝΩΝ exist.

A milestone, which I copied at Tcham Keui in 1884 (probably in the territory of Eriza), belongs to the Roman Road, Themissonion-Kibyra:

ΤΟΙΣΘΕΩΝ	Τοῖς Θεῶν [ἐπιφανεστάτοις
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ	Αὐτοκράτο[ρι Καίσαρι Λ.
ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΩΣΕΥΗ	Σεπτιμῖω Σευή[ρῳ Περ-
ΤΙΝΑΚΙΣΕΒΑΣ	τίνακι Σεβασ[τῷ Ἀραβικῷ
ΑΔ ΗΝΙΚΩΠ	Ἀδ[ιαβ]ηρικῷ Π[αρθικῷ
ΚΑΙΑ ΟΚΡΑΤΟ	καὶ Α[ὐτ]οκράτο[ρι Καίσαρι Μ.
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΩΑΝΤΩΝ	Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντων[εῖνῳ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ	Σεβαστῷ[καὶ Π. Σεπ-
//////////	[τιμῖω Γέτῳ υἱῷ? τῶν]
ΓΑΛΩΝΙΑ	με]γάλων [Β]α[σιλέων καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΙΗΤΓΙΛΛΑΚΑ	Σεβαστῇ μητέρα (sic) Κἀ[στρων.
ΑΙ ΟΙ ΪΒΥΙ	Ἀ[π]ὸ [Κ]ιβύ[ρας Μιλια δώδεκα?

The inscriptions found at Asha Dodurga and Yokari Dodurga also belong to the territory of Eriza: these are *C. I. G.*, 4380 *r, s, t, u, v.*; and *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1885, p. 324.<sup>55</sup> Others, copied by Sterrett and myself in 1884, will shortly, I hope, be published by him. These prove that the people considered themselves Pisidians, as Strabo also (p. 570) must have done, and that they probably used the era of Kibyra, A. D. 25.

**B. 6. SEBASTOPOLIS** of Karia occurs in Hierokles, not in the *Notitiae*. Its apparent omission must be due to the fact that the official name Sebastopolis was replaced by the old native name:<sup>56</sup> it is uncertain

<sup>53</sup> *Trois Villes Phrygiennes* in *Bull. Corr. Hellén.*, 1882.

<sup>54</sup> On the exact situation, see E.

<sup>55</sup> Understanding that the name *Durdurkar* is a mistake for Dodurga or Todurga.

<sup>56</sup> So in late Byzantine time Diokaisareia of Isauria becomes Prakana.



which of the strange names *Ταπασσῶν, Μετάβων, Προμισοῦ, Ἀνωτε-  
τάρτης* is to be given to Sebastopolis. Its discovery is due to Schönborn.

**B. 7. SINDA** is mentioned only by Livy (see **E**). It was apparently a small place, which was merged either in Kibyra or in Eriza.

**B. 8. KIBYRA** was, under the Roman Empire, along with Eriza and Phylakaion, reckoned to Phrygia, and the tone of Kibyratie inscriptions tends to connect it with the country to the east rather than with Karia and the west. The frontier of Byzantine Karia and Pamphylia lay between Kibyra and Lagbe. It is clear that, as might be expected, the rearrangement of the provinces interfered very little with the old lines of demarcation. Phrygia and Karia were carved out of the single Asia, but the line separating Lykia-Pamphylia from the older Asia continued to separate them from the new Karia-Phrygia.

#### A. PHRYGIA.

**IX. TAKINA.**—For the full text,<sup>57</sup> and an account of the inaccurate copies previously published, of the important inscription which gives this name, see A. H. S., No. 12. Takina is mentioned also by the *Geogr. Ravenn.* as Tagina, and by Ptolemy as Γάζηνα (which must be corrected to Τάγνηνα). I know no other instances of the name. Takina, being mentioned by the *Geogr. Rav.*, must have stood on a Roman road.<sup>58</sup> This is confirmed by the milestone (Smith-Ramsay, 1884; <sup>59</sup> *Ephem. Epigraph.*, v, p. 593). It is one of the series erected on the roads of Asia, from the Hellespont to the Pisidian frontier, by Manius Aquillius, about 130 B. C. The number engraved on it in Greek and Latin is CKΓ, CCXXIII, which, like all others on the milestones of Aquillius, must be the distance from Ephesos. Now the distance from Takina by the nearest pass to Kolossai and Laodikeia, and thence by the ordinary road (see **V. ATTOUDDA**) to Ephesos, is only about 166 Roman miles. It is plain, therefore, that the Roman road made a circuit, and that the distances were measured for all the way along the road. There are only two possibilities: the distance may have been measured by way of Laodikeia, Themissonion, Keretapa; or by way of Laodikeia, Apameia, and the shore of Lake Askania. The distances along both are given in

<sup>57</sup> In l. 7 he reads Βασιλώτης, assuming a name Βασιλώτη: it would perhaps be better to read Βασιλῶ τῆς θυγατρὸς. His transcription of the other Takinaean inscriptions contains several errors, which can be easily corrected by any reader.

<sup>58</sup> The obvious close relation to *Tab. Peut.* makes this practically certain.

<sup>59</sup> I again verified the text in 1886.

the following table: from Ephesos to Attoudda, I take the distance as measured along the railway, and for the rest I depend on my own map drawn, with the aid of a survey, in preparation for a proposed extension of the Ottoman railway to Apameia. My map is on the scale of 4 English statute miles per inch: I measured with a compass the number of inches along the line of the road, assuming that it ran straight from inch to inch, and added one in twenty for the necessary winding of the road.

Ephesos		Ephesos	
Attoudda	93	Laodikeia	107
Laodikeia	107	Apameia	173
Themissonion	141	Mallos (Kilij)	191
Keretapa	162	Adada (Elles)	205
Takina	176	Takina	223

From this table it follows that Aquillius measured along the great eastern highway, which, from 400 B. C. to 300 A. D., formed the backbone of Anatolian communication, as far as Apameia, and then turned down southwards round the frontier of the province. He carried the road at least as far as Takina, but there can be little doubt that it was continued to Keretapa and Themissonion either by him or in later time. It is also obvious, from the table, that the Roman road took the shortest possible line. The distance measured along the line of the rails, existing or projected, from Ephesos to Apameia is  $178\frac{1}{2}$  English statute miles: according to the above table, the distance in Roman miles along the same road is 173 miles. The line of the road does not actually lie through such cities as Magnesia, Tralleis, Nyssa, Antiokheia:<sup>60</sup> and the table shows that the sum of separate distances from city to city must be decidedly greater than the distance from end to end.

The line of the road constructed by Manius Aquillius must have been on Roman soil: lake Askania must therefore have been the boundary between Roman Asia and non-Roman Pisidia. It is probable,<sup>61</sup> that the same boundary continued between Asia and Pisidia, first when the latter became Roman and was attached to the province of Galatia, and afterwards when a great part of Pisidia was attached to the new

<sup>60</sup> Apameia, Laodikeia, Karoura, on the other hand, are directly on the line of the road.

<sup>61</sup> It cannot however be inferred with certainty that the whole line of road must have always continued to be in the same province. The road Kibyra-Alaston is measured from Kibyra in Asia, and yet runs for the most part through Pisidia (see below).

province of Lycia-Pamphylia by Vespasian. The Roman cities at Elles and Kilij were therefore probably cities of Asia.

Takina is not mentioned in the Byzantine lists: Hierokles, however, mentions Valentia in this part of Phrygia, and Valentia is mentioned as a bishopric in the Councils of 451 and 553. These references show that Valentia was a temporary name of a bishopric which in earlier and later time must occur under a different name. Takina and Valentia are therefore probably the same. In the earlier classes of *Notitiæ*, Takina-Valentia is omitted with the rest of this district (see KOLOSSAI). In *Notitiæ* of the latest class, it is perhaps included in the bishoprics of Pamphylia Tertia (see D).

We have seen that Elles must have been in Asia at the time of Aquilius, and that it would probably continue attached to that province till Diocletian's time. But geographically it is connected with Pisidia rather than with Phrygia. A coin of Adada (Mionnet *Suppl.* and Friedländer's *Appendix* to Hirschfeld) gives a magistrate's name; and, according to M. Waddington's law, this proves that Adada was in the province Asia. But Ptolemy's authority and other considerations place Adada in Pisidia. The order of Hierokles leads me to place Adada at Elles, and this position explains the contradiction among the authorities. The legend ΑΔΑΔΑΤΩΝ on the coin above quoted is misunderstood by Friedländer: it should be accented Ἀδαδατῶν, as genitive plural of an ethnic Ἀδαδάτης, used for the commoner Ἀδαδεύς. The name Elles, more correctly Elyes or Ilyas, is a corruption of Saint Elias, who was therefore the saint of the church of Adada. The order of Hierokles makes Kilij the site of Mallos, which is doubtless the Mallos πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηνόν of Pisidian inscriptions: in that case Χῶμα Σακηνόν is perhaps the fine mountain called by the Turks Ai Doghmush ("the Rising Moon"), south of Apameia.

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[To be continued. N. B. The map which is to accompany this paper will appear in Part II.]



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Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands (II)

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Source: *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Mar., 1888), pp. 6-21

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

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## ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTHERN PHRYGIA AND THE BORDER LANDS. (\*)

[PLATES II, III.]

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### II.

#### D. THE PHRYGO-PISIDIAN FRONTIER.

This frontier appears to have been the watershed on the north side of the Lysis. I have proved that the whole territory north of the watershed was Asian and Phrygian, and I have now to show that as soon as we cross it we are in Pisidian territory.

In discussing the boundary, it is necessary to essay the hard task of placing the cities of Pisidia. As usual, we start from the list of Hierokles. I have elsewhere proved<sup>62</sup> that the division of Pamphylia into *Prima* and *Secunda* is older than Hierokles. The accompanying Table gives a comparison of the most important lists of cities in Pamphylia *Secunda*, arranged according to the order of Hierokles. The date of the various *Notitiae* must be determined approximately, in order to draw any historical inferences from the variations between them. Parthey claims to have arranged them in chronological order; he gives no reasons, but is, I presume, guided by the age of the MSS.: his arrangement does not agree with the evidence of the documents. In the *Notitiae* the bishoprics are arranged according to a fixed order: as changes were made in the order, they are inserted, but there are many cases in which both the new order and the old exist side by side in the same document: hence, different parts of the same *Notitia* may point to different dates. If we look at the order of dignity in the list of metropolitans and archbishops, the *Notitiae* must be arranged as follows: <sup>63</sup> *Not. VII* is older than the Schism (857 A. D.), but only a few years. *Not. I, VIII, IX* belong to the time of Photios (857–86 A. D.). Of these, *Not. I* gives an order of dignity for the metropolitans which is in some points earlier than *VIII–IX*.<sup>64</sup> *Not. III, X* give the order of dignity as settled by Leo

(\*) Continued from vol. III, p. 368.

<sup>62</sup> *Mithteil. Athen.*, 1886, p. 345.

<sup>63</sup> I give here the results of a still incomplete study of the *Notitiae*.

<sup>64</sup> The note at the end of *Not. I* gives a date, 883 A. D. (which is probably correct),

	HIEROKLES.	COINS.	PTOLEMY.
1. PERGA	1. Πέργη	ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ	Perge Pam.
2. SILLYON	2. Σύλλαιον	ΞΙΛΛΥΕΩΝ	Silouon Pam.
3. MAGYDOS	3. Μάγνδος	ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ	Magydos Pam.
4. ATTALEIA	4. Ἀτταλία	ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ	Attaleia Pam.
5. DEMOS OLBIANORUM	5. δήμον Οὐλίαμβος	ΤΡΕΒΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ	Olbia Pam.
6. TREBENNA	6. Τρέσena		Trebendai Lyciae
7. DIKITANAURA?	7. δήμον Καναύρα		
8. { TERMESSOS JOVIA ET EUDOCIAS	8. Ἰοβία	{ ΤΕΡΜΗΣΞΕΩΝ	{ Termessos Cab.
9. DEMOS PERMINODEON	9. Θερμεσσὸς καὶ Εὐδοκία	{ ΤΩΝΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ	{ Menedemion Cab.
10. POGLA	10. δήμον Μενδενέω	ΠΩΓΛΕΩΝ	Pogla Cab.
11. ANEDA	11. δήμον Σώκλα	ΑΝΔΗΔΕΩΝ	
12. BERBE (OUERBE)	12. Σίνδα	ΟΥΕΡΒΙΑΝΩΝ	Ouranopolis Cab.
13. ISINDA	13. Βέρβη	ΙΣΙΝΔΕΩΝΙΩΝΩΝ	Pisinda Cab.
14. { LAGBE (et alia choria Milyadica)	14. Σινδαῦνδα	{ ΛΑΓΒΗΝΩΝ	{ Milyas Cab.
15. OLBASA	{ 15. Μνωδία	OLBASENORVM	Olbasa Pis.
16. PALAIAPOLIS	16. Χωρία Μιλναδικά	ΠΑΛΕΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	
	17. Ὀλβασα		
	18. Παλαιάπολις		
17. LYSINIA	19. Λυσήναρα	ΛΥΞΙΝΙΕΩΝ	Lysinia Phryg. Pis.
18. KOMAMA	20. Κόμανα	COMAMENORVM	Commacon Pis.
19. KOLBASA	21. Κόλβασα	ΚΟΛΒΑΚΚΕΩΝ	Cormasa Phryg. Pis. Corb.
20. KREMNA	22. Κρέμνα	ΚΡΗΜΝΕΩΝ	Cremna Col. Pis.
21. { PANEMOUTEICHOS	23. Πανέμον τεῖχος	ΠΑΝΕΜΟΥΤΕΙΧΙΤΩΝ	Cretopolis Cab.
22. ARIASSOS	24. Ἀριάσσος	ΑΡΙΑΚΚΕΩΝ	Ariassos Cab.
23. { MAXIMIANOPOLIS	{ 25. Μαξιμιανούπολις		{
24. ORMELENSIUM	26. Κτήμα Μαξιμιανούπολεως		
25. REGIO SALAMARA	27. Ῥεγησαλάμαρα		
26. { TYMBRIANASA	28. Λιμόβραμα		Orbanassa Pis?
27. TYMBRIANASSOS	29. Κόδρουλα	ΚΟΔΡΟΥΛΕΩΝ	
28. KODROULA	{ 30. Δεμονσία		
	31. δήμον Σαβαιῶν		
	32. Παστοληρισός	{ ΤΕΔΝΗΑΙΞΞΕΩΝ	Pednelissos
		{ ΤΕΤΝΗΑΙΞΞΕΩΝ	

EMY.	COUNCIL OF CHALKEDON, A. D. 451.	EPIST. AD LEONEM, A. D. 458.	NOTITIAE VII, VIII.	NOTITIAE I, IX.
	Pergae Sillyi Magydi { _____ _____ _____	Perga Sillyon _____ { _____ _____ Trebenna _____	Πέργης 19. Συλαίου 3. Μαγύδου { 2. Ἀταλίας. Ἀτγαλείας 19. Περβαίνων. Περβένων 13. Δικηταναύρου Δικιτανάβρων 5. Τελμησοῦ. Τελμισσοῦ 4. Εὐδοξιάδος. Εὐδοκιάδος (Tertia) 14. Πούγλων 17. Σανδίδων 18. Βαραεῖς. Βάρβης 6. Σίνδου. Ἰσίνδου 8. Λαγγήνων. Λαγίνων 15. Ἀδριανῆς 9. Παλαιονπόλεως (Tertia) (Tertia) (Tertia) 10. Κρημνοῦ (Tertia) 14. Ἀριασσοῦ. Ἀρησασοῦ { 7. Μαξιμιανονπόλεως (Tertia) (Tertia) (Tertia) { 11. Κονδρούλων Κορυδάλλον (Pamphylia Prima) 12. Πελτινισσοῦ Πελτινησσοῦ	{ 1. Πέργης ἦτοι Συλαίου 3. Μαγύδου { 2. Ἀτταλείας 19. Περβιάνων 13. Δικιοτανάβρων Κιτανναύρας 5. Τερμισσοῦ. Τελμισσοῦ Εὐδοκιάδος (Pamphylia Terti 15. Πούγλων 17. Σανδίδων 18. Βάρβης 6. Ἰσίνδου 8. Λαγίνων 16. Ἀδριανῆς 9. Παλαιονπόλεως (Tertia) (Tertia) (Tertia) 10. Κρημνοῦ. Κρημνῶν (Tertia) 14. Ἀριασσοῦ { 7. Μαξιμιανονπόλεως (Tertia) (Tertia) (Tertia) { 11. Κορυδάλλον Κορυδάλλον (Prima) 11. Πελτινισσοῦ
is. Pis. Corbasa Cab.	Termessi et Eudociadis et Zobiae _____ Puglorum _____ _____ Isindorum _____ _____ Lysinaiorum _____ _____ Panemutichi Ariassi { _____ _____ _____ Codrulorum _____ _____	Termessus Eudoxia _____ Pougla _____ _____ _____ Hadrianopolis Palaiapolis Lysinia Comana _____ _____ Panemouteichos Ariassos { Maximianopolis (Tertia) (Tertia) Codroula _____ Pellensis		

§ I, IX.	NOTITIA III.	NOTITIAE X, XIII.	COUNCILS, A. D. 325, 381, 431, 536.
ἦτοι αίου	{ 1. Πέργης ἦτοι Συλίου 3. Μαρύδου	{ 1. Πέργης ἦτοι Συλαίου 3. Μαρύδου	Perge Sillyon Magydos
is	{ 2. Ἀτταλείας	{ 2. Ἀτταλείας	{ Attalia
ον	17. Περβαίνων	19. Περβαίνων	_____
ίβρων	12. Ἀδικηταναύρων	13. Ἀδικηταναύρων	_____
ρας	5. Τελμισσοῦ	5. Τελμισσοῦ	{ Termessos et Eudocias
os	4. Εὐδοκιάδος (Tertia)	4. Εὐδοκιάδος (Tertia)	
ylia Tertia)	13. Πούγλων	15. Πούγλων	
	15. Σανδίδου	17. Σανδίδου. Κανδίδου	
	16. Βάρβης	18. Βάρβης	Kyrbensis. Barbitanus
	6. Ἰσίνδου	6. Ἰσίνδου	Isinda
	18. Λαγίνων	8. Λαγίνων	_____
	14. Ἀδριανῆς	16. Ἀδριανῆς	Adriane
όλεως	19. Παλαιονπόλεως ἦτοι Ἀλιερού (Tertia) (Tertia) (Tertia)	9. Παλαιονπόλεως ἦτοι Ἀλεερού. Ἀλευρού (Tertia) (Tertia) (Tertia)	Palaiopolis
	8. Κρημνῶν (Tertia)	10. Κρημνῶν (Tertia)	Lysinia Commacon Colbasa
Κρημνῶν			Panemouteichos
	10. Ἀριασσοῦ	14. Ἀριασσοῦ	Ariassos
ονπόλεως	{ 7. Μαξιμιανονπόλεως (Tertia) (Tertia)	{ 7. Μαξιμιανονπόλεως (Tertia) (Tertia)	{ Maximianopolis
	9. Κορυδάλων (Prima)	{ 11. Δοριδάλων Βρυδάλων (Prima)	_____
ον			_____
ου			_____
ου	12. Πελτινισσοῦ	12. Τερτινησσοῦ	Pentenensensis



the Wise (886–911). *Not. XIII* gives the order of dignity as settled by Andronikos Palaiologos (1282–1328).

If, however, we look at the lists of bishops subordinate to the various metropolitans,<sup>65</sup> the *Notitiae* fall into two sharply distinguished classes, *I, VII, VIII, IX*, and *III, X, XIII*. In several provinces, *VII, VIII, IX* resemble each other more than *I*, while *III, X, XIII* are almost always very intimately related to each other: there are therefore, in general, three classes, *VII, VIII, IX; I; and III, X, XIII*; but in Pamphylia Secunda *VII* and *VIII* are closer, and *IX* and *I* form the second class, though the differences of the *Notitiae* in this province are exceedingly slight. There can be no question that *VII* is the oldest *Notitia*, and *III, X, XIII* the latest. As to the exact period to which the lists of Pamphylia Secunda belong, those of *III, X, XIII* are not earlier than A. D. 1084, when Attaleia became metropolis of the province; *I* is dated 883; and *VII* is probably about 850.

In the Table, I have tacitly corrected some errors in the *Notitiae*, which are, as I think, due to the transcribers: I have, however, allowed all the errors of spelling and accent to remain. In *Not. VII*, Magydos is omitted by accident, and Dikitanaura transferred from 13 to 16. In *Not. VIII*, Pogla is accidentally omitted. In *Not. IX*, which is almost identical with *Not. I*, Sillyon is repeated as No. 19, on the analogy of *VII, VIII*, where it has that place. In *Not. III*, the order varies considerably from all other *Notitiae*: the reason is probably an error of the scribe, though it may possibly be a real change made in the order of dignity. So the order of dignity in Phrygia Salutaris was entirely changed. In the Councils later than 536 A. D., hardly any bishops of Pamphylia appear: this probably shows a decline in the civilization and the importance of the provinces. Examination of the several bishoprics proves that this decline was far more serious and early in Pamphylia than in the northern provinces.

Hierokles enumerates first the cities of the coastland of Pamphylia proper, then the cities in the valley of the Tauros (Istanoz Su). With the next two names, *Μυωδία* and *Χωρία Μιλυαδικά*, he passes to the hilly country between the Tauros and the Lysis. *Μυωδία* is obviously a false form: I consider it a ditto-graphy of *Μιλυαδικά*, and find Lagbe

and a remark about the order of dignity, which is false (comp. *Not. II* with its introductory note).

<sup>65</sup> I give here the result of an examination strictly confined to the Anatolian provinces.

(whose site is well known) summed up with some other small hill-towns<sup>66</sup> as *Χωρία Μιλυαδικά*. Hierokles then goes down the course of the Lysis with the names Olbasa, Palaiapolis, Lysinia, and thence passes southeast and east to Komama, Kolbasa,<sup>67</sup> Kremna, and Panemouteichos. So far, the enumeration is perfectly regular, but, as in several other cases in Hierokles, the end of his list gives outlying towns in a less regular order. The northwest frontier has been omitted, and here we find Ariassos, Maximianopolis with the dittography Ktêma Maximianoupoleos, Regesalamara and Limobrama. Finally, we have the three towns on the east frontier, Kodroula, Isba, and Pednelissos.

**D. 1-4. PERGA and SILLYON** are united in one bishopric from *Not. I, IX* onwards: this entry has not yet been made in *Not. VII, VIII*, from which we may conclude that the union took place about 950-80. It was caused by the gradual desolation and desertion of the cities: a process which was completed in A. D. 1084, when **ATTALEIA** was made a metropolis. Considering the state of the Empire in the twelfth century, it is probable that all other bishops of the province were merely historical survivals. Yet, if we accepted the *Notitiae* literally, we should believe that Perga was still the metropolis of a province, and that Attaleia became an independent bishopric. Only *Not. IV* gives the true state of affairs: ὁ Συλαίου ὃς καὶ Πέργης λέγεται, ἀνθ' οὗ ἐνὶ νῦν ὁ Ἀτταλίας. **SIDE** also, metropolis of *Pamphylia Prima*, seems to have sunk into decay not much later. After being degraded from tenth to thirteenth in the list of metropoleis, in order to make room for Philadelphieia (1283-1321), it entirely disappeared from the order of Andronikos Palaiologos Junior (1328-41), and its rank in the order of dignity was given to Monembasia, as metropolis of the entire Peloponnesos.

**D. 5.** The site of **OLBIA** is fixed by a passage of Strabo (p. 666). In Hierokles, *Δήμον Οὐλιάμβου* seems to be a corruption: and, if we read *Δήμον Ὀλβιανοῦ* or *Ὀλβιανῶν*, the geographical order is preserved. Olbia is not mentioned in the *Notitiae*: it must have been incorporated under Attaleia.

**D. 6, 7. DIKITANAURA** (the correct form is doubtful) and **TREBENNA**. On these, see my remarks in *Mittheil. Athen.*, 1886.

**D. 8.** The name Ἰοβία is, I think, a mere epithet of **TERMESSOS**, dating from the time of Diocletianus Jovius: in earlier ecclesiastical

<sup>66</sup> One lies beside Tashkessé, close to the sources of the Kolobatos.

<sup>67</sup> The similarity of the first syllables has perhaps caused a transposition of the first two names.

documents the phrase (ἐπίσκοπος) Τερμησσοῦ καὶ Εὐδοκιάδος καὶ Ἰοβίας led to the false form in Hierokles: the city boasted of the double title *Jovia et Eudocias*. It is true that Termessos and Eudocias are distinguished in all the *Notitiae* and in the signatures to the *Epistola ad Leonem Imperatorem*: but they always occur side by side, and I believe the distinction to arise from an error of the scribe. The legend ΗΤΟΚΑΤΟΥCΕΧΟΥCΑ on coins of Termessos, should be explained, I think, ἡ τὸ κάπους ἔχουσα: the city boasted of possessing 370 gardens or country estates. Such gardens, *baghtche*, often exist at the present day in numbers, even at a considerable distance from the town to which they belong.

**D. 9.** The people **PERMINODEIS**. To the five published inscriptions from the Hieron of Apollon Perminodension (*Mittheil.*, 1886, A. H. S., 23), I have to add the following: all are roughly scratched on the rocks:

- |     |                     |               |
|-----|---------------------|---------------|
| (6) | ΜΑCΙΚΑΙ             | Κιδρα]μᾶς καὶ |
|     | ΙΟΥΑΙC              | Ἰούλι(ο)ς     |
|     | ΑΠΟΛΩ               | Ἀπόλλ(λ)ω-    |
|     | ΝΙΠΑΤΡΙ             | νι πατρὶ      |
|     | ΚΗΝΕΥΧΗ             | ... εὐχῇ-     |
|     | Ν                   | ν             |
| (7) | ΓΛΙΟCΟΙΙ            | Γάιος Ο ...   |
|     | ΟCΕΥΓΕΝΙΩ           | ος Εὐγενίου   |
|     | ΥΙΠΕΡC              | ὑπὲρ σ[ωτη-   |
|     | \\ ΝΦΙΓ             | ρίας?         |
|     | ΕΥΧΗΝ <sup>68</sup> | εὐχῇν.        |
| (8) | ΥΠΕΡΥΙΟΥCΩ          | ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ Σω- |
|     | CΙΔΩΡΟ///           | σιδώρου.      |

This inscription is complete except the final letter.

Beside these, such fragments as the following were abundant:

- |      |        |            |
|------|--------|------------|
| (9)  | ΕΥΧΗΝ  | εὐχῇν      |
|      | ΑΠΟΛΛΩ | Ἀπόλλω-    |
|      | ΝΙ     | νι         |
| (10) | Δ      | Δ[ημήτριος |
|      | ΠΟΛΛΩ  | Α]πόλλω[νι |
|      | ΧΗΝ    | εὐ]χῇν.    |
| (11) | ΕΥΧΗΝ  | εὐχῇν      |

<sup>68</sup>3, ΠC *liée*, as a large Π and small C.

**D. 10. POGLA** is usually called Pougla in Byzantine times: the modern name is Fougla or Foulla (with the first *l* distinctly guttural). Its inscriptions are (1) *C. I. G.*, 4367 *d*; <sup>69</sup> (2) *Mittheil. Athen.*, p. 337; (3) *C. I. G.*, 4367 *f*; and A. H. S., No. 41; (4) A. H. S., 39; (5) A. H. S., 40; (6) was copied by me in 1884:

<p>             ///ΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗ///              ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΞΕΠΤΙΜΙΑΝΑΡ              ΜΑΞΤΑΝΤΗΝΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΟΝΔΗ              ΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΝΓΕΝΟΥΞΛΑΜΠΡΟΥ              5 ΚΑΙΕΝΔΟΞΟΥΚΑΙΟΥΠΤΡΩΤΕ              ΟΝΤΟΞΠΑΡΗΜΕΙΝΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟ              ΑΥΤΗΞΕΡΜΕΟΥΑΤΤΕΟΥΞΜΕ              ΤΑΚΑΙΕΤΕΡΩΝΩΝΠΑΡΕCΧΕ              ΤΟΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΟΝΤΟΞ              10 ΔΕΚΑΙΕΙΞΔΙΑΝΟΜΑΞΤΗE              ΙΕΡΑΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΤΗΕΚΛΗC              Α*ΑΦΚΑΙΑΥΤΗΗΑΡΜΑΞ              ΤΑΥΠΕΡΩΝΕΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΗ              ΞΑΤΟΥΠΤΕΡΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΙΑΞ*ΔΦ<sup>70</sup>              15 ΕΥΝΟΙΑΞΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΞΕΙΞΤΗΝ              ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ           </p>	<p>             [ή βο]υλή καὶ ὁ δῆ[μος]              ἐτείμησεν Σεπτιμίαν Ἀρ-              μάσταν τὴν ἀξιόλογον δη-              μιουργὸν γένους λαμπροῦ              καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ τοῦ πρωτε[ύ-              οντος παρ' ἡμεῖν· τοῦ πατρὸς              αὐτῆς Ἑρμέου Ἀπτεούς με-              τὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ὧν παρέσχε[ι-              το τῇ πόλει καταλιπόντος              δὲ καὶ εἰς διανομὰς τῇ [τ]ε              ἱερᾷ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκ(κ)λησί-              α *αφ' καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ Ἀρμάσ-              τα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐφίλοτειμή-              σατο ὑπὲρ δημιουργίας *δφ'              εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὴν              πατρίδα           </p>
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(7) Is published *C. I. G.*, 4367 *e* and *g.*, which are two parts of one text. As Schönborn's copy is incomplete and not wholly accurate, and as the text is badly interpreted by Franz, I add it in full:

ΕΥΧΡΟΜΙΟΥ
<p>             //////////ΕΚΑΙΔΗΜΟΥΟ////////,Ι ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΚΑΙ              ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΝΤΩΝCΕΒΑCΤΩΝΑΥΡΑΡΤΕΙ              ΜΙΑΝΟΝΔΙΛΙΤΡΙΑΝΟΝΑΡΤΕΙΜΑΝΚΑΙΑΥΡ              ΑΡΤΕΜΕΙΝΤΡΟΙΛΟΥΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΟΥΕΡΜΑΙΟΥΔΗΜΙ              ΟΥΡΓΗCΑΝΤΑCΚΑΙΚΤΙCΑΝΤΑCΚΑΙΤΑCΛΟΙΠΑC              ΠΑCΑCΑΡΧΑCΚΑΙΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑCΤΕΛΕCΑΝΤΑC              ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΞΤΟΙΞΥΗΦΙΞΜΑΞΙΝΤΟΥCΔΕΑΝ              ΔΡΙΑΝΤΑCΑΝΕCΤΗΞΑΝΑΥΡΡΛΟΝΓΕΙΝΟCΚΑΙ              ΑΡΤΕΙΜΑΕΟΚΑΙΕΡΜΑΙΟCΟΙΥΙΟΑΥΤΩΝ           </p>

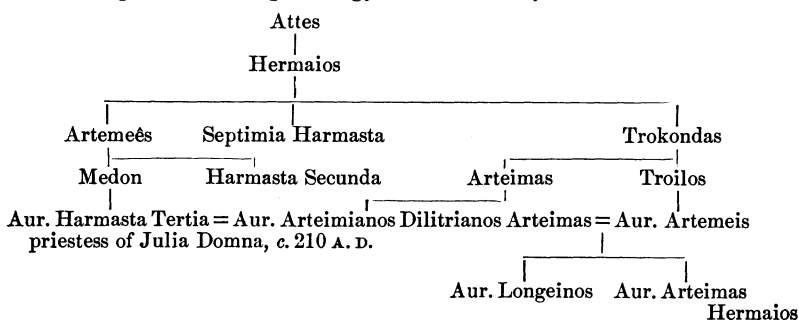
<sup>69</sup> ΞΟΥΕΙΜΟΥ, the reading of Schönborn is correct, and should not be altered to get a Greek name Σωτρίμων.

<sup>70</sup> ΔΦ or ΑΦ uncertain: more probably Δ.

Ἐυχρομίου.<sup>71</sup>

Βουλῆς καὶ δήμου [δ]ό[γματ]ι, ἀρχιερέα καὶ  
ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν Σεβαστῶν, Αὐρ. Ἀρτεϊ-  
μιανὸν Διλιτριανὸν Ἀρτείμαν καὶ Αὐρ.  
Ἀρτέμειν Τροίλου Τροκόνδου Ἑρμαίου δημι-  
ουργήσαντας καὶ κτίσαντας καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς  
πάσας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας τελέσαντας  
ἀκολούθως τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν· τοὺς δὲ ἀν-  
δριάντας ἀνέστησαν Αὐρήλιοι Λονγεῖνος καὶ  
Ἀρτίμας ὁ καὶ Ἑρμαῖος οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν

Dilitrianos and Artemeis are the same pair who are mentioned in No. 2: *κτίσαντας* implies that they had founded some benefaction for the State, and acquired the title of *κτισταί*. In No. 2, Dilitrianos is said to be son of Arteimas, archiereus and ktistes. In No. 3, we have the same Aur. Arteimianos Dilitrianos Arteimas with a wife, Aur. Harmasta Tertia, whose date is fixed by her being priestess of Hera the Empress, *i. e.*, Julia Domna (cp. A. H. S., No. 12). Unless, therefore, there were two persons, father and son, each named Aur. Arteimianos Dilitrianos Arteimas (of whom one is mentioned as father of Longeinos and Arteimas Hermaios, the other as son of Arteimas the high-priest), which seems highly improbable, Dilitrianos must have had two wives, Aur. Harmasta and Aur. Artemeis. If we connect Septimia Harmasta (No. 6) with Harmasta Tertia by an intermediate Harmasta Secunda, and identify the double Arteimas and Hermaios, who appear as contemporaries, the genealogy of this family is as follows:



In the following inscription (No. 8) there occurs Hermaios, son of Arteimas and grandson of Trokondas: he must be a brother of Dilitrianos, and his son Attes was honored with a statue about A. D. 280:

<sup>71</sup> This word seems to have stood isolated in the middle of the line. The stone is injured on left, but complete on right, in this line.

(8) Copied by me in 1884 :

//////////

ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝ ΑΤΤΗΝΕΡΜΑΙ  
ΟΥΑΡΤΕΙΜΟΥΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΟΥ  
ΑΝΔΡΑΓΕΝΟΥΞΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙ  
ΚΟΥΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΙΚΟΥΑΤΤ  
ΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΕ  
ΩΝΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΟΝΤΟΝ  
ΔΕΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΑΝΕΣΤΗ  
ΞΕΝΕΡΜΑΙΟΞΑΤΤΗΕΡΜΑΙ  
ΟΥΑΡΤΕΙΜΟΥΟΥΙΟΞΑΥ  
ΤΟΥΜΝΕΙΑΞΧΑΡΙΝ

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]  
ἐτείμησεν Ἀττην Ἑρμαί-  
ου Ἀρτείου Τροκόνδου  
ἄνδρα γένους ἀρχιερατι-  
κοῦ καὶ δεκαπρωτικοῦ ἀπ[ὸ  
προγόνων φιλοπάτρε-  
ων καὶ φιλοτείμων· τὸν  
δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστη-  
σεν Ἑρμαῖος Ἀττη Ἑρμαί-  
ου Ἀρτείου ὁ υἱὸς αὐ-  
τοῦ μνείας χάριν.

(9) Copied by me in 1884 :

ΑΥΡΕΡΜΕΟΣΟΚΕ  
ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣΚΑΙ  
ΑΥΡΕΡΜΙΑΝΟΞΑΝ  
ΤΩΝΙΑΝΟΞΑΓΩ  
ΝΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΙΕΝΔΟ  
////ΕΝΕΙΚΗΞΑΝΤΕΞ  
ΚΑΙΞΥΣΤΕΘΕΝΤΕΞ  
ΠΑΙΔΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑ  
ΑΓΩΝΟΞΠΕ  
ΙΚΟΥ

Αὐρ. Ἑρμ(αῖ)ος ὁ κέ  
Δήμαρχος καὶ  
Αὐρ. Ἑρμιανὸς Ἀν-  
τωνιανὸς, ἀγω-  
νισάμενοι ἐνδό-  
ξω[ς], νεικήσαντες  
καὶ συστεθέντες  
παίδων πανκρά-  
τιον] ἀγῶνος πε[ν-  
ταετηρ]ικοῦ.

The form *συστεθέντες* is due to a confusion between *συντεθέντες* and *συσταθέντες*.

The high-priest of the Emperors, as *ἀγωνοθέτης*, celebrated a pentetetic festival and games : the office of high-priest therefore lasted probably four years. It is probable that the high-priest was an official of the province of Pamphylia, who celebrated a pentetetic festival of the province, and who is mentioned, in inscriptions of Attaleia, as *ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων πενταετηρικῶν ἀγώνων*,<sup>72</sup> and who is identical with the official called *Παμφυλιάρχης*, as the *Ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας* is with the *Ἀσιάρχης*. These inscriptions show that the chief magistrate of Pogle was the eponymous archon ; and that there were also a demiourgos, a dekaprotos, etc. Beside the cultus

<sup>72</sup> See the inscr. published by me *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1883, pp. 263-5; also 1886, p. 150. It is of course possible that the *ἀρχιερεὺς* is a priest of a local cultus of the Emperors, but I think the view in the text is more probable.

of the Emperor, with its *ἀρχιερεύς* and *ἀρχιέρεια*, there was in the city a priestess of the Empress Hera (Julia Domna), a priest of Zeus Megistos, a priest of the Good Fortune of the Emperors.

The names at Pogle show a close analogy to those of Termessos. I give the name Ἀρμάστα with Franz, rather than Ἀρμαστα with Lebas-Wadd., 1206. I have preferred the nominatives Ἀττέης of genit. Ἀττέους, Ἀρτεμέης of gen. Ἀρτεμέους, Τεαττέης of gen. Τεαττέους, on the analogy of Ἡρακλέους (*C. I. G.*, 4366) Περικλέους (*C. I. G.*, 4366d), rather than Τεαττεύς as Lebas-Wadd., 1210 : perhaps Ἀττῆς, Ἀρτεμῆς, Τεαττῆς would be still more accurate.

(10) Copied by me in 1884 : broken right and left :

MANIKONMEΓICTONAPXIEPEA  
TEPAKACTPΩN HBOYΛHK

[Μ. Αὐρήλιον Αντωνεῖνον, κ.τ.λ. Γερ]μανικὸν Μέγιστον, ἀρχιερέα [μέγιστον, κ.τ.λ. καὶ Ἰουλίαν Δόμνην μη]τέρα Κάστρον ἢ βουλὴ κ[αὶ ὁ δῆμος].

(11) Copied by me in 1884 : broken on left :

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ  
ΥΛΙΑΞΔΟΜΝΗΞΞΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ  
ΔΩΝ

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν]αὐτοκρατόρων [Λ. Σεπτιμίου κ.τ.λ. καὶ Μ. Αὐρηλίου κ.τ.λ. καὶ Ἰο]υλίας Δόμνης Σεβαστῶν [μητρὸς καὶ στρατοπέ]δων.

(12) On a stone in a cemetery between Zivint and Pogle : this stone is nearer Pogle than any other site, but may perhaps belong to Ouerbe :

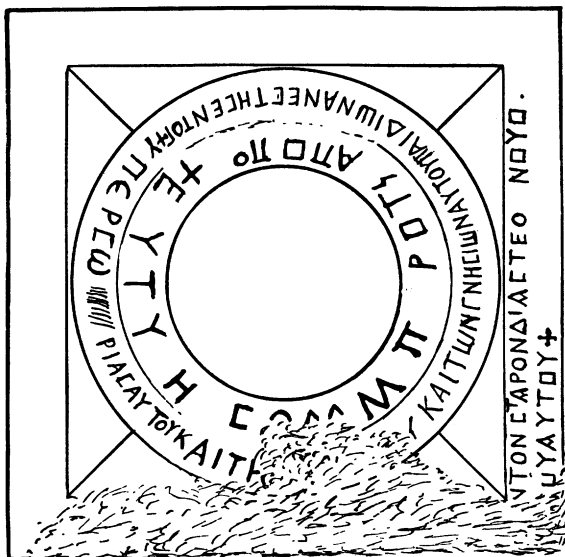
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΞΑΡΑΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ	Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιανὸν
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝΟΛΥΜΠΤΙΟΝΞΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ	Ἀδριανὸν Ὀλύμπιον Σεβαστὸν
ΟΞΑΕΙΞΑΤΤΑΝΩΙΟΥΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΞΑΡ	Ὁσαεὶς Ἀττανωίου φιλόκαισαρ
ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΞΑΠΤΟΟΓΟΝΩΝ	καὶ φιλόπατρις ἀπὸ [πρ]ογόνων
ΟΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΙΕΡΕΥΞΕΚΤΝΙΔΙΩΝ	ὁ διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς ἐκ τ[ῶ]ν ιδίων

(13) Copied by me in 1884 :

ΑΥ· ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΞ  
ΑΣΚΛΗΤΙΑΔΟΥ  
ΑΤΡΟΕΖΩΝΙ  
ΑΥΤΩΚΑΤΕΓ  
ΗCΕΤΟΑΝΓ  
ΙΟΥΑ  
ΔΟΞ

Αὐ(ρήλιος) Ἀχιλλεύς  
Ἀσκληπιάδου  
ἱ]ατρὸς ζῶν [ἐ  
αυτῷ κατέσ-  
τ]ησε τὸ ἀνγ[εῖ-  
ον τ]οῦ? Ἀ[σκλη]ᾶ  
δος?

(14) Copied by me in 1884: on the basis of a small column, much broken:



Εὐτύ[χ]ης ὁ λαμπρότ(ατος) ἀπὸ π(ριμικηρίων) ὑπὲρ σω[τ]ηρίας αὐτοῦ  
καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γνησίων αὐτοῦ παιδίων ἀνέστησεν  
τοῦτον τὸν στα[υ]ρὸν διὰ Στε[φά]νου [νι]οῦ ?? αὐτοῦ.

D. II. ANDEDA is still called Andia. Inscriptions (1) and (2) in *Mittheil. Athen.*, 1886, p. 337–8; (3) *C. I. G.*, 4367 h; (4) *A. H. S.*, 38.

(5) on a fragment of entablature (broken right and left) from a heroön:

ΛΙΑΧΛΙΔΗΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΞΙΔΙ

[Μ. Πλάνκιος Λέλεξ κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἰου]λίᾳ Χλίδῃ τῇ  
γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς ἰδί[οις] τέκνοις.

(6) Smith-Ramsay, 1884:

////////////////////

ΕΤΕΙΜΗΞΕΝ

Μ ΟΝΛΕΛΕΓΑ

////////////////////ΦΙΛΟ

////////////////////

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]

ἐτείμησεν

Μ. [Πλάνκι]ον Λέλεγα

[φιλότειμον καὶ] φιλό-

[πατρὶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν].

Lelex and Chlide are honored also in inscriptions of Ouerbe (1) and (2). Andia and Ouerbe were neighboring cities, and the same rich



family was connected with both. M. Plankios Kornelianos Gaios [Andeda (2)] officiated as high-priest of the Emperors for both Andeda and Ouerbe: this suggests that the cities of the province were obliged to find in rotation some one to fill that honorable but expensive office.

(7) Copied by me in 1884 :

////////ΘΕΝΙ	ἀνατε]θέν[τα
ΙΟΥΡΑΓΡΙΤΤΙ	ὑπ]δ' Αὐρ. Ἀγρίπ[πα
ΚΑΙΛΟΝΓΟΥΕΞΥΠ	καὶ Λόνγου ἐξ ὑπ[ο-
ΧΕΧΕΩΣΤΟΥΠΑΤ	σχέσεως τοῦ πάπ-
ΠΟΥΑΥΤΩΝΛΟΝΓΟ	που αὐτῶν Λόνγου
ΑΥΡ	Αυρ.
ΚΑΚΚΙΑΝΟΕΡΜΙ	Κασσιανὸς Ἑρμι-
ΑΝΟΚΝΕΙΚΗCΑC	ανὸς νεικήσας
ΠΑΙΔΩΝΤΑΛΗΝ	παίδων πάλην
ΕΝΔΟΞΩCΑΤΤΩ	ἐνδόξως ἄπτω-
ΤΟC ΜΕCΟΛΑΒΗ	τος μεσολαβή[σας

A wealthy Termessian family also bore the name Agrippa (*C. I. G.*, 4366 *a, c, e, f*).

(8) Copied by me in 1884 ;

ΑΥΡΗΛΛΙΚΕ	Αὐρήλλι(ο)ς κὲ
ΜΑΡΚΙΑΚΑΛ	Μαρκία Καλ-
ΛΙΜΑΧΩΥΙΩ	λιμάχω υἱῷ
ΜΝΗΜ	μνήμ[ης χάριν.

**D. 12. OUERBE.**—To the remarks under Andeda, and the three inscriptions, *A. H. S.*, 254, I have only to add the following epitaph, which I copied in 1884 in a garden near Zivint :

ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΑΝΘΗΔΟΝΑ	Ἰούλιον Ἀνθηδόνα
ΞΕΚΟΥΝΔΑ ΗΎΝΗΑΥ	Ξεκούνδα ἡ γυνὴ αὐ-
ΤΟΥ ΜΝ-ΜΕΧΑΡΙΝ	τοῦ μνήμης χάριν

**D. 13. ISINDA** (See *Mittheil. Athen.*, 1886).—The modern name Istanos is probably *εἰς τὰ Στενά*. The name occurs twice in my knowledge: six hours west of Angora is a village Istanos. In both cases a river flows through a narrow gap between two rocky hills. To the two inscriptions published by *A. H. Smith*, I have only to add a few letters on a fragment of entablature :

////ΟCΚΑΙ/////

**D. 14. LAGBE, LAGOE, or LAGOE,** is fixed at Ali Fachreddin Yaila by two inscriptions. The first (Spratt and Forbes, I, p. 250; and Lebas-Wadd., 1211), *Δῆμος Λαγβέων* [*Μητρὶ*] *Λαγβηνῇ εὐχὴν*,<sup>73</sup> was found at Manni, a village a little south of the site. The second was found at the actual site engraved on the side of a rock-tomb (text below, No. 2). Lagbe never occurs in Byzantine lists: but in all the *Notitiae* we have *ὁ Λαγίνων* (*ἐπίσκοπος*). A city Lagina is inadmissible: comparing such false forms as *ὁ Βριάνων*, *ὁ Κολώνης*,<sup>74</sup> we see that *ὁ Λαγηνῶν* or *ὁ Λαγηνῶν* is the correct form, either with assimilation of *γβ*, or through a form *Λαγοηνῶν*. Hierokles, as we saw, includes Lagbe with the other villages of the district, which were under the same bishop, in the title *χωρία Μιλναδικά*.

The obvious inference, that Lagbe is Livy's Lagon, has been drawn both by Prof. Kiepert and by M. Waddington: the former writes the name Lagoe, the latter Lagbe; both may be correct.<sup>75</sup> Polybios may have used the form *Λαγόη* or *Λαγούη* to represent the Pisidian name; and the text of Livy ought to be Lagoon. It is also possible that *Λάγβος* or *Λάγβον* is the proper form, and that the text of Livy should read Lagbon.

A coin mentioned by M. Waddington reads ΛΑΓΒΗΝΩΝ.<sup>76</sup>

(2) A. H. S., 34: on a rock-tomb at Lagbe (Smith-Ramsay 1884):

ΑΥΡΜΗΝΙCΜΑCΑΝ  
ΤΟCΚΟΔΙΤΟΥΛΑΓΒΟΥ  
ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑCΕΝΤΗΝCΩ  
ΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗΝΕΑΥΤΩ  
■ΕΤΗΥΝΕΚΙΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΑΥΡΑΡΤΕΜΕΙΚΕ  
ΤΕΚΝΩΜΟ■ΥΡΔΙ  
ΝΙΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΟ■Δ■ΝΙ  
ΕCΤΕΕΤΕΡΟΝΠΤ  
ΕΠΙΒΑΛΕΕΠΙΑΠΟ■ΕΙCΙ

Αὐρ. Μῆνις Μασάν-  
τος Κοδιπυ Λάγβου (? εὐς ?)  
κατεσκεύασεν τὴν σω-  
ματοθήκην ἑαυτῷ  
κ] ἐ τῇ γυνεὲ ἀυτοῦ  
Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμεῖ κέ [τῷ  
τέκνῳ μο[υ Α]ὐρ. Δί[ω-  
νι · ἐτέρῳ δὲ ο[ὗ]δ[ε] νι  
ἔστε ἕτερον πτ[ῶμα  
ἐπιβάλε, ἐπ(ε)ὶ ἀπο[τ]είσ(ε)ι

<sup>73</sup> M. WADDINGTON prints it as two fragments of one inscription; it seems, however, to require only *Μητρὶ* or *Θεᾷ* to make it complete.

<sup>74</sup> *Βρία* and *Κολή* are the cities: hence the correct expressions are *ὁ Βριανῶν*, *ὁ Κολοηνῶν*.

<sup>75</sup> It is quite common to find *B* in later coins and inscriptions take the place of *Y* or *OY* in earlier. Lagbe is omitted from the lists in HEAD, *Hist. Num.*

<sup>76</sup> LEBAS-WADD., 1211. Omitted by HEAD, *Hist. Num.*

////////ΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΙΩ  
 ΑΥΡΚΡΑΤΕΡΟCΜΗΝΙΔΟCΚΟ  
 Ι Ι Ω ΝΟCΚΑΤΕCΚ ΕΝ  
 ΤΗΝ C Ω ΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗΝΕΑΥ  
 ΤΩΖΩΝΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥ  
 ΤΟΥΑΥΡΑΡΤΕΜΕΙΚΑΙΤΟΙCΤΕ  
 ΚΝΟΙCΜΟΥΑΥΡΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΑ  
 ΚΑΙΕΡΜΑΙΩΚΑΙΚΡΑΤΕΡΩΕΤΕ  
 ΡΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΝΕCΤΑΙΕ  
 ΠΙCΕΝΕΝΚΑΙΠΤΩΜΑΕΠΕΙΥ  
 ΠΟΚΕΙCΕΤΕΠΡΟCΤΕΙΜΟΥ  
 ΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΙΩ\*ΒΦ  
 ΚΑΙΤΗΚΙΒΥΡΑΤΩΝΠΟΛΕΙ\*ΑΦ  
 ΚΑΙΤΩΚΑΤΑΤΟΠΟΝΜΙCΘΩ

τῷ ἱερῷ ωτάτῳ ταμίῳ [δηνάρια φ'.  
 Αὐρ. Κρατερὸς Μήνιδος Κό-  
 μ]ωνος κατεσκ[εύασ]εν  
 τὴν σωματοθήκην ἐαν-  
 τῷ ζῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐ-  
 τοῦ Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμεῖ καὶ τοῖς τέ-  
 κνοις μου Αὐρ. Τροκόνδα  
 καὶ Ἑρμαίῳ καὶ Κρατερῷ, ἐτέ-  
 ρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἐστὶ ἐ-  
 πισενέναι πτόμα ἐπεὶ ὑ-  
 ποκείμετε προστεῖμον  
 τῷ ἱερῷ ωτάτῳ ταμίῳ (δηνάρια) βφ'  
 καὶ τῇ Κιβυρατῶν πόλει (δηνάρια) αφ'  
 καὶ τῷ κατὰ τόπον μισθῷ.

Two districts of this province are entitled Kabalis and Milyas. Kabalis immediately adjoins Phrygia on the south : it was usually considered a district of Pisidia, but, under the Roman Empire, Pisidia ceases to exist politically and Kabalis was part of the province Galatia under Augustus and the early emperors. It was transferred to the province Lycia-Pamphylia, probably at the constitution of that province by Vespasian (perhaps the year 71 A. D.). From this time onwards till the provinces were replaced by Themes, Phrygia and Pamphylia adjoined each other. South and southeast of Kabalis is the district Milyas. In Livy xxxviii. 15 it is distinctly implied that Milyas forms part of Pamphylia, but it is probable that this arises merely from Livy's loose language and his ignorance of the country. Strabo (p. 666) considers Milyas part of Pisidia.<sup>77</sup> The towns of Milyas are almost all fixed by epigraphic evidence, and this furnishes a firm basis for the topography of Pamphylia Secunda. In Kabalis, which is almost unknown to history, we have hardly any literary evidence to help in placing the ancient names ; and the inscriptions give very little topographical information.

D. 15. **OLBASA** was discovered by Schönborn, and again described by MM. Duchesne and Collignon. Its situation and remains mark it as the chief city of the valley, and it was certainly in existence under

<sup>77</sup>Cities of *Milyas* are Isinda, Lagbe, Ouerbe, Pogla, Andeda, Komama, Kremna, Kodroula? Kretopolis? Cities of *Kabalis*, Olbasa, Ariassos, Palaiaopolis, Lysinia, Kolbasa; the tribe Ormeleis belongs to Kabalis, the tribe Perminodeis to Milyas.

the Byzantine Empire: but, except in Hierokles, it is mentioned in no Byzantine list. Every other town in Pamphylia of the slightest importance occurs in the Council-lists of the fifth and sixth centuries, and it is inconceivable that Olbasa should be omitted: in the *Notitiae* also Olbasa fails. The explanation must be that it occurs under some other name. A bishopric Adriane occurs in all the *Notitiae* and in several Council-lists: from its frequent occurrence it must have been a place of some importance, and cannot therefore be identified with such obscure places as Tymbrianasa or Regio Salamara. It is also impossible to identify it with Komama, Kolbasa, Kremna, because these occur in the same list with it. Adriane occurs in the lists of the fifth century, and must therefore be expected in Hierokles: it is not, however, mentioned by him, but does recur in later lists. There is no possible course, in my judgment, except to identify Adriane with Olbasa. All difficulties then disappear, except the absence of the title Adriane in all early documents. If the name commemorated the emperor Hadrian, it could hardly have been omitted on coins. A similar example occurs in Kilikia: Eirenopolis bears the title Neronias in some ecclesiastical documents, but never on coins. The explanation is probably the same in both cases: some saint or bishop was commemorated, and not the Roman emperor. In this neighborhood, I observe two other examples of the same process: Maximianopolis must have been named after Stephen, and Adada after Elias. These popular names have lasted to the present day as Tefenni and Ilyas or Elyes.

Besides the inscriptions of Schönborn, Duchesne, Collignon (the Latin ones in *Ephem. Epigr.*, iv, 47-50; v, 1359-63) and A. H. S., No. 31, I have to add the following, from the ancient site:

ΑΙΚΙΝΝΙΑΞΤΡΙΞΚΙΑ  
 ΛΗΞΙΕΡΕΙΑΞΔΙΟΞΚΑΤ  
 ΛΙΟΥΚΑΙΚΑΤΤΕΤΟΛΙ  
 ΗΡΑΞ  
 ΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΗΒΟ  
 ΠΑΡΕΑΥΤΗΣ  
 ΤΗΝΖΗΝΟΞΞΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ (*sic*)  
 ΦΙΛΗΠΑΤΡΙΞΕΝΘΑΔΕΤΕΙΜΗC  
 ΞΤΗΞΑΤΟΤΡΙΞΚΙΛΛΑΝ  
 ΜΝΗΜΟΞΥΝΗΞΕΝΕ  
 ΚΕΝ

Δικιννίας Πρισκίλ-  
 λης ιερείας Διδς Καπ[ετο-  
 λίου καὶ Καπετολί[ας  
 "Ηρας  
 τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἡ βο-  
 υλῇ] παρ' ἐαυτῆς  
 Τὴν Ζηνὸς εἰέρεϊαν  
 φίλη πατρὶς ἐνθάδε τείμης  
 στήσατο Πρισκίλλαν  
 μνημοσύνης ἐνε-  
 κεν.

**D. 16. PALAIAPOLIS** is placed by Hierokles between Olbasa and Lysinia. In this situation there are numerous traces of ancient life, but especially at Akche Euren and Ak Euren: probably villages or small towns existed beside both places. The names of both are given in *Not. Episcop.*, III, X, XIII, ὁ Παλαιουπόλεως ἦτοι Ἀλιεροῦ (vv. ll. Ἀλεεροῦ, Ἀλευροῦ). According to the common practice in the later *Notitiae*, when population in a district was gradually changing its centre, the two centres, the old and the new, are mentioned together. It is probable that Palaiapolis is Ak Euren in the open plain; while Alieros, far up the course of a tributary in a glen among the hills beside Akche Euren, became more important in the later time, when such retired and sheltered positions were more suitable to the troubled state of the country. A few coins of the third century after Christ, whose style points to this part of Asia Minor, bear the legend ΠΑΛΕΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. As no other city Palaiapolis in the southwest of Asia Minor is known, the coins must be attributed<sup>78</sup> to the Palaiapolis of the Byzantine Pamphylian lists. It is obvious, from the coins and remains, that the district was affected by the Græco-Roman civilization only at a late period, and that city-organization of the Greek type, athletic games, and coinage begin at about the same time. To judge from the fourth inscription, the population during the second century were still dispersed *καμηδόν*.

The inscriptions of Palaiapolis are (1) and (2), *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, I, p. 337, at Kemer; (3) copied by me in 1884 at Kemer:

NANACMEN KΛE  
OC EN EKΛHΛ  
ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΤΩ A  
TP AYTHC MI  
AC XAPIN

Νάνας Μεν[ε]κλέ-  
ος [Μ]ενεκλῆ Ἀ-  
πολλωνί[ου] τῷ [π]α-  
τρ[ι] αὐτῆς μ[νεί]-  
ας χάριν

(4) At Ak Euren, in a fountain, copied by me in 1886:

*First side:*

ΕΤΟΥCΒΡΡΝ  
(Tracery)  
ΚΑΙΤΩΔΗΜΩΤΩΜΑ  
ΚΡΟΠΕΔΕΙΤΩΝ

ἔτους βρ' ρν'.  
[Ἀπόλλωνι?]  
καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Μα-  
κροπεδειτῶν

<sup>78</sup> LONGPERIER attributes them to Gagai of Lykia, on the hypothesis that it bore the name Palaia Polis.

(Defaced relief)

ΤΡΩΙΛΟCΩΦΕΛΙΩΝΟC  
 ΟCΑΕΙΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΙCΑΓΑ  
 ΘΕΙΝΟΥΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙΤΡΩΙΛΟCΔΙCΚΑΙΑ  
 ΓΑΘΕΙΝΟCΟCΑΕΙΤΑΤΕ  
 ΚΝΑΑΥΤΩΝΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙ  
 ΩΝΚΑΤΑΚΕΥΑCΑΝΤΕC

Τρωίλος Ὠφελίωνος  
 Ὅσαεὶ καὶ Τατεῖς Ἀγα-  
 θείνου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ Τρωίλος δις καὶ Ἀ-  
 γαθεῖνος Ὅσαεὶ τὰ τέ-  
 κνα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ιδί-  
 ων κατασκευάσαντες

*Second side (left) :*

Relief representing a horseman, to left, with radiated head ; the horse lifts the right forefoot ; garland beneath ; under the garland is the inscription :

ΙΡΥCΟΚΟ ΗΝΤΑΙΑΝΑ  
 ΟΝΗΥΚΟΜΟ CΤΕΚΕΛΗΤΩ  
 ΗΕΛΙΟΝΦΑΕΘΟΝΤΑΛΕΛΟΥ  
 ///ΝΟΝΩΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ·ΕΙΛΕ  
 ΟΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙCΙΝΟΙΕΝ  
 ΘΑΔΕΝΑΙΕΤΑΟΥCΙΩ  
 CΕΛΕΥΚΟCΚΙΒΥΡ  
 ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Χρυσοκό[μ]ην Παιᾶνα  
 ὃν ἡύκομος τέκε Λητώ  
 Ἡέλιον φαέθοντα λελου-  
 μένον ὠκεάνιοι·εἴλε-  
 ον ἀνθρώποισιν οἱ ἐν-  
 θάδε ναιετάουσι  
 Σέλευκος Κιβύρου  
 ἐποίηι

*Third side (back ; concealed in masonry) :*

(Relief)

///////// ΒΑCΙΑΗ  
 ////////// ΧΡΥCΕΟΜΙ  
 ////////// ΕΡ ΜΗΝΤΕΚΛΥ  
 ///ΝΑΤΑΝΓΕΛΛΟΝΤΑΒ  
 /////ΟCΖΕΥCΦΡΟΝΕ  
 //////////ΤΟΙΘΕΟΙ////////ΛΟΙ

βασιλη-  
 χρυσεομι-  
 τρην]·Ἐρμῆν τε κλυ-  
 τόπωλο]ν ἀπανγέλλοντα β[ρο-  
 τοῖσιν] ὅσσα Ζεὺς φρονέ[ει  
 τε καὶ ἀθάνα]τοι θεοὶ [ἄλ]λοι.

*Fourth side (right ; concealed in masonry).*

At the mosque in Ak Euren there are also two defaced inscriptions, one beginning ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ.

The double date 102 and 150 is remarkable : if the second is according to the Kibyrat era, A. D. 25, the first must be an era beginning A. D. 73, which is probably the time when Pamphylia was incorporated by Vespasian in the new province Lycia-Pamphylia. The inscription then belongs to A. D. 175. The *Μακρὸν Πεδίον* is the narrow plain along the Lysis below Olbasa : the district was, from its position, affected only at a comparatively late period by the Græco-

Roman civilization. The population collected in a city-centre and coined money in the third century. The word 'Οσαεί is usually genitive of 'Οσαείς, but, as Agathinos is obviously son of Troilos and Tateis, it would seem that here 'Οσαεί is an indeclinable name, and that the father was called Troilos Osaei, and the younger son Agatheinos Osaei.<sup>79</sup>

(5) Near Akche Euren, on the site to which I have given the name Aliéros, I copied the following on a fragment of the architrave of a heroön :

MENNEACTPOKONΔΟΥΚΑΙΜΑ

ANECTHCANEAYT

Μεννέας Τροκόνδου καὶ Μα[μας? τοῦ δεινός ἢ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ]  
ἀνέστησαν ἑαυτ[οῖς μνήμης χάριν.

**D. 17. LYSINIA.**—The situation of Lysinia is determined with an accuracy unusual among the towns of Kabalis by several conditions: first, it must be on (or close to) the river Lysis; secondly, it must be near, but not actually on, the march of Manlius (see **E**); thirdly, it was an independent city coining money, and cannot therefore be near the mouth of the Lysis, as that district was not independent but merely part of the territory of Sagalassos throughout the Roman period. These conditions point to the site on the Lysis, with a bridge showing clear traces of Roman work over the river, in the country immediately above the Sagalassian territory Regio Salamara. One inscription only of Lysinia is known to me: I copied it at Elmajik ("Little Apple") in 1886:

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΔΟ  
MNANCEBAC  
ΤΗΝΜΗΤΕΡΑ  
ΚΑCTPΩΝ  
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ  
ΟΔΗΜΟC

Ἰουλίαν Δό-  
μναν Σεβασ-  
τήν, μητέρα  
κάστρων,  
ἢ βουλή καὶ  
ὁ δῆμος.

The inscription shows that Lysinia was an organized city. From the situation of Elmajik the inscription might have come from Palaiapolis, but the natives declared that all remains in their village came from the ruins on the Lysis.

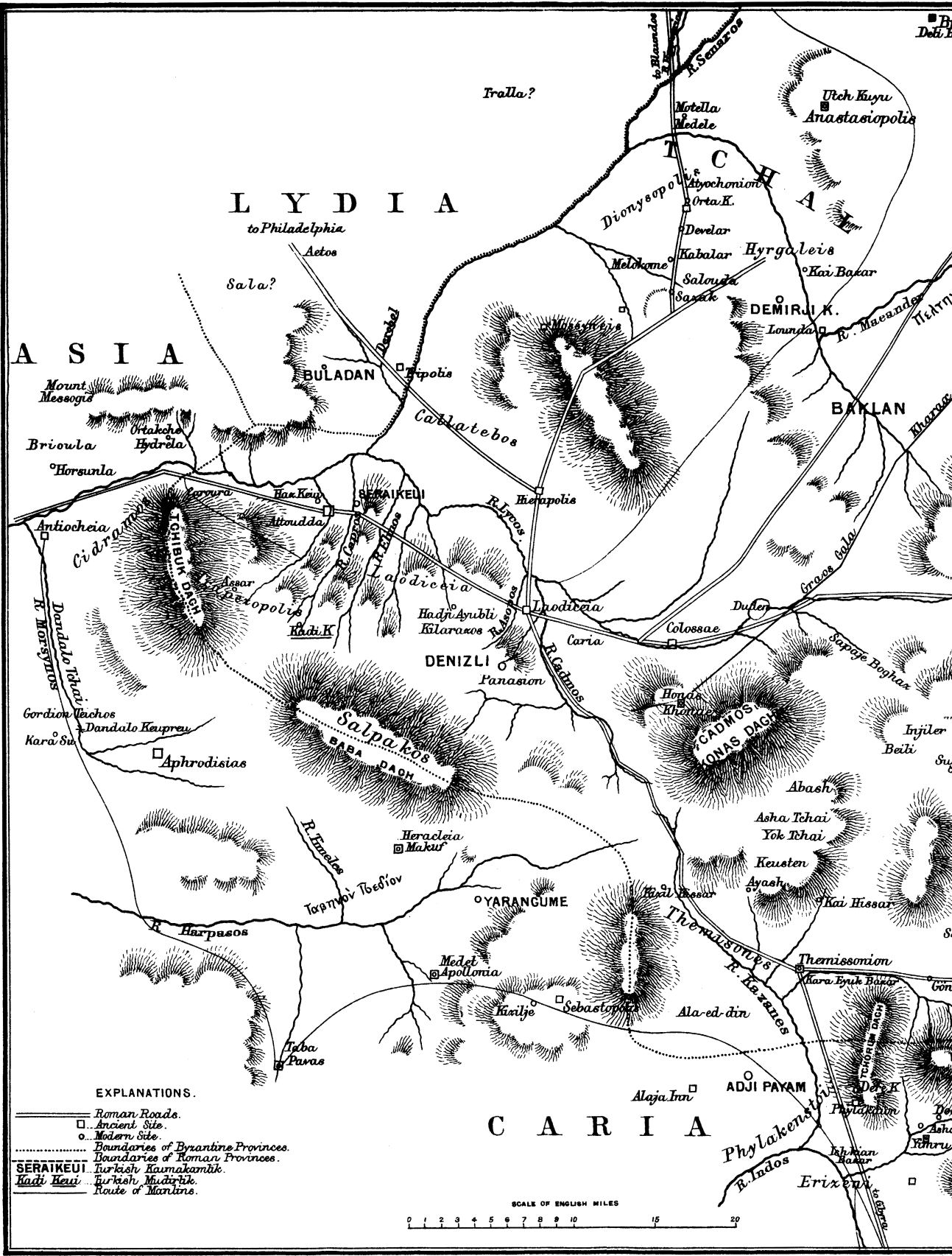
W. M. RAMSAY.

*University of Aberdeen, Old Aberdeen, Scotland.*

[To be concluded in next number.]

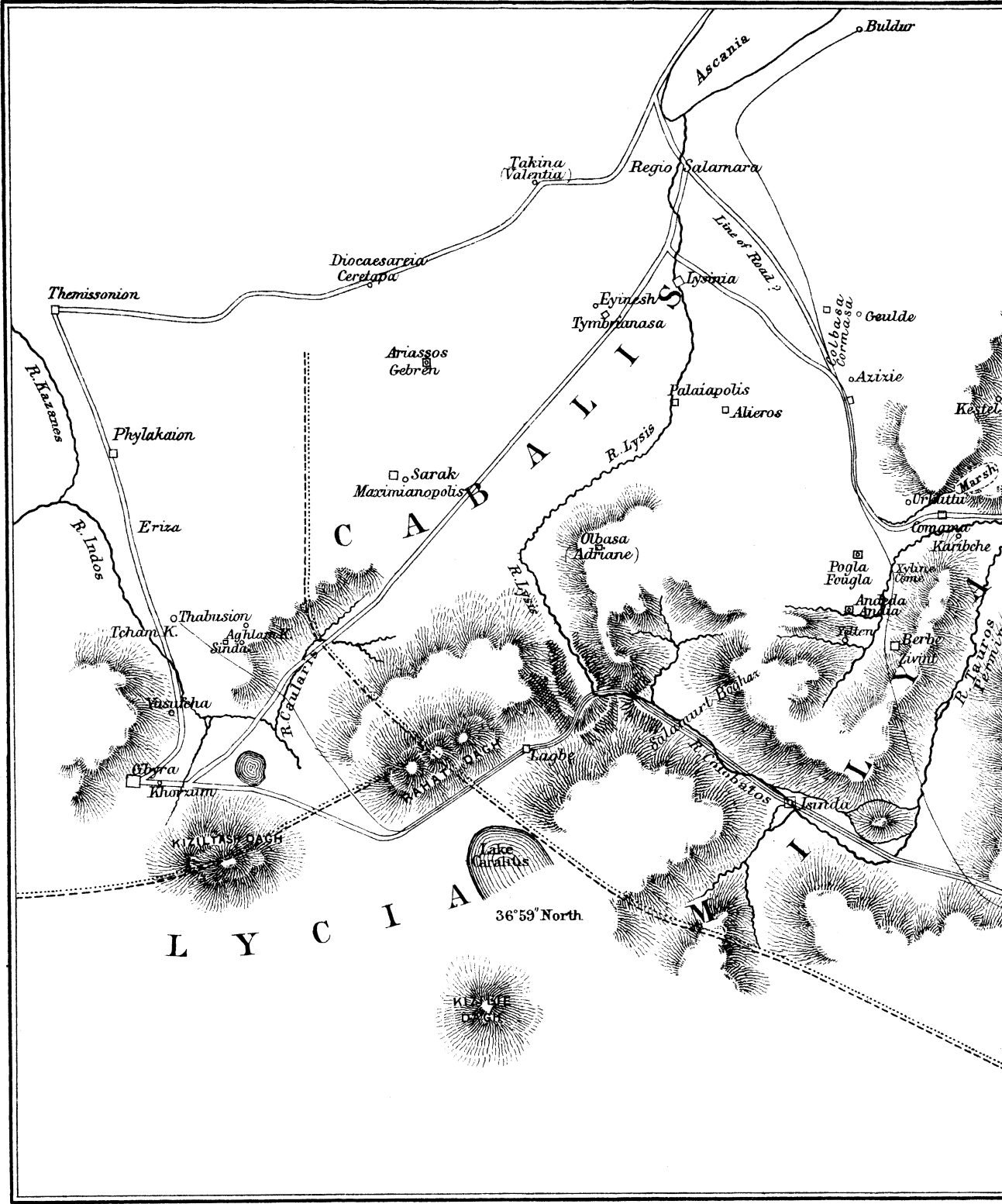
<sup>79</sup> Cp. Alexandros Tieiou, Men Tiamou, Men Pharnakou, etc.: see *Journal Hellenic Studies*, 1882.















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Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands (III)

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Sep., 1888), pp. 263-283

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/495873>

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# ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTHERN PHRYGIA AND THE BORDER LANDS. (\*)

## III.

### D. THE PHRYGO-PISIDIAN FRONTIER.

**D. 18. COLONIA JULIA AUGUSTA FIDA COMAMA** was accidentally discovered by me in 1884. It lies on a mound called Sheher Eyuk ("City Mound"), between Karibtche and Urkutlu, on the hardly perceptible watershed dividing the Istanos Su from that of a stream flowing into the Kestel Lake. This discovery makes it necessary to transfer to this Pisidian city the colonial coins previously attributed to Komana of Kappadokia. Besides the three inscriptions of Komama, published in the *Ephem. Epigraph.*, v, 1357-58, 1367,<sup>80</sup> I copied the following :

(4) On the site of Komama :

<i>Some lines erased :</i>	[τῷ δεῖνι καὶ τῷ δεῖνι καὶ]
ΩΟΙΚΩΤΩΝΕΒΑC	παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν Σεβασ[τῶν
//////////	//////////
//////ΤΟΑΙΑΜΑΤΗΣ	καὶ αἱ σ]τοαὶ ἄμα τῆς
//ΤΥΛΗΕΚΑΙΟΝΑΟΕΑΤΗΡ	π]ύλης καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἀπηρ-
ΤΙΕΘΗΕΞΥΠΑΡΧΟΝ	τίσθη ἐξ ὑπαρχόν-
ΤΩΝΑΤΤΙΚΟΥΔΕΙΟΥ	των Ἀττικοῦ Δείου(?)
ΚΑΤΑΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝ	κατὰ διαθήκην.

(5) At Urkutlu, on a piece of architrave : the stone is complete, but the inscription must have continued on another stone :

COLONIS	ΚΟΛΩΙ
ΗΤΡΩΤΗΚΑΙΤΙΞΤΗΚΟΜΑΜΕΝΩΝΚΟ	
ΛΩΝΙΑΒΟΥΛΗΞΚΑΙΔΗΜΟΥΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ	
ΛΟΥΚΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝΑ	
ΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΟΝΕΚΤΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΥΙΟ	▨

(\*) Continued from page 21.

<sup>80</sup> 1367, l. 5, is very hard to read. I examined the stone again in 1886. The last word consists of seven letters, all more or less doubtful ; the first is probably S, the second E, the third perhaps S or C or B, the fourth A, the fifth uncertain, the sixth probably E, the seventh probably M.

Colonis. Κολώ[νοις]. Ἡ πρώτη καὶ πιστὴ Κομαμηνῶν κολωνία βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγματι Λούκιον Ἰούλιον Κορνηλιανὸν τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον ἐκ προγόνων υἱὸς κ. τ. λ.

(6) On the site of Komama :

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΚΑΛΛΙΠΤΙΑΝ  
ΠΕΙΑΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΚΤΑΟΥ  
ΑΝΤΗΝΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΝ  
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΑΥΤΗCΜΝΗ  
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ

Ἰουλία Καλλιππιαν[ή  
Πεία Μαρίαν Ὀκταου[ί-  
αν τὴν γλυκυτάτην  
θυγατέρα αὐτῆς μνή-  
μης χάριν.

(7) At the site of Komama, on a fragment of the architrave of a heroön :

//// NOMENHΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΑΥΤΗCΜΑΡΙΑΟΚΤΑΟΥΙΑΚΑΛΛΙΠΤΙΑΝΗ  
[Ἰουλία Καλλιππιανὴ Πεία τῇ γε]νομένη θυγατρὶ αὐτῆς Μαρία  
Ὀκταουία Καλλιππιανῆ.

The name Maria shows that the family was Christian.

(8) At Karibteche : published *C. I. G.*, 4367 i, and *A. H. S.*, No. 42.

(9) In a cemetery halfway between Komama and Kestel :

MENNEACMENNEOYNE  
ΟΞΚΑΙΠΤΙΟΞΜΕΝΝΕΟΥΦ  
ΤΩΠΑΤΡΙΑΥΤΩΝ  
-ΝΝΕΑΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΟΥΚΑΙ  
ΜΑΡΚΙΑΜΗΤΡΙΜΝΗΜΗC  
ΧΑΡΙΝΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝΚΑΘΙ  
ΕΡΩΞΑΝ

Μεννέας Μεννέου νε-  
ος καὶ Πίος Μεννέου φ-  
ιλτά]τῳ πατρὶ αὐτῶν  
Με]ννέα Τροκόνδου καὶ  
Μαρκία μητρὶ μνήμης  
χάριν τὸν βωμὸν καθι-  
έρωσαν.

**D. 19. KORMASA** is placed by (1) its occurrence on the march of Manlius (see **E**), (2) its position on a Roman Road, (3) its neighborhood to Lake Askania. The name occurs in Greek in at least four forms, Kormasa, Korbasa, Kolbasa, and Kolbassos : the last is proved by coins with the legend ΚΟΛΒΑCCEΩΝ. In Strabo (p. 570), Ταρ-βασσός is probably an error for Κορβασσός, the error arising from assimilation to the following Τερμησσός.

The site, near Geulde Tchiflik, was first visited in 1884 (Smith-Ramsay) : the remains of the town, being in a very secluded situation, are in better preservation than usual. They show that there was not a real πόλις : the Kolbasseis lived in a number of *kōmai*, and had a central town of small extent, beside which there were numerous graves. *Kōmai* of the Kolbasseis existed also at Bereket (called Moatra, *A. H. S.*, No.

10), at a site near Azizie, and probably in other places. Beside the inscriptions already published (A. H. S., Nos. 10, 43-5), Mr. Smith and I copied the following in 1884 :

(5) On the entablature of a heroön at Giaour Euren :

ΤΕΡΜΙΑΣΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΜΑΝ	ΚΑΙΜΑ	ΚΑΙΩΛΛΑΝΡΟΔΩ	ΚΑΙΜΕΝ////
ΜΕΝΝΕΟΥΒΕΟΛΩΝΟΣΤΗΝ	ΜΑΝΤΗΝ	ΝΟΣΤΗΝΤΕΝ	ΒΕΟΛΩΝΟ///
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΩ	ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΔΕΛ	ΘΕΡΑΝ	ΤΕΝΘΕΡΟΝ
ΝΙΟΝΤΟΝΥΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΥ	ΦΗΝ	ΑΝΕΣΤΗΕΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ	

*Τερμίλας Ἀττάλου Μὰν Μεννέου β' Σόλωνος τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Μάμαν τὴν γυναῖκαδέλφην καὶ Ὡλλαν Ῥόδωνος τὴν πενθερὰν καὶ Μεν[νέαν] β' Σόλωνο[ς τὸν] πενθερὸν ἀνέστησε μνείας χάριν.*

(6) At Giaour Euren :

ΝΕΩΝΚΟΜΩΝΟΣ	Νέων Κόμωνος
ΜΟΛΟΥΚΑΙΑΜΜΑΝΤ	Μόλου καὶ Ἀμμαν τ[ὴν]
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙ	γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ
ΖΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΕΑΝ	
ΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΩΝΜΝΗ	τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ζῶν[τα] ἀνέστησαν μνή-
ΜΗΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΟΜΩΝ	μης ἔνεκεν . Κόμων
ΑΛΑΣΤΕΟΧΗΡΓΑ	Ἀλάστεος ἡργά-
ΕΤΕΟ	σετο

Ἀμμα and Μά are forms of the same name : on Ἀλάστεος, see D. 22.

(7) At Geulde (W. M. R.) :

ΕΡΜΗΕΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΓΗ	Ἑρμῆς Λουκίου ΓΗ-
ΑΛΟΠΟΥΓΥΝΕΚΙΚΕ	ΑΛΟΠΟΥ γυνεκὶ κέ
ΕΡΜΗΥΠΤΡΟΜΟΙ	Ἑρμῇ ὑψὶ προμοί-
ΡΩΑΝΕΣΤΗΕΕΜ	ρῳ ἀνέστησε μ-
ΝΗΜΗΕΧΑΡΙΝΕΙΜ	νήμης χάριν · εἰ μ-
ΕΝΙΔΙΑΜΟΙΡΗΩΦΙ	εν ἰδία μοίρῃ, ὧ φί-
ΛΕΝΕΙΔΕΧΕΡΕΙΔΩΛ	λε ΝΕΙΔΕΧΕΡΕΙ δωλό-
ΤΟΙΟΙΧΗΛΙΕΒΛΕΤΤΕ	ποιοῖς(?) ἦλιε βλέπε

This badly spelt and badly composed and rudely engraved epitaph is complete and fairly certain in text : I fail to understand it. Another fragment which I copied at Geulde is unintelligible.

(8) At Giaour Euren (W. M. R.) :

ΑΥΡΙΙΑΠΟΛ	Αὐρ. Ἀπολ[λῶ-
ΝΙΕΔΙΕΚΑΛΤΟ	νι(ο)ς δις Καλπο[υρίου]



(9) At Bereket (W. M. R.):

ΠΟΛΛΩ  
ΝΙΟCΜ  
ΕΝΑΝΔΡ  
Οο[υ

’Α]πολλώ-  
νιος Μ-  
ενάνδρ-

**D. 20. KREMNA.**—The site, which retains the ancient name in the form Girme, has been often visited and described. I have not seen it.

**D. 21. PANEMOUTEICHOS** is known from coins and the Byzantine lists. The order of Hierokles is not decisive as to its situation, but suits well the site near the pass from Pamphylia to the uplands of central Pisidia.

**KRETOPOLIS** is mentioned by Ptolemy and as *Κρητῶν Πόλις* by Polybios (v. 72): the latter passage shows that it lies near τὰ στενὰ τὰ περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Κλίμακα on the road towards Lydia. Klimax is certainly the long steep pass just mentioned: it is literally a κλίμαξ, being ascended by a series of steps for several miles.<sup>81</sup> Kretopolis, then, must be on the north side of the pass. The authorities which mention Kretopolis do not allude to Panemouteichos, and *vice versa*. The same situation suits all that we know of both places. The probability is, therefore, that they are either two names for one city, or two neighboring places.

In all the *Notitiae* a group of bishoprics is omitted: this group lies along the Roman road from Attaleia to lake Askania. The only possible explanation is that this group of bishoprics was separated from the rest of the province and placed under a new metropolis, just as was the case with the bishoprics round Hierapolis (see **A. II**), Kolossai (see **A. VI**), Akmonia (see Table in my *Cit. and Bish.*<sup>82</sup>), and other places. This change was made before the oldest *Notitia* about 850: it had certainly not taken place when Hierokles compiled his list. At some period between these dates, one of the bishoprics (probably either Komama or Panemouteichos<sup>83</sup>) was constituted a metropolis, and the group of cities along the important road on which it stood were subjected to its authority: but of this important change in the constitution of the province not a single trace is known to me beyond the negative one of their omission in the later lists.

<sup>81</sup> I ascended this pass in 1882 in company with Sir C. Wilson.

<sup>82</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1887.

<sup>83</sup> To judge from modern facts, Panemouteichos seems the more important.



**D. 22-25.**—The cities along the northern frontier of Pamphylia Secunda are very obscure: to place them correctly is one of the most difficult problems in Anatolian topography. Inscriptions give no direct aid, as the local names which they contain are not found in the Roman or Byzantine authorities. I begin by investigating the social condition of the district under the Empire, as revealed by the inscriptions.

A series of inscriptions found at Tefenni and Karamanli<sup>84</sup> reveal the name of an otherwise unknown people, the **ORMÊLEIS**. Two dated inscriptions in their country belong to the year 221 A. D.,<sup>85</sup> and are dated respectively PTB and TB: they therefore imply two different eras, 39 A. D. and the Phrygian era 85–4 B. C.<sup>86</sup> The era 39 A. D. is hitherto unknown: the inscription in which it occurs is dated also by a procurator (*i. e.*, Augusti), two *πραγματευταί*, and three *μισθωταί*. Comparing this with other inscriptions of the district, we see that the whole territory was an imperial estate, farmed out to *μισθωταί*: this and other estates in the neighborhood were under the general management of a procurator and *πραγματευταί*. The era 39 A. D. is therefore probably the time when the estate was organized, and shows us one step in the gradual organization of Pisidia during the first century of the Empire.<sup>87</sup> This imperial estate must have been of vast extent: its north-eastern boundary is defined by an inscription at Deuer which I copied in 1884 and published in *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 1886, pp. 128–29. In 1886, I deciphered l. 16, which had previously baffled me: Q. Petronius Umb[e]r, governor of Galatia, and L. Pupius Praesens, procurator, *ὠροθέτησαν τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶναι Σαγαλασσέων, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κώμης Τυμβριανασσο[ῦ] Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος κ.τ.λ.* This inscription was so placed that the reader, looking north, had on his

<sup>84</sup> Copied in part by Schönborn; afterwards but still imperfectly and incompletely by Duchesne-Collignon; finally by Sterrett-Smith-Ramsay in 1883. I also reëxamined some details in 1886.

<sup>85</sup> They mention Annia Aurelia Faustina, wife of Elagabalus: they are published not very accurately by MM. Duchesne and Collignon, who omit the lines containing the dates.

<sup>86</sup> Understanding that the engraver has falsely engraved TB for TE: otherwise we must suppose an era 81 B. C.

<sup>87</sup> Other stages are Augustus' Pisidian Colonies, 6 B. C.; Era of Kibyra, 25 A. D.; Pappa renamed Tiberiopolis; Seleukeia renamed Claudioseleukeia; Ikonion renamed Claudeikonion, and Laodikeia *Combusta* renamed Claudio-Laodikeia; boundaries of Sagalassos defined under Nero; Anaboura of Pisidia renamed (?) Neapolis (see *Mittheil. Athen.*, 1883, p. 76); Pisidia with Lycia-Pamphylia constituted an imperial Province under Vespasian (73–4 A. D.).

right hand, eastward, Sagalassian territory, and on his left hand, westward, the imperial estate named Tymbrianassos. In the direction thus defined in the last clause lies the village Einesh, with an ancient site<sup>88</sup> close to it: the modern name is the latter half of the ancient compound name.

In the inscription above mentioned three misthotai are named: the imperial estate was therefore divided into three parts. One of these was **TYMBRIANASSOS**, now Einesh. Another was **ALASTOS** or **ALASTON**, which is mentioned in several inscriptions: (1) *μισθωτῆς τῶν περὶ Ἀλαστον τόπων* (A. H. S., No. 4); (2) *C. I. G.*, 4366*x* now becomes intelligible, and we must read [τ]οῖς [ἐ]ν Ἀλάσ[τῳ] παραφυλακίταις Ἀύρ. Μ[ . . . . . ] αμῖος ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν κ.τ.λ.; (3) at Kolbasa I copied an inscription with the artist's signature:

ΚΟΜΩΝ ΑΛΑΣΤΕΟΣ ΗΡΓΑΞΕΤΟ.<sup>89</sup>

Alastos must have been a village near Tefenni and Karamanli, probably at Sazak. The third part of the estate was further south, about Hassan Pasha and Kayali: an inscription which I copied in 1884 contains part of the name:

ΕΤΟΥCΕΗΜΕΝΕΛΑΟCΑΠΤΑΡCΑΜΟΥΡΕΥCΑΝΕΤΗΚΕΝ

In the local adjective the letter P or B is equally possible. The date 196 is perhaps dated according to the era of Kibyra, and corresponds to A. D. 221, but it may be according to an earlier era: *ἀνέτηκεν* is an unusual misspelling. Part of the name of another village in this valley is preserved in an inscription, which I read quite differently from the published form (A. H. S., No. 28): *Ἐμμενίδης*<sup>90</sup> *Ἀρχοντος*·*ΑΠΤΥΚΕΥΞ Ἀρτέμυδι*. In the local adjective the first letter is lost and the second may be Λ or Μ.

The people called Ormeleis inhabited the southwestern parts of this vast estate, Alastos and Hassan Pasha. They had therefore no city organization, and struck no coins. Their name is known only from inscriptions, and does not occur in the Byzantine lists; but, where it

<sup>88</sup> Discovered by MM. DUCHESNE and COLLIGNON, who suggest the name Sanaos, rightly rejected by HIRSCHFELD, p. 322: STERRETT suggests (*Prelim. Report*, p. 7) Themissonion, which is equally impossible.

<sup>89</sup> *Ἀλάστεος* is here perhaps genitive of the father's name, and not a local adjective: but a name Alastis is connected with Alastos, as Aryassis with Aryassos, Kidramous with Kidramos, etc.

<sup>90</sup> As the inscription is very rudely scratched on the stone, the name is probably miscut for *Ἐμμενίδης*.

might be expected, Hierokles has Maximianoupolis with the ditto-graphy Ktema Max., *i. e.*, the (Imperial) Estate of Maximianoupolis. It is therefore clear that, about A. D. 305–11, the country of the Ormeleis was raised to the rank of a City and Bishopric, and named after the emperor Galerius Maximianus.

Alastos was on the Roman Road which led from Kibyra to the southwestern end of Lake Askania, where it joined the road from Komama to Apameia, and where both united with the road from Takina to Apameia. This road was constructed or repaired under Severus, as is proved by the milestones. One of these was copied by me at Hedja in 1884: it reckons the distance from Kibyra as *caput viae*, although Kibyra is in a different province:

ΟΙΚΘΕΩΝ	τ]οῖς θεῶν [ἐνφανεστάτοις
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ	αὐτοκρά[τορι καίσαρι Λ.
ΕΠΤΙΜ	Σεπτιμ[ίῳ Σευήρῳ
ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΚ	Περτίνακ[ι Σεβαστῷ Ἀραβικῷ
ΑΔΙΑΒ	Ἀδιαβ[ηνικῷ Παρθικῷ
ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟ	καὶ αὐτο[κράτορι καίσαρι Μ.
ΥΡΗΛΙΩ	Α]ὕρηλῖῳ [Ἀντωνεῖνῳ Σεβαστῷ
////////	[καὶ Π. Σεπτιμῖῳ Γέτῳ]
////////	[νῖῳ τῶν μεγάλων]
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ	Βασιλέων [καὶ] Ἰουλίῳ Σ[εβαστῇ
ΜΗΤΡΙ	Μητρὶ [Κά]σ[τρων
ΑΙΙΟΚΙΒΥ	ἀπ]ὸ Κιβύ[ρας

Another milestone, the second from Kibyra on the same road, has been published by MM. Duchesne and Collignon (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, II, p. 576). The third milestone, found at Yarik Keui, close to Lake Askania, has been published by Mr. A. H. Smith, No. 48: he does not mention that it is a milestone, and omits at the end the symbol **M**: the number which followed the symbol is obliterated.<sup>91</sup>

The stations on this road were Kibyra XXVII Alastos XVI Tymbrianas v Lysinia VIII a village in the Regio Salamara Sagalassensis beside Yarik Keui. The *Geogr. Ravenn.* apparently means some of these stations by the corrupt *Taxon* and *Latrileon*.<sup>92</sup> In the list of Hierokles

<sup>91</sup> Even without the symbol, the shape of the stone, a round cippus with a square base, is conclusive as to its being a milestone. I added a sketch of the stone to my copy of the text.

<sup>92</sup> *Latrileon* is assimilated to the following name, *Filaction*: I have sometimes thought that the true name might have been Ormeleon.

we find, on the northern frontier, Regesalamara and Limobrama side by side. The first is obviously the Regio of the "Bitter Salt Lake," *i. e.*, the Lake Askania, which might well be called, as its neighbor the Lake of Sanaos is actually called, *Adji Tuz Göl* ("Bitter Salt Lake"). Limobrama is clearly corrupt: in the second part I formerly conjectured Bria, written, in Hierokles' usual style, Briana (*C. and B.*, xviii): but after having read the name Tymbrianassos, as mentioned above, I should now rather correct it to -brianasa, a by-form of -brianassos (*cp.* Kolbasa and Kolbassos), and see in Limo- a corruption of the first syllable, Tym.

At the ancient site near Einesh, MM. Duchesne and Collignon found a cippus with an inscription recording peril and escape *ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Εὐρώ* (or *Σύρω*) *ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, iii, 479). The stone has probably not been carried from a distance, because it is not in an inhabited place: it belongs to Tymbrianasa. There is no river near, but a swollen torrent from the hills behind might have imperiled the dedicator. The name therefore cannot denote the Gebren Su, as M. Duchesne thinks, but a small stream in the territory of Tymbrianasa.

There remains one other ancient site on the northern frontier, beside the village of Gebren, discovered by Professor Hirschfeld. There are a great number of ancient fragments, among them four inscriptions:<sup>93</sup>

(1) Λ ΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΟC ΛΙΓΥC  
ΠΟCΕΙΔΩΝΙ ΕΥΧΗΝ<sup>94</sup>

(2)	ΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟC	ἱερατεύοντος
	CΙΛΒΟΥ ΔΙC ΕΤΟΥC	Σίλβου δις . ἔτους
	ΔΙCΕΚΑΤΟCΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ	δις ἑκατόστου καὶ
	ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΥ	τετάρτου.
	5 CΙΛΒΟC ΔΙC ΚΑΙ	Σίλβος δις καὶ
	ΚΑΔΑΟΥΑC ΧΑ-	Καδαούας Χά-
	ΡΗΤΟC ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝΙC	ρητος καὶ Μῆνις
	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΒΑCΙ-	Ἀπολλωνίου Βασι-
	ΛΕΙΔΟC ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-	λείδος Ἀπόλλω-
	10 ΝΙ ΕΥΧΗΝ <sup>95</sup>	νι εὐχῇν.

(3) contains the word ΙΕΡΑCΑΜΕΝΟΝ: (4) is quite illegible.

<sup>93</sup> I spent only an hour in the village: further search would doubtless discover more.

<sup>94</sup> Published by HIRSCHFELD, p. 323: he has only one N in *Λικίννιος*. Copied by me in 1886.

<sup>95</sup> HIRSCHFELD's copy of lines 6-9 is unintelligible: he has ΚΑΔΑΜΥΑC in line 6. Copied by me in 1886, with Hirschfeld's copy in my hands.

The date 204 is probably according to the Phrygian era 85–4 B. C., and corresponds to A. D. 119–20. With regard to the ancient name of Gebren, it is impossible, without some other evidence, to accept Professor Hirschfeld's opinion, that it preserves an old name *Kebrēne*: *obgleich sie für diese Gegend nicht überliefert ist* (op. cit., p. 323). There seem only two possible alternatives: either Gebren was a village of the great estate above described, or it is the site of Ariassos. Until it is quite certain that no site for Ariassos can be found near Panemouteichos, we cannot decide with certainty between these alternatives, but the remains at Gebren seem too important for a mere outlying village of the imperial estate, and the method of dating by the priest only, without the *μισθωταί* or *ἐπίτροπος*, suggests that the district was not part of the estate. The name **ARIASSOS** must therefore be conjecturally placed at Gebren.

**D. 26. KODROULA.**—Three inscriptions erected by the Senate and Demos, which were found in the same deserted cemetery a few miles N. E. of Kestel, indicate a city in the immediate neighborhood. The list of Hierokles leaves only Kodroula and the People Isbeis to be placed in the province, and the inscriptions require a city rather than a loosely organized demos: hence, I place Kodroula in the neighborhood of Kestel. One of these inscriptions is published (A. H. S., No. 43). The others are:

(2) ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ	Αὐτοκράτ-
ΟΡΑΚΑΙΘΑ	ορα·Καίσα-
▨ΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥ	ρα] Μάρκον Αὐ-
ΦΑΙΟΝΓΕΥΗ	ρήλιον Σευή-
ΠΟΝΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ	ρον Ἀντωνεῖ-
ΝΟΝΓΕΒΑΚΤΟΝ	νον Σεβαστὸν
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟ	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ
ΔΗΜΟC	δῆμος.
(3) ΙΟΥ	Ἰού[λιον
Μ ΝΝΕΑΝ	Μ[ε]ννέαν
Ε	Ἐ[ρμαίου?
ΒΟΥΛΗ	ἡ] βουλὴ
ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟC	καὶ ὁ δῆμος

(4) To these we must add *C. I. G.*, 4367*k*, which is erected by a soldier of the *xiv Legio Apollinaria*. The legion was stationed in Galatia, and detachments of it may have been in the neighboring Coloniae, Komama and Kremna.

**D. 27. ISBA.**—The name is known only from Hierokles and the *Notitiae Episcopatum*. None of its bishops occur in the Council-lists, and it must therefore have been an unimportant place. Its position in Hierokles points to a situation on the eastern frontier of Pamphylia Secunda, and this is confirmed by the *Notitiae* which assign it to Prima. There is a double entry in Hierokles, Δεμονσία and Δήμου Σαβαιών: these appear to be corruptions of Δήμου Ἴσβα and Δήμου Ἴσβέων (spelt Ἴσβαίων).

**D. 28. PEDNELISSOS** is fixed approximately (1) by the expression of Strabo (p. 667) ὑπέρκειται Ἀσπένδου; (2) by the fact that it was in Pamphylia Secunda, the western half of the province; (3) by the narrative of Polybios (v. 72), which shows that it was further south than Selge. Professor Hirschfeld places it, conjecturally, at Sirt. This suits both Strabo and Polybios, but hardly explains why it is in Pamphylia Secunda, rather than Prima: this objection, though not conclusive, would make me look for a site further west, but I have never travelled in the district.

#### E. THE ROUTE OF MANLIUS.

It will be convenient here to trace the march of the consul Gn. Manlius Vulso, in B. C. 189, through this country (Livy, XXXVIII. 15). From Ephesos to Magnesia he marched by the ordinary road: thence, apparently in one march, he came to the Maeander (*ad Maeandrum progressus castra posuit*), where it required time to transport the army across the unfordable river: he probably crossed at a point nearly south of Magnesia. *Transgressi Maeandrum ad Hieran Comen pervenerunt. Hinc alteris castris ad Harpasum flumen ventum est.* Two days' march brings him to the Harpasos (Arpas Su), past Hierá Kome, a village which must be near the Marsyas, nearly due south of Tralleis. *Ad Antiochiam posuit castra:* apparently one day's march from the river Harpasos to Antioch. From the Maeander-crossing to Antioch is approximately 51 miles, which gives an average of 17 miles per day, when the army is starting fresh and the general is eager for action. *Inde ad Gordiou Teichos processum est. Ex eo loco ad Tabas tertiis castris perventum est.* The total distance is 36 miles in an air-line on my map: I have not traversed the road, and cannot say whether it winds much, but there is a chain of mountains to cross and a rise from 400 feet to 3000 feet above sea-level. The day's march cannot have been less than 12, and may have been 15. Gordiou Teichos, known also

from some rare coins, must be sought for at or a little north of the village Kara Su (a *mudirlik*). *Tertio inde die ad Kazanem amnem per-ventum: inde profecti Erizam urbem primo impetu ceperunt: ad Thabusion castellum imminens flumini Indo ventum est: haud procul a Cibyra aberant.* Thabusion is clearly near Teham Keui. The Erizeni are a people who possessed the country between Kibyra and Themissonion: in this country there are several places with traces of ancient life, and also a weekly market, called Ishkian Bazar, held in the plain, not at any village. Such a market probably (see **ATTOUDDA**) marks the ancient centre of the Erizeni, which should be looked for near Ishkian Bazar. The march from Tabae must have been by way of Apollonia and Sebastopolis, as Manlius would have crossed the Indus, not the Kazanes, if he had taken a more southerly road. On my map, the road from Tabae to a point on the Kazanes, a little above the confluence with the Indus, where Manlius probably crossed, is 32 miles: this gives 16 miles per day, followed by a short march and the capture and sack of Eriza, and then by a one day's march to bring the army within threatening distance of Kibyra:<sup>96</sup> here six days were spent. *A Cibyra per agros Sindensium exercitus ductus, transgressusque Caularem amnem, posuit castra: postero die est praeter Caralitin paludem agmen ductum: ad Mandropolin manserunt: inde progredientibus ad Lagbon, proximam urbem, etc.* Livy's previous description shows that *a Cibyra* implies only "from the neighborhood of Kibyra." I have not traversed this march, and my impression that the Kaularis is the river flowing from Bei Keui may require to be corrected on better knowledge. The march of the following day led along the northern shore of Lake Karalitis (Sugut Göl): Mandropolis must be a village on its shore. A few miles onward is Lagbon, which was deserted by the inhabitants at the approach of Manlius. *Inde ad Lysis fluminis fontes: postero die ad Cobulatum amnem progressi.* The sources of the Lysis are less than six miles from Lagbon, and thereafter only two possible routes were open to the Consul Manlius: he must go either down the Lysis or southeast towards Istanoz into a highlying plain in which rises a tributary of the Istanoz Su: this tributary is the Cobulatus or Κολόβατος.<sup>97</sup> These marches are very short, but Man-

<sup>96</sup> Thabusion was out of the territory of Kibyra: a detachment of troops was sent forward, and as it entered the territory was met by ambassadors.

<sup>97</sup> It is quite consistent with Livy's language that the army may have marched in one day from Mandropolis past Lagbon to the Lysis.



lius was hanging about, waiting for an excuse to enter Pamphylia (*volenti consuli caussa in Pamphylia divertendi oblata est*). So far as Kibyra, he could allege the necessity of teaching a lesson to king Moagetes (*homini infido atque importuno*). From Kibyra the direct road to Galatia lay up the Kaularis toward Alaston: the consul chose a more circuitous route by Lagbon. Arrived at the valley where the Kolobatos rises, he could no longer pretend that Galatia was his object if he descended that river. Such a movement meant the invasion of Pamphylia,<sup>98</sup> and he did not venture to invade it without some pretext, which was supplied by the embassy from Isinda. He marched down the Kolobatos to Isinda (*adveniens obsidione Isindenses exemit: Termesso pacem dedit, item Aspendiis ceterisque Pamphyliæ populis: ex Pamphylia rediens, etc.*); and (as we learn from Polybios, though not from Livy) he advanced further south to near Termessos (ὁ δὲ Γάιος τῇ Τερμησσῷ προσεγγίσας). *Ex Pamphylia rediens ad fluvium Taurum primo die, postero ad Xylinen (quam vocant) Comen, posuit castra. Profectus inde continentibus itineribus ad Cormasa urbem pervenit.* Allowing about 12 miles per day: Xylene Kome would be in front of the pass, between Pogla and Komama: thence two days would take him to Kormasa. *Darsa proxima urbs erat: eam plenam omnium rerum copia invenit: progredienti præter paludes legati ab Lysinia dedentes civitatem venerunt: inde in agrum Sagalassenum ventum est: consul prædatum in agros misit: legatis missis pacem impetraverunt: progressus inde ad Rhocrinos Fontes, ad vicum quem Aporidos Comen vocant, posuit castra.* In this passage there are several confused statements. The following description of the actual march will show how Livy's account corresponds to the truth. He advanced along the ordinary road to the southern end of Lake Askania; here he was not far from a city Lysinia, from which ambassadors came to meet him: he devastated the Sagalassian territory (along the lake) until the Sagalassians sent ambassadors and made their peace: the chief town of this district subject to Sagalassos was Darzela, which he took: advancing thence, past the village Aporidos, he encamped beside the Rhocrini Fontes. The account of the march given by Polybios was not very clear: Livy, using it for his narrative, did not make it any clearer, and mistranslated λίμνη as *paludes*. The statement about Aporidos and Rhocrini Fontes, two known points, is quite certainly false. Moreover, Livy's words do not correspond with Polybios

<sup>98</sup> It is obvious that Livy considers Milyas (valley of Istanos Su) to belong to Pamphylia.



Κύρμασα πόλιν λαβὼν ὁ Γναῖος καὶ λείαν ἄφθονον ἀνέξεν· προ-  
αγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν λίμνην, παρεγένοντο πρέσβεις ἐκ Λυσινόης  
διδόντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πίστιν· οὗς προσδεξάμενος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν  
τῶν Σαγαλασσέων γῆν. According to the excerpt of Polybios, Man-  
lius captures Kormasa with much booty: according to Livy he reaches  
Kormasa and captures Darsa. The reference to Darsa is perhaps only  
misplaced. The later city and bishopric, Durzela, Zarzela, or Zorzila,  
was probably situated at Buldur, and was at this time a mere depend-  
ency of Sagalassos:<sup>99</sup> if Darsa is corrupted from Darsila, we could  
readily understand that it was captured and plundered by Manlius as  
he passed along the lake.

#### A. PHRYGIA.

**X. SANAOS or ANAVA.**—The extensive plains along the Salt Lake,  
Hambat Kiri and Taz Kiri, contained an ancient city,<sup>100</sup> whose site  
with ruins of some interest at Sari Kavak was visited by me in 1881.  
Herodotos (VII. 30) mentions this city, on the march of Xerxes, as  
"Avava: his reference is unmistakable and conclusive. Sanaos is men-  
tioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, Hierokles, and other Byzantine lists: Ptol-  
emy places it in southern Phrygia, and Hierokles places it between  
Takina and Dionysopolis. No known site except Sari Kavak suits  
these conditions. The name Sanaos has obviously lost a spirant, and  
the Byzantine form, Sanabensis, shows that the form was ΣάναΦος.  
ΣάναΦος and "Avava are obviously two Greek variants of the native  
name. In northern Phrygia the ancient Synaos retains, in the form  
Simav, the ancient name, which must have been Sünav: on this analogy  
we may take the native name at Sari Kavak as Sanav, which is Grecised  
sometimes in the first declension, sometimes in the second. The loss  
of Σ in "Avava is natural in Greek: the Lydian city Satala is frequently  
written "Αταλα in Greek documents.<sup>101</sup>

Sanaos commanded a large and apparently fertile territory, and  
possessed the salt which has always been got out of the lake from the  
time of Xerxes to the present day. It was also situated on the most

<sup>99</sup> Is Darsa simply a mistake, arising from a false reading in Livy's copy of Polybios?  
I incline rather to the view taken in the text (after having for a time held the other):  
the coincidence that the town in this part of the territory of the Sagalassians was  
named Darzela weighs with me.

<sup>100</sup> For the older opinion on this point, see VII. KERETAPA.

<sup>101</sup> Satala was situated on the Hermos, and still retains its ancient name in the form  
Sandal, near Koula: see *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1887, p. 519.

important road in the country, the great highway which brought the trade of the central and eastern provinces through Laodikeia to Ephesos. Yet it struck no coins, and is never referred to except in the passages above quoted.<sup>102</sup> Its apparent obscurity is due to the probable fact that it was not an independent city under the Roman Empire, but was under the dominion of Apameia. Dion Khrysostomos mentions that a large and populous country was subject to Apameia, and as Seiblia bounded it on the north, Metropolis and Apollonia on the east, Pisidia on the south, there remain only Aulokra, Sanaos, and perhaps Mallos, under its dominion. Other examples of wide dominion exercised by great cities are known. The best attested examples are Nakoleia, whose power extended over Orkistos and therefore over the whole vast intermediate plain, down to A. D. 331, and Sagalassos, which possessed the whole country along the south side of Lake Askania: besides these, Prymnessos, Akmonia, and other cities must have had a wide dependent territory, though no precise authority attests it.

**XI. MOTELLA or METELLOPOLIS** (*C. and B.*, II, IX).—When writing on the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I observed, too late, that Metellopolis of the Byzantine lists is the same place as Motella of the inscriptions. My sole reason for placing Metellopolis in this neighborhood was that the bishoprics subject to the metropolitan of Hierapolis evidently formed “a well-marked district having its centre in Hierapolis.” This argument is now conclusively proved correct; the six bishoprics lie side by side along the southwestern boundary of Phrygia Pacatiana (see II. **HIERAPOLIS**.).

The use of the form Metelloupolis for Motella is common in Byzantine documents: thus we have *Φιλαδελφούπολις* for *Φιλαδέλφεια* (even *εἰς τὴν Φιλαδέλφου* occurs). The name Motella is not mentioned by Hierokles: I believe however that the city occurs under the temporary name of Pulcherianopolis. The last names in his list are those of the cities on the western frontier of Phrygia from north to south. The last name, Pulcherianopolis, must be either Blaundos or Motella. Formerly (*C. and B.*, Table, *J. H. S.*, IV, 373), I identified it with Blaundos, understanding that Hierokles in this instance disagreed with the *Notitiae*, which assign Blaundos to Lydia. The balance of probability, however, is that Pulcherianopolis is Motella. I have already (*C. and B.*, VII) stated that “the modern unity of name and govern-

<sup>102</sup> The utter want of inscriptions is probably due to ignorance of the country. It has never been explored.

ment throughout Tchal is probably true to ancient fact." Now Tchal includes the whole territory of Motella, Dionysopolis, and the Hyrgaleis, and we see from the inscriptions (*C. and B.*, 11, 14, and several unpublished) that Motella was closely connected with the other two. If we could accept the name Pulcherianopolis, it would definitely prove that Motella was erected into an independent city and bishopric about A. D. 414–53. If, however, subsequent investigation should make it more probable that Pulcherianopolis is Blaundos, we should then have to admit that Motella was not a city when Hierokles compiled his list, but that it was dignified by Justinian when he remodelled Phrygia Pacatiana.

The bishops of Motella, besides those mentioned by Lequien, are Michael in 556 (*C. and B.*, 13) and Kyriakos mentioned in an inscription at Keuseli (Hogarth-Ramsay, 1887) of about 660–70 A. D.: *ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δκ', μη(νὸς) αἰ', ζ', ἀνέστη τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐπὶ Κυριακοῦ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκ(όπου).*

**XII. DIONYSOPOLIS** (*C. and B.*, IV).—Mr. D. G. Hogarth is making a study of the curious series of inscriptions from this district; see *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1887. The following villages or districts of the territory of Mossyna and Dionysopolis are known.

(1) **ΑΤΥΟΚΗΟΡΙΟΝ**: the settlement (*χωρίον, κώμη*) round the temple of Apollon Lairbenos (see Hogarth, *l. c.*). In 1887, I was able to decipher the whole inscription published *C. and B.*, 6: *Ἀπολλωνίου Μηνοφίλου τῷ διὰ γένους ἱερεὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ κ.τ.λ.* As at Mossyna, we have here an example of the priesthood hereditary in a family. The name of the god is interesting: *C. and B.*, 5, dedicated by the same Apollonios, makes it practically certain that he was the priest of Lairbenos. His children are much more Greek in their style: instead of the family names, they have names taken from the epic cycle (Iphianassa and Laomedon), and they prefer to call their father's god by the Greek name Asklepios.<sup>103</sup> This is an interesting example of a fact that I have often insisted on—Greek mythology and nomenclature are substituted for Anatolian wherever the Græco-Roman civilization spreads.<sup>104</sup>

(2) **SALOUA**: the inscription, *C. and B.*, 9, gives the name as Sal-

<sup>103</sup> The worship of Men Karou at Attoudda shows that the Anatolian type of god has a side of his character closely akin to that of Asklepios: a medical school was attached to the temple.

<sup>104</sup> *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, 1883, pp. 64–5; 1882, p. 64.

salouda ; but another, which I copied in 1887, shows that Salouda is the true form, and that  $\Sigma\text{AA}$  is doubled by a mere error of the engraver. The name Salouda is related to Sala as Attoudda to Attaia, or as Aloudda to Alia. Salouda was near Kabalar, where both inscriptions were found.

(3) **MELOKOME** is mentioned in the same inscription with Salouda : it must be near Salouda.

(4) **KAGYETTA**: beside Develar, where in 1888 I copied a fragment of an inscription beginning  $\acute{o}$  δῆμος ὁ Καγυεττέων ἐτίμησεν Εὐτύχη Ἰόλλου [φ]ίλο[καίσα]ρ[α. φίλ]όπατριν. The name must also be restored in an inscription published by Hogarth (*l. c.*, p. 394) *παρὰ τοῦ δήμου [Καγυ]εττέος.*

(5) **THIOUNTA**: beside Geuzlar, where in 1888 I copied two inscriptions. They are engraved on two very large stelai, adorned with elaborate sculptures. The pediment of each stele shows Zeus standing in the centre with sceptre in left hand and holding out the right hand. To the left is Fortune of the Roman type with the rudder, and further to the left a quadriga in which stands the sun-god with radiated head. On the right is Hermes standing with caduceus in left and purse in right hand, and further to the right a car drawn by two oxen : the person who stood in this car is hopelessly defaced in both stelai. Both the ox-car and the quadriga are turned towards the centre. In the older stele, which is more rudely carved, the first group of the inscription is engraved below the pediment in several lines, irregularly : in the later stele, the first group is engraved in two lines along the top of the pediment. Each name of the long list which follows the introductory formula is written in two or three lines, and under the name the full-length portrait is carved in relief. In each stele there are therefore three rows of portraits, each row containing eight figures : all the portraits are exactly the same, except that some are bearded, others beardless : all stand, facing, with left hand hanging by the side and right hand appearing between the folds of the himation on the breast.

*First Stele.*

(1) ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θιουντέων ἐτείμησεν στήλῃ καὶ στεφάνῳ φράτταν τὴν περὶ Θεόδ(ο)τον Διογενειανὸν καὶ Γλύκωνα Διοδώρου ἀγωνοθέτην. Θεόδοτος Διογενειανός. Γλύκων Διοδώρου ἀγωνοθέτης. Ζεῦξις Διοδώρου Ἀππας ἀγοράσας τόπον στήλης. Μένανδρος Γλύκωνος. Ζώσιμος Κυρτός. Εὐτύχης Εὐάρου. Μενεκλῆς Ἀλ(ε)ξάνδρου.

Λυκώτας Ἀπολλωνίου. (2) Διόδωρος δ' Γοργίαν. Διόδωρος β' Χερύλου. Μένανδρος δις Κύρων(ος). Ἀθηναγόρας Ἀπολλωνίου Σαβυς. Ἀ[πελ]λίδης Διοδώρου Θεόφιλ[ος]. Ἀπολ(λ)ώνι(ο)ς ..... Ζεύξις ....πη....ν. Ζεύξις Κρυσίωνος. (3) Ζώσιμος Ἀλεξάνδρου. Εἰόλλας Ζεύξιδος. Μένανδρος Ἀφ(φ)ειανοῦ Λεπτοπ(οι)οῦ. Διόνυσος Τροφίμου. Ἀθηναγόρας Εἰλικίωνος. Διογένης Αὐξινίωνος. Τατιανὸς δις Διουνσίου. Ἀθηναγόρας Κερκυσ. (4) καὶ ἡλιψαν ἡμέρας ἡ'.

*Second Stele.*

(1) Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θιουντέων [ἐτείμησαν] στηੱλλη καὶ στεφάνῳ φράτταν τὴν περὶ Διόδωρον Ἀθηναγόρου Κολοκυνθιανὸν καὶ περὶ Ἀθηναγόραν Διοδώρου Γοργίωνος. (2) Διόδωρος Ἀθηναγόρου Κολοκυνθιανὸς ἔδωκεν ἰς τὴν παννυχίδα (δηνάρια) φν'. Ἀθηναγόρας Διοδώρου Γοργίωνος. Κάσμος γ' τοῦ Παπίου παραφύλαξ. Ἀπολλώνι(ο)ς β' Λαπισας. Θεόκριτος Θεοκρίτου Κορυδών. Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίδου Λεχίτου. Τατιανὸς Παπίου Αἰγεών. Ἀπολλώνιος Διοδώρου Χαιρύλου. (3) Ζεύξις β' Ἰόλλα. Ζεύξις Διοδώρου Κορυδών. Εὐξενίαν Ζωσίμου. Ἰόλλας Ἀπολλωνίου. Ζεύξις Ἀπολλωνίου Μικκήτου. Ζεύξις Μενάνδρου Ψαφαρου. Ἀπολλώνιος β' Κεννηνίων. Ἰούστος β' Ἑλλήμιος. (4) Θεόδωρος Μάσωνος (perhaps Μ(ν)άσωνος?). Ἀπολλώνιος Θεοφίλου Πιτυρᾶ. Ζεύξις Ἀπελλίδου Μυρῆδος. Ἰόλλας Ἴκεσίου. Ζεύξις γ' Γαίου. Εὐτύχης Διδύμου. Μένανδρος Εὐξενίωνος. Γλύκων Εὐτύχου Μόνγος. (5) ...εἰδη ἐποίησαν παννυχίδα τῷ Διὶ ἡμέρας ἡ' καὶ ἡλιψαν ἡμέρας ἡ'.

It appears that the first of these stelai is about a generation older than the second. Both probably belong to the second century after Christ, and the utter want of Roman names, as contrasted with the inscription of Mossyna given above (A. III), is explained by the secluded position of the village. I passed over this country four times before I found that such a village as Geuzlar existed.

All these villages, with the exception of Atyokhorion, belonged to the territory of Mossyna more probably than to that of Dionysopolis. Under the Roman Empire they were apparently distinct *demoi*, but under the Byzantine Empire they were grouped along with the *demos* of the Mossyneis as a single Bishopric.

**XIII. HYRGALEIS** (C. and B., VII).—With regard to *THE KOINON OF THE HYRGALEAN PLAIN*, I have nothing to add to the remarks in C. and B., except that, while the discussion of the Roman Roads in

the commentary on No. 11 still seems to me correct, the paragraph referring to Plautius's official position ought to be expunged. Roads in a senatorial province are very rarely constructed or repaired under proconsular authority.

The seat of government for the whole Tchal Ova is now Demirji Keui, but the weekly market for the district is held at Kai Bazar (A. IV).

**XIV. LOUNDA** (*C. and B.*, XI) was situated on a very strong position within the sharp angle where the Meander turns north into the Hyrgalean Plain. The steep slopes of the hill on which it stood are surrounded on three sides by the river. But in the peaceful times of the Pergamenian and Roman rule, the city spread west and southwest; remains are numerous both below in the gorge of the Maeander, and on the other side in the neighborhood of Mahmud Ghazi. The inscription, *C. and B.*, 16, which I formerly attributed to Lounda, must be transferred to Peltae (see **XV**).

In 1887, Mr. Hogarth and I revised the important inscription which is our only authority, besides Byzantine lists, for the name Lounda (*C. and B.*, No. 15). The following shows that the young men of Lounda were united in an association of a kind common in Græco-Roman cities. It stands in a cemetery on the left bank of the Maeander beside the village Seid (Hogarth-Ramsay, 1887):

ΟΙΝΕΟΙ	οἱ Νέοι
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΝ	Διονύσιον
ΤΟΝΓΡΑΜΜΑ	τὸν γραμμα-
ΤΟΦΥΛΑΚΑ	τοφύλακα
ΕΝΩΟΥΔΕΙΣ	ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς
ΕΤΕΡΟΣΚΗ	ἕτερος κη-
ΔΕΥΘΗ	δευθῇ[σεται]

The last five letters have disappeared, without leaving a trace.

**XV. PELTAE** (*C. and B.*, XII).—The site is probably between Kara Agatchlar (pronounced Karayashlar by the natives) and Yaka Keui, on a large rocky mound. Inscription *C. and B.*, No. 16 is, in all probability, to be referred to Peltae, not to Lounda: it was found about half-way between the two sites. The restoration of the last line occurred to me too late for publication: it should read *κόψας καὶ [νομ]ίσματ[α]*. Apollodotos, son of Diodoros, erects the statue of Antoninus Pius, and at the end of the text boasts that he has struck coins; *i. e.*, of course, coins of the city to which he belonged. Now the coins of Peltae, after

a long interval, begin again under Antoninus Pius.<sup>105</sup> It is to be hoped that coins of Apollodotos may be found, and prove or disprove my attribution of the inscription.

**XVI. ATTANASSOS** (*C. and B.*, x). **XVII. EUMENEIA** (*C. and B.*, XIII).—I have made a careful study of the antiquities of this district in a separate paper, which I hope soon to publish: the great number of inscriptions (120 are known) makes it impossible to treat the subject in this sketch.

**XVIII. SEIBLIA** (*C. and B.*, XIV).—The modern name Homa is the Byzantine *Xōμα*, the name of a late Thema, which is closely connected with the wars of the twelfth century between the Byzantine emperors and the Seljuk sultans of Konia (see *Amer. Journ. Arch.*, 1886, p. 123). The name *Xōμα* applied to the Theme may perhaps be explained by an expression which occurs in several of the important series of inscriptions relating to the worshippers of Artemis Limnaia in Pisidia:<sup>106</sup> *Μάλλος πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηρόν*. This Mallos is the Pisidian city, which is distinguished from the Kilikian Mallos by the phrase *πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηρόν*. I have been led to the supposition that the name Mallos must be given to the city near Kilij, south of Ketchi Borlu. There are only two striking features in the landscape here, Lake Askania and the beautiful peak Aidoghmarsh.<sup>107</sup> I conjecture that the city is distinguished by the name of the mountain beside it, which is in full view above the intervening mountains, even from so great a distance as the country where the inscriptions were found; and that the name of the mountain was in the twelfth century applied to the Theme. Finally, the name of the Theme was given to the chief fortress in it, viz., Seiblia, still called Khoma.

<sup>105</sup> Peltae appears to have lost its power after Eumeneia was founded, and not to have recovered for a long time. Mr. HEAD attributes the early coins of Peltae to the first century B. C.; I should feel disposed to place them about 250–150 B. C.; and to see in their types the Syrian influence, as contrasted with the Pergamenian style of early Eumeneian coins.

<sup>106</sup> This whole series will soon be published by Professor Sterrett. The first of them was published by me in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1883, p. 23, with a commentary which is, I think, confirmed and proved in all essential points by the new inscriptions discovered by Professor Sterrett, all of which I have read on the stones. The old pagan goddess has been replaced by the Virgin Mother of God, who is still the saint most venerated among the Christian population. Her home is on an island in the northeast corner of the *Λίμνη*, in the centre of a purely Turkish country.

<sup>107</sup> This name, "the rising moon," is almost the only example known to me of a Turkish local name showing imaginative sympathy with nature.



**LAMPE.**—The references of Niketas, Kinnamos, Skylitzes and Anna Komnena, to Lampe are not sufficiently precise to localize it. It lay on the route from Khonai to Seiblia, probably not very far from the latter. A passage in Niketas<sup>108</sup> has been understood as implying that Lampe was another name for Kelainai; but the passage is one in which (as Finlay remarks in another connection) Niketas “requires to be read with great caution in order to separate his meaning from his rhetoric.” Any pretext to introduce a piece of fine writing was welcome to Niketas, and the remarkable natural features of Kelainai gave a fine opening: the purely rhetorical character of the digression is shown by the use of the name Kelainai, which, when he wrote, had been disused for 1400 years.

**JUSTINIANOPOLIS** appears only in the latest *Notitiae III, X, XIII*: the name shows that it must have been in existence when the other *Notitiae* were transcribed, and if it is omitted in them the reason probably lies in a principle which I have stated elsewhere.<sup>109</sup> We may say, at once, with confidence that (1) Justinianopolis must have been an important place; (2) it must have been a fortress forming part of the magnificent series of defences built by Justinian along the important lines of communication; (3) we should expect to find some reference to it in the military history of the Byzantine Empire. All these considerations point to Seiblia. It was a fortress at a *kleisoura*, built in former time by an emperor careful of the defences of the kingdom, and rebuilt by Manuel Komnenos. With the strong fortress of Khonai it forms the chief centre of interest when southern Phrygia became the scene of warfare. In any scheme of defence against invasion from the east, some strong fortress was required to defend the roads leading from the plateau towards Karia and Ionia: Justinian built Justinianopolis for this purpose, and all our information points to the conclusion that the fortress in question was at Sublaion or Seiblia.

**ΟΙΚΟΚΟΜΕ** (corrupted *Oikonomos* in *Not. I*) was a village administered by the same bishop as Justinianopolis. According to a principle of very frequent application (see above **D. 16**),<sup>110</sup> we must, since the latter

<sup>108</sup> εἰς Λάμπην ἦκετο καὶ πόλιν Κελαινὰς ἔνθα τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ἐκβολαί (here follows a description)· κατέκειθεν εἰς τὸ Χῶμα ἐλθὼν τῷ Μυριοκεφάλῳ ἐφίσταται, p. 230. On Myriokephalon, see *Amer. Journ. Arch.*, l. c. Λάμπη in the Bonn text is probably a misprint.

<sup>109</sup> The official lists were carelessly kept, and not always corrected to date: *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1887, p. 463.

<sup>110</sup> See also *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1888, p. 462, No. 5, and p. 487.



is a highlying fortress, look for the former in the plain beneath. Now the Peutinger Table places in this very situation, halfway between Apameia and Eumeneia, a station *ad Vicum*. I have no hesitation in identifying this Vicus with Oiko-kome.

The village Lampe is perhaps the same as Oikokome. It was a place of some note: Δημήτριος, Ῥωμαῖος μὲν γένος, Λάμπης δὲ κώμης ὠρμημένος Ἀσιανῆς: Kinnam., p. 251.

In the principle above quoted, the careless keeping of the registers, I find the explanation of the double entry of Soublaion in the middle of the list and Oikokome with Justinianopolis as the last bishopric.

GRAOS GALA and KHARAX were points on the Byzantine military road between the two important fortresses Khonai and Seiblia: the former not very far from Khonai, the latter μεταξύ Λάμπης καὶ τοῦ τῆς Γραὸς Γάλακτος.

W. M. RAMSAY.

*Old Aberdeen, Scotland.*

N. B.—In the inscription of Pogla, No. 7 (JOURNAL, 1888, p. 10), a note should be added: that Εὐχρόμιος was the familiar name of Aur. Arteimianos: it is a common practice to place at the head of an honorary inscription the name (gen. or dat.) by which the person honored was commonly known; sometimes this name is repeated in the text, sometimes not: see Marquardt, *Privatalt.*, p. 27; Orelli-Henzen, No. 6252; Borghesi *Oeuvres* (*Lapide Gruteriana*), III, p. 503 ff. An example occurs in inscr. No. 419 of Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, where read gen. or dat., not accus.

In the inscription, Pogla, No. 14 (p. 14), a mark of interrogation has been omitted after *πρ(ιμικηρίων)*: I see now, however, that *ἀπὸ πρ(ογόνων)* is a more probable restoration.

In the table opposite p. 6, in the column headed *Epist. ad Leonem*, "Tertia" should be erased in both cases.

I omitted to mention, under C. 2, that the identification of Brioula was communicated to me, years ago, by Mr. Purser, manager of the Ottoman Railway.

W. M. R.



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Note on W. M. Ramsay's "Antiquities of Southern Phrygia"

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Sep., 1888), p. 320

Published by: [Archaeological Institute of America](#)

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## NOTES.

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### NOTE ON W. M. RAMSAY'S "ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTHERN PHRYGIA."

A. IX. ADADA (vol. III, p. 368).—The situation of Adada given above depended on a coin with the legend ΑΔΑΔΑΤΩΝ, published by Mionnet, and vouched for by him though doubted by Sestini. The coin seems to bear a magistrate's name, which would place Adada in Asia. But, as the name is certainly partly misread and as the whole legend has a suspicious look, I am forced, after consulting various numismatic authorities, to the conclusion that it is either spurious or quite wrongly read. Moreover, Professor Sterrett's inscription (*Wolfe Expedition*, p. 299) shows that Adada was probably at Kara Baylo: his argument to the contrary (p. 283) being founded on a misconception, as Professor Hirschfeld has also observed (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1888, p. 589). What then was the city situated at Elles or Elyes? If, as is probable, Elyes was in Asia, it must be Okoklia, the problematic Phrygian city hitherto unplaced, and unknown except from coins. Its failure in the Byzantine lists may be due to its being renamed Valentia (this name was above conjecturally assigned to Takina, but Takina might be easily included as a village under Keretapa). It may perhaps be hid under the corrupt Latrileon of the *Anon. Ravenn.*, which indicates some city on a Roman road in this neighborhood.

XVIII. SEIBLIA (IV, p. 281).—The name Χῶμα is, perhaps, really Turkish: Homa, the modern name, is also found in a purely Turkish country, between Konia and Seidi Sheher, where we have two villages, Asha and Yokari Homa. The use of Turkish names in late Byzantine writers is not uncommon: *e. g.*, in this same neighborhood, Τζυβριτζή is certainly a Turkish word ending in -ji.

W. M. RAMSAY.

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### THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

The new arrangements for the publications of the German Archæological Institute have already justified themselves, and we are glad to state that the doubts expressed in a former number of the JOURNAL (vol. III, p. 387) in regard to the advisability of the changes made and the sufficiency of the motives for making them have proved groundless.

The change of the *Monumenti* into a publication not confined to the Roman branch of the Institute, but common to all the branches, is alto-



Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos

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Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 10 (1889), pp. 216-230

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## ARTEMIS-LETO AND APOLLO-LAIRBENOS.

ONE of the most curious series of Anatolian inscriptions known to me has been published by Mr. Hogarth in this *Journal*, 1887, pp. 376 ff. Their importance lies in the fact that they show us the manners and religion of one district hardly affected by Greek civilisation, and almost purely native in character. As the use of the Greek language and knowledge of Greek civilisation spread, the native manners were proscribed as barbarous, and even native mythology was discarded and Greek tales adapted to suit the locality. I have frequently given instances of this. At *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, for example, if we may judge from the references of Pausanias, the mythology of the district was re-modelled under the influence of the Greek literary tradition of Niobe, and localities had to be found to suit the details of the story.

As to the inscriptions published by Mr. Hogarth, Nos. 12-20, probably no one who reads over the texts can doubt that Greek was strange to the writers. They were native Phrygians, speaking their own language with a smattering of Greek, quite uneducated, but impressed with the belief universal over Asia Minor that Greek was the one language of education, and trying to express themselves in Greek. In every part of the country where the inscriptions enable us to penetrate below the Graeco-Roman varnish, the same inference is forced on us. Greek did not succeed in forcing itself on the native population of Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia (except in the large cities which were centres of Graeco-Roman civilisation) until Christianity gave it the additional power of being the language of the Scriptures.

The fact that the inscriptions were written in Greek by persons who had a mere smattering of the language makes them very hard to understand. The words are mis-spelt, corrupted, distorted so much as to be sometimes unrecognisable. In June 1888 I spent a day at Badinlar, where the inscriptions are for the most part found, and discovered several new texts which throw some light on those which had previously been published. The interest of the subject makes me think it worth while to publish the newly discovered texts, and to show how far they help us towards the proper interpretation of those already published.

I have elsewhere collected the facts which prove that a goddess called sometimes Leto, sometimes Artemis, was widely worshipped in the southern

and central parts of western Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> She is invoked as the 'Mother,' and her son, most commonly called by the Greek name Apollo, is worshipped along with her. The inscriptions of Dionysopolis, where they were known as Leto and Lairbenos, give us some curious glimpses of the character of their cultus. They permit us to form some idea of the relations that existed between the two deities, mother and son, Leto and Lairbenos, on the one hand, and their worshippers on the other. With all their rudeness and bad grammar, they show us more of the real character of Asia Minor society and religion at the period to which they belong than do any other known inscriptions.

Such errors as *ἐξοπράρει* for *ἐξεμπλάριον* show that the authors of the inscriptions picked up by the ear only their small stock of Greek. The engraving also is so rudely done that Δ and Λ, Ο and Θ, Γ and Ε, &c., are frequently confused, and letters are often omitted entirely. The interpretation of these texts is greatly a matter of comparison with less obscure inscriptions of a similar kind, and I shall therefore at the end quote a few inscriptions which throw light on obscurities in the Dionysopolitan texts. M. Foucart's admirable *Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs* ought to be read in company with the following texts.

1. On a small stele at Badinlar.

ΩΩΑΝΔΡΟCΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕ

ΤΗCΕΠΙΟΡΚΗΣΑCΚΑΙ

ΑΝΑΓΝΟCΙCΗΛΘΑΙCΤΟ

ΕΥΝΒΥΜΟΝΕΚΟΛΑC

ΘΗΝΠΑΡΑΝΓΕΛΛΥΜΗ

ΔΕΝΑΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ

ΤΥΛΑΙΡΜΗΝΥΕΠΕΙΕΖΕΙ

ΤΗΝΕΜΗΝCΤΗΜΗΝΕΖΕΝΠΑΘΝ

Σώσανδρος Ἱεραπολε(ί)-

της ἐπιορκήσας καὶ

ἀναγνος ἰσηλθα ἰς τὸ

σύνβωμον ἐκολάσ-

θην· παραγγέλλω μὴ-

δένα καταφρονεῖν

τῷ Λαιρμηνῷ, ἐπεὶ ἔξει

τὴν ἐμὴν στῆ[λλ]ην ἔξενπλον

It is perhaps doubtful whether we should read ἰς τὸ[ν] σύνβωμον, Apollo being understood as the θεὸς σύνβωμος; but I think it more probable that in the bad Greek of these inscriptions τὸ σύνβωμον is to be understood as 'the temple of the σύνβωμοι θεοί.' My friend Mr. Hogarth recognised in CΤΗΜΗΝ the word *στήλλην*, and thus gave me the key to the understanding of the formula.

The people of Hierapolis also worshipped Lairbenos, as is proved by their coins, on which a radiated head of the Sun-god, with the legend ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ, frequently occurs. The inscriptions show that persons from Hierapolis<sup>2</sup> on the south, and Motella on the north, frequently came to share in the worship

<sup>1</sup> 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia,' A. II., in *Amer. Jour. Archaeol.*, 1887. To the homes of her worship add (7) the Ormeleis in Kabalis, as is shown by the inscription quoted in the course of the same article, A. VIII., 'Ἀπόλλωνι

καὶ Μητρὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the inscription No. 4 in my 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' Part I., *J. H. S.*, 1884.

of the shrine near Dionysopolis overhanging the south bank of the Maeander.

I do not in the transcript correct any of the faults of grammar in the text. The intention of the writer seems to be, 'I, Sosandros of Hierapolis, having sworn falsely and being impure on that account, entered the temple of the Gods Consort, and I was chastised, and I now give warning that no one should despise the god Lairmenos, since he will have my stele as an example.' On *ἀγνός, ἄναγνος*, see Foucart, p. 147.

The inscriptions of this class agree in representing the authors as having approached the hieron when polluted with some physical or moral impurity and therefore unfit to appear before the god: they are chastised by the god (in some cases at least, perhaps in all cases, with some disease<sup>1</sup>): they confess and acknowledge their fault (*ἐξομολογέομαι* is the technical term); they thereby appease the god (*ἰλάσσκομαι* probably); they are cured of their ailment or released from their punishment; and finally they relate the facts as a warning to others not to treat the god lightly. The question might be raised whether the oath in this case was a religious one (*e.g.* among *ἐρανισταί*, Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 210, l. 9), or belonged to ordinary social life.

The term *σύνβωμον* is important, as showing that the mother and the son were worshipped in the same temple and on the same altar: *σύνναος* and *σύνβωμος* are often united, but the latter here implies the former.

2. Orta Keui: in a house: on a marble stele beneath a relief representing a *birennis*. The stone is broken left and bottom.

Ι Η Ε Ι Μ Ο Σ Α Π Ο Λ Λ Ο Ν Ι Υ	Ὀν]ήσιμος Ἀπόλλωνι [Α]υ[ρ
ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΛ	μηνῶ] εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κολ-
ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΟΟΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΤ	ασθ]έντος βοῶς διὰ τοὺς τε . .
ΕΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΑΡΑΓΕΓΟΝ	. . . ε καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[ . . .
ΗΕΥΧΗΜΩΙ	. . . η εὐσημω . . . . .
ΥΝΕΥΞΑΜ	. . . ων εὐξάμ[ενος ἐστηλογ-
ΙΓΕΝ	ράφ]ησεν <sup>2</sup>

This fragment would certainly have been interesting, if it were better preserved. The relief over it shows that the *birennis* was the symbol of the god Lairbenos, marking him as the sun-god: the radiated head on coins of

<sup>1</sup> Hogarth's suggestion of fever is very probably right in cases where no other disease is indicated.

<sup>2</sup> The probable maximum of letters lost is indicated by the number of dots. The text doubtless continued with the usual formula, *παραγγέλλων μηδένα κ.τ.λ.* The following restoration, in which I am aided by suggestions of Hogarth, suits the conditions of space, but I do not insert it in the text, as I do not feel confident of the two words that follow *εὐσήμω*: otherwise I think we have reached the truth:

διὰ τὸ ὅστε[ρηκέν]ε καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[ένε, στήλ]η εὐσήμω [λασάμενος, εὐλογ]ῶν εὐξάμ[ενος ἐστηλογράφ]ησεν, κ.τ.λ., 'on behalf of his ox which had been punished (by the god) because he had been late and had not made his appearance (at the temple).' I felt confident when reading the inscription that the gap in 5-6 began with *ι* and ended with *ω*, and the words which I suggest are all technical in these formulae. I have also thought of *ἡλίφ εὐχαριστῶν*. Repetitions are very common in the following inscriptions.



Hierapolis leads to the same conclusion. At Develar a small relief without inscription shows the god on horseback bearing the *bipennis* over his shoulder, a type which is common on coins of Lydia and Phrygia: some numismatists used to interpret the figure as an Amazon, but there can be no doubt that it represents the Lydo-Phrygian sun-god, who is known in different places by such names as Sabazios, Lairbenos, Men Askaenos, Sozon, &c.

Elsewhere I have mentioned the great variety of forms in the name of the god. We have *Λαιρβηνός*, *Λαιρμηνός*, *Λερμηνός*, *Λυερμηνός*, and perhaps *Λυρμηνός*.

The ox or the bull had some connection with the Phrygian mysteries: cp. Foucart, p. 77, and the mystic *ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων*; see also below, § 19.

3. At Badinlar on a small fragment, broken at top and on left side.

////////IA////////

////ΕΛΛΩΜΙ////

//ΟΝΕΙΝΤΟΥΘΕ

//ΕΙΤΗΝCΤΗΝ

ΕΞΕΝΠΛΑΡΙΟΝ

παρ[ανγ]έλλω μ[ηδέ-

να καταφρ]ονεῖν τοῦ θε-

οὔ, ἐπεὶ ἔξ]ει τὴν στή[λη]ν

ἐξενπλάριον

It is possible that *ἐξενπλάριον* was added as the only word in the last line; though there may have been a word or words between *στην* (which seems to be an engraver's error) and *ἐξενπλάριον*. The last word is interesting. The use of the word has been made an argument against the genuineness of the epistles of Ignatius.<sup>1</sup> We have here an example, which is not, I think, later than the second century, of the word spreading north from the Lycus valley among a rude and illiterate people. From some cause or other *ἔξενπλον* and *ἐξενπλάριον* must have been taken into the popular speech in this part of Phrygia at quite an early period. The word recurs below, 5 and 6, in extraordinary corruptions, which prove its use in the vulgar dialect. It doubtless was popularised from legal use at the conventus of Laodiceia.

These three inscriptions clear up some parts of the difficult texts already published by Mr. Hogarth, all of which I examined anew in 1888 without finding any important variation from our old copies.<sup>2</sup> I add the texts of those which can now be more completely understood, assuming all Mr. Hogarth's results. Much remains still unintelligible.

4 (Hogarth, 12). This inscription I observed on a new examination to be almost complete. We have the first line, which wants only two letters.

Ἄτ]θεις Ἀγαθ[ημέ-

ρ]ου ἱερὰ βιαθίσα

ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κὲ ἡμα-

ρτήσα(σα) ἐ-τήκω

<sup>1</sup> See Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, I. p. 396, II. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The reproduction by type of such rude texts was of course very imperfect.



5      *κολαθέσα ἐπὶ τοῦ θε-  
οῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ κ(ἐ) ἐστηλογ-  
ράφησεν παραγ(γ)-  
ἐλ(λ)ων μηδένα κα-  
ταφρονεῖ.*

ἐτήκω with prothetic vowel, which is common in Asia Minor, but generally before a double consonant. The active for passive need not surprise us in these inscriptions; but still the interpretation is doubtful, as the word is not used in any of the other texts.

The offence which has caused impurity in this case is incest. Nothing is said about approaching the sanctuary during impurity, so that the punishment is represented as inflicted directly for the offence, and not for entering the sanctuary before purification from the offence.

5 (Hogarth 13).

Ἀπε[λλᾶς Ἀπολλ]ωνίου  
Μοτελληνὸς ἐξομολογαῦ-  
με κολασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἐπεὶ ἠθέλησα μεῖνε μετὰ  
5      *γυνεκός· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν πα-  
ρανγέλω νᾶσιν μηδέ-  
να καταφρονεῖ τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ  
ἔξει τ[ὴν στ]ήλην ἔξον-  
πλάριον.—μετὰ τῆς  
10      ἐμῆς γυνεκὸς  
Βλειδίδος.*

The name in the last line is certainly ΒΛΕΙΔΙΔΟΣ; but considering how frequently letters are falsely engraved on the stone, Mr. Hogarth's ingenious correction Βασιλίδος may very well be right. In line 6 νᾶσιν is engraved for πᾶσιν: in 7 ἐπί for ἐπεῖ. The last three lines seem to me to be an addition explanatory of 4—5, μετὰ γυνεκός. The sentence ends with ἔξονπλάριον. In 7 I read ΝΕΙ in 1888 for ΝΗ in 1887.

6 (Hogarth 14). It is doubtful how much is lost at the beginning. One or more lines may have been broken away.

μέγεθος] Ἑλίου? Ἀπόλλ-  
ων]ου? δι τὸ ἡμαρτηκ-  
εῖναι ἐπεὶ τῷ χωρὶ[ω] ἰσέ-  
τυχει καὶ διήθα τὴν  
5      *κώμη β' ἀναγνα λημον-  
ήσα(ς) πάρημη εἰς τὴν κώμη·  
παρα(γ)γέλλω μηδεὶς καταφ-  
ρεινήσει τῷ θεῷ ἐπεὶ ἔξ-  
ει τὴν σ[τ]ήλην ἔξοπράρει(ον).*

10 ερεισε τον μετον η προγεμενε  
 . . . ]υχεις καὶ ἐξωμολογησά-  
 μην] καὶ εἰλαθη[σ]ο.<sup>1</sup>

I think that this inscription, like the last, ended with line 9, and that the last three lines are an explanation which should have come about line 5. Either they were omitted by the engraver, or the author felt that he had not sufficiently explained the circumstances in line 5, and added some further particulars. The last two lines seem to contain the confession and the appeasing of the god. The last word is apparently as given in the text: the second last letter is imperfect. Lines 5–6 seem to be a dittography (β') of 3–5. The composer was dissatisfied and added β', i.e. 'or.' The sense is 'in as much as he happened and traversed (vulgar for "he happened to traverse") the Village,<sup>2</sup> or in this way, in impurity forgetting I was at the Village.'

Mr. Hogarth has rightly, I think, interpreted both χωρίον and κώμη as the village attached to the temple. The name Hiera Kome in a similar sense is found in the lower Maeander valley. The temple was not in or close to any of the cities of the district. It was doubtless older than them all,<sup>3</sup> and was the original central hieron of the whole surrounding district. It stood on a spur of the plateau projecting into the great cañon of the Maeander, connected by a low, narrow neck with the higher ground on which Dionysopolis stood. The expression 'to go up to the temple' (ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸ χωρίον) is strictly true to the latter part of the approach, though as a whole the hieron is on a lower level than any part of the plateau on either side of the Maeander. The exact name of the Sacred Village is preserved to us in an inscription (*Cit. and Bish.*, No. 5) as Ἀτυοχώριον. This name may be compared with Menos Kome, which was (as I shall prove elsewhere) applied to the village attached to the temple of Men Karou near Attoudda.

The restoration given by Mr. Hogarth, [Αὐρ]ηλίου Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ου, in line 1, does not please me. I prefer to see in the two genitives the remains of some expression like τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Ἑλλίου Ἀπόλλωνος. The difficulty is that Ἀπόλλωνου must have been the reading on the stone, but the same false form occurs in the following inscription. The name Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου would imply a third century date. But though the *praenomen* Aurelius became exceedingly common, it is not usual to give it in this way with the father's name, but only with the name of the son which precedes. For example, in this case the form of the inscription would have to be either Αὐρήλιος Μένανδρος Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου or Μένανδρος Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου, both of which are improbable, the latter being exceedingly rare. Perhaps we may detect the words ἀναγνα, as in No. 1, and πάρημη for πάρειμι.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Hogarth (rightly as I think) interprets διῆθα as διῆ(λ)θα. I

<sup>1</sup> The inscription ends with Ο. In 10 our first copy, made in 1887, is as published by Mr. Hogarth, the third letter being part of Λ or Α or Δ. In 1888 I thought it was Ε.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Phrygian city 'Bria,' which

literally means 'the Town.'

<sup>3</sup> Apparently however it was rebuilt in the Roman period.

<sup>4</sup> The writer of No. 2, who knew more Greek, uses παραγίγνεσθαι rather than παραιναι.

understand that the classical adjective *λήσμων* may already have given rise to such derivatives as the modern *λησμονέω*, *λη(σ)μονήσας*.

7 (Hogarth 15).

- Μέγας Ἀπόλλω Λειμηνός.  
 Σόφρον ἱερὸς κολεθεῖς or κολσθεῖς (*i.e.* κολ(α)σθεις)  
 ἐπὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λει-  
 μηνοῦ δει τὸ ἔμαρ-  
 5    τηνκένει ποιστριφοῖς ν  
       εἰλάστην κλησειπὸν  
       κειτογζην ]ίλασ(α) Ἀπό(λ)-  
       λω[ν]ου μάκεδος καὶ  
       αμαζονας κα· νεικο·  
 10    α χειλιαῖς ἐξομολ[ογ-  
       ησάμενος εἰστηλογ[ρά-  
       φῃσα παραγ(γ)έλ(λ)ω μηδι-  
       ς καταφρονήσει ἐπεὶ [ἐ-  
       [ξεί τῇν στήλην ἔξεμπλον].

Lines 6–10 seem to contain a statement of the expiation. 7, 8 perhaps ‘I propitiated the greatness of Apollo.’ Possibly gifts are mentioned as part of the propitiation (εἰκό[ν]α?). In 5 perhaps the intention is a passive aorist, *προστρεφθεῖς*, from *προστρέπω*, in the sense of ‘having supplicated.’

In 1888 I could not satisfy myself about any letter in lines 14 and 15. The words *τῷ θεῷ* or *τοῦ θεοῦ* are omitted in 13 before *ἐπεὶ*, and may have been given at the end. If the letters which we read (13, 14) with much hesitation in 1887 are to be trusted, the formula expressing the punishment at the end was different: I have restored the common formula to show what I think to have been the sense.

8 (Hogarth 16) belongs on account of the name to the third century. I can add little more than Mr. Hogarth has suggested. The offence is some personal impurity, as is shown by the relief and by the word *ὄρχις*. Mr. Robinson Ellis’s *ληκηνσάμην*, as a Phrygian form of aorist from *ληκάω*,<sup>1</sup> seems correct. I have elsewhere shown that the Phrygian patois of Greek loved middle aorists.<sup>2</sup>

Αὐρήλιος Σωτηρχὸς Δημοστράτου Μοτελ(λ)ηνὸς κολαθὶν ἐπὶ τῷ θεοῦ  
 παραγ(γ)έλ(λ)ων πᾶσι μηδὶς ἀνάγνον ἀναβήτε ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐ προκῆσι ἡ  
 κηνήσετε τὸν ὄρχις· ἔγωγε ληκηνσάμην ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίων.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I would account for the form as the result of pure ignorance or misspelling. Similar reasons, and not a rare dialectic form such as Hesychius would quote, must explain line 3, where Mr. Ellis prefers *ἀνάγιον* to *ἀναγνον* (*Journal of Philology*, XVII. 139). But the analogy of Nos. 1 and 3 points to *ἀναγνον*.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Vergleich. Sprachforsch.*,

1887; *Philologus*, 1888, p. 755.

<sup>3</sup> I read *ΩΠΙΩΝ* in 1888; *ΩΠΙΩΝ* is however more probably right, as I did the end carelessly in 1888, and we were very careful in 1887. On the Phrygian dative singular in -ν see my paper in *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.*, 1887.

A writer who gives τὸν ὄρχις, παραγέλων for present παραγγέλλω, κολαθίν for κολαθείς,<sup>1</sup> may quite well have given ἄναγνον for ἄναγνος. Ε for Η before προκήσ(ε)ι is an engraver's error. Mr. Hogarth speaks of the inscription as 'a piece of very careless work.' I would rather call it a laborious piece of ignorant work by persons who had picked up by ear a smattering of the language of educated society, but who spoke Phrygian as their native language.

9 (Hogarth 19).

Γ(άιος?) Λόλλιος Ἀπόλ(λ)ω-  
νι Λερμ]ηνῶ ὁμόςας  
[καί ἐπιορκήσας, &c.].

I add a conjectural restoration in line 3 to show the general character. The inscription is not honorific (Hogarth, p. 390), but belongs to the same class as the preceding. Unfaithfulness to an oath is a common fault in this class of inscriptions, but the remains of letters in 3 show that the actual words were not those which I have printed.<sup>2</sup>

10. At Develar. The stone is broken so that it is impossible to say how much further the inscription extended.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΚΑΓΥΕΤΤΕΩΝΕ	Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καγυεττέων ἐ-
ΤΙΜΗCΕΝΕΥΤΥΧΗΝΙΟΛΛΟΥΦΙ	τίμησεν Εὐτύχην Ἰόλλου φι.
Λ////ν////////Ρ////////ΠΑΤΡΙΝ////////	λ[ο]κ[αίσα]ρ[α φίλo]πατριν

This inscription gives us the name of a village on the borders of the territory of Dionysopolis and Mossyna. It enables us to restore the inscription published by Mr. Hogarth, No. 22, where l. 6, 7 is τοῦ δήμου [Καγν]εττέος. This genitive from Καγυεττεύς is an instance of Phrygian Greek, and the want of an article after δήμου<sup>3</sup> is to be explained in the same way.

11. At Badinlar, on a fragment, complete only on the left, broken on all other sides: there was however no fourth line.

ΛΩΝΙΑΙ	Ἀπόλ]λωνι Λ[αιρβ-
ΗΝ ΙΗ	ην[ῶ
ΘΕΩΥ	θεῶ ὑ[ψίστῳ

12. At Orta Keui in a cemetery: beneath a relief representing an eagle. The letters are faint and worn.

<sup>1</sup> Unless ἐκολάσθην παραγγέλλων be the intention.

<sup>2</sup> In 1888 I examined and measured the stone carefully, and considered that at least one letter was lost at the left of the first line. The second now begins ΙΗΝΩ. The third now

reads ΑΒΙΙΩ. There is no clue to the number of lines, but each contained about 14 or 15 letters.

<sup>3</sup> Usually δ δῆμος δ Πρυμνησσέων is the form, but sometimes the second δ is omitted.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ	Ἀπολλώνι-
ΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΩ	ος Ἀπολλω-
ΝΙΟΥΟΙΕΡΕ	νίου ὁ ἱερε-
ΥΣΔΕΙΝ////	ὺς Δεῖ Ν[ω
ΝΟΥΛΕΙΕΥ	νουλεῖ εὖ-
ΧΗΝ	χῆν.

Δεῖ for Διῖ occurs occasionally in Phrygian Greek. The last letter of line 4 is squeezed into a narrow space sideways and of smaller size. It cannot be given by type, but is certainly Ω. Apollonius the Priest is in all probability the hereditary priest of Apollo Lairbenos (see § 31). He addresses the god by a strange title.

13. At Badinlar, on a small stele, beneath a relief representing a winged horseman to the right, carrying in his right hand an object which may be a ball or a patera. The letters are so rude as to be hardly decipherable.

ΗΡΑΚΛΙΔΗΣΠΑΝΦΙΛΟΝ	Ἡρακλίδης Πανφίλον
ΔΙΕΙΓΩΣΧΟΥΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ	Διεὶ Γωσσοῦ(?) εὐξάμενος
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ	ἀνέθηκα

The epithet following Διεί is quite uncertain.<sup>1</sup>

14. On a cippus in the cañon of the Maeander, on the right bank of the river.

ΡΟΥΦΙΩΝ·ΚΛ·	Ῥουφίων Κλ(αυδίου)
ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ	Κλήμεντος
ΔΟΥΛΟΣΕΥΧΗΝ	δοῦλος εὐχῆν

15. Many of the persons mentioned bear the epithet *ἱερός* or *ἱερά*. Mr. Hogarth gives the sense as 'engaged in the service of the temple.' I am disposed to get a more precise meaning by comparison with *ἱερόδουλος*: the same persons who in the original Anatolian system were *hierodouloi*, were now under the Graeco-Roman social system *hieroi*. They are distinguished alike from the slave population, from the priests, and from the immigrant population of the cities such as Dionysopolis. They are therefore the true native Anatolians, and hence the ethnic Motellenos occurs much more frequently than Dionysopolites: Motella was a village hardly affected by the Graeco-Roman civilisation, while Dionysopolis was a Greek city with the Graeco-Roman tone.

The terms *ἱερός* and *ἱερά* are in the great inscription of Andania applied to a class of persons or officials, of considerable number and chosen by lot, connected with the mysteries. Sauppe in his commentary says that this use

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hogarth's words would seem to imply that his No. 28 was copied by Mr. Sterrett in 1883. This is a mere slip of order. The in-

scription was copied by Hogarth and myself in 1887.

of the term is unique (p. 36). It is too purely Greek to be used in illustration of our present case. Strabo (p. 559) says of Comana Pontica *πλήθος [ἐστὶ] γυναικῶν τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὧν αἱ πλείους εἰσὶν ἱεραί*. Here the term must mean 'attached to the sanctuary and bound to the service of the deity.' Such women are a well-attested feature of the Anatolian worship.<sup>1</sup> Besides those who were bound to the life (*ιερόδουλοι*), there were also cases in which women acted in this way for a time as an act of devotion to the deity. An inscription of Tralleis is erected by a lady apparently of good family, to judge from her name, during the third century after Christ, in which she speaks of herself as *ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπτοπόδων* and as herself *παλλακεύσασα καὶ κατὰ χρῆσμον*.<sup>2</sup>

16. A series of Inscriptions at Dionysopolis record the enfranchisement of slaves by dedicating them to the god. They would in that case become *hieroi*. The word *ιερόδουλος* occurs in an inscription of Sandal quoted below.

The inscriptions of this class are given by Hogarth, Nos. 1–6,<sup>3</sup> to which I would add his No. 8, in which his restoration seems unsatisfactory. These inscriptions were engraved several on one stone, or they were (as in his No. 1) squeezed in at the end of an inscription of quite different character: in this way I interpret the first line as being the end of one inscription. The stone then continues after the date of the new inscription (which is rightly explained by Mr. Hogarth), *Ζη[νόδοτος ? κ]αὶ ἡ γυν(ή) μο[υ καταγράφομ]εν τὸν ἐαυτῶν θρεπτὸν* 'Αν, &c.

17. The inscriptions of Dionysopolis are to be compared with those of the Lydian city of Satala, now called Sandal, beside Koula.<sup>4</sup> The goddess worshipped there is called Leto and Artemis-Anaëitis. She perhaps got the name Anaëitis from the Persian colonists who were settled in the Hermus valley by the Persian kings. The inscriptions of Koula are of similar character to those of Dionysopolis, but are more Greek in type, written in better language, and less instructive about the native religion. I give here two or three texts, partly because they are generally incorrectly restored in their published form, but also for the light they throw on the more obscure inscriptions of Dionysopolis. In the Smyrna *Μουσείον*, No. *τλγ'*, "Ετους . . ε , *μη(νὸς) [Αὐ]γναίου ιβ'*, *Τρό[φι]μος Νεικία ἱε[ρό]δουλος, ἐπιζ[ητή]σαντος Διὸς Σ[αβ]αζίου, διὰ τὸ κ[ολά]σεσθε αὐτον [ἔ]γρα[ψα καὶ ἀνέσσω] τησα τήν] στήλλην*. Trophimus, when Zeus Sabazios visited him with punishment, wrote and set

<sup>1</sup> I use the term Anatolian worship, not as indicating identity, but only general similarity in some important features of religion in great part of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> I published it in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique*, 1883, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to those given in my 'Cities and Bishoprics,' § VII. *J. H. S.*, 1883.

<sup>4</sup> I have frequently pointed out that there is no real foundation for the view now too deeply

engrained in modern literature for me to eradicate, that Koula is an ancient village Koloe. Koula is the Byzantine fortress Opsikion (called by the Turks Koula 'the fortress') in the territory of Satala. The inscription now at Koula mentioning the village Koloe, was brought from the Kara Tash district, eight hours distant. Mr. Hicks, in the *Classical Review*, 1889, p. 69, doubles the error by actually confusing this Koloe with the lake near Sardis.



up the stele on account of his having been chastised: *κολάσσεσθε* is for *κολάζεσθαι*, where we should expect *κεκολάσθαι*.

18. A still closer parallel is given by the following, which is engraved beneath a relief representing a horseman, towards the right, carrying a bipennis in his left hand: 'Αντωνία 'Αντωνίου 'Απόλλωνι θεῷ Βοζηνῷ διὰ τὸ ἀναβεβη[κέ]νε με ἐπὶ τὸν χορὸν ἐν ῥυπαρῷ ἐπενδύτη, κολασθίσα δὲ ἐξωμολογησάμην<sup>1</sup> κὲ ἀνέθηκα εὐλογίαν ὅτι ἐγενόμην ὁλό[κλ]ηρος. To judge from the appearance of the inscription it is not later than the second century. Here many technical terms occur: ἀναβαίνειν, χορὸν, ἐξωμολογέομαι, &c.; χορὸν ought in all probability be printed *χόρον*, and interpreted as a mere error for *χωρὸν* or *χωρίον*, the village beside the sanctuary. ῥυπαρὸς is a technical term of the mysteries, as may be gathered from Plutarch, *de Superst.* 12, quoted by M. Foucart, *l.c.*, pp. 147, 169.

The stone, which is said to have come from Koula, was brought to the Berlin Museum in 1879, and published by Conze in the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 37.

19. Another stone, of the same provenance, and published along with the preceding inscription, shows a relief representing a bipennis; beneath it is the following inscription: ἀνθέστησαν οἱ 'Αρτέμωνος υἱοὶ τὸ καταχθὲν στηλάριον ὑπὸ τοῦ βοῦς 'Απόλλωνι Ταρσί. This stele apparently replaced another which had been knocked down and broken by an ox belonging to Artemon or his sons<sup>2</sup> (see § 2). καταχθὲν for κατεαχθὲν, is of the Phrygian Greek: ε is often inserted in unaugmented forms by late writers and in MSS. of early writers.

20. In the Smyrna Mouseion, No. υλγ', dated A.D. 237, six persons record (beneath two breasts, a leg, and two eyes in relief) that they make the sacred tablet in propitiation of the goddess: ποιήσαντες τὸ ἱεροπόημα εἰλασάμενυ Μητέραυ 'Ανάειτιν ὑπὲρ τέκνων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἐνγραφον ἔστησαν.

21. No. υλζ', dated A.D. 159, is very important in comparison with No. 7 above. Μεγάλη 'Ανάειτις. Ἐπεὶ ἡμάρτησεν, Φοῖβος ἐπεζήτησεν, ἱεροπόημα ἀποδεί[κ]νυν εἰλασάμενος καὶ εὐχαριστῶν, ἔτους σμδ', μηνὸς 'Αρτεμεισίου β'. The cry 'Great is Anaeitis,' 'Great is Apollo Lairmenos,' at the beginning, recalls 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.'<sup>3</sup> The intention of the writer, who does not give his name, seems to be as follows, in defiance of grammar and logic: Apollo visited me with punishment when I sinned, and

<sup>1</sup> Conze makes this into two words, taking *μήν* as a particle. A love for the middle voice is characteristic of Phrygian Greek, see my notes in *Philologus*, 1888, p. 755. Moreover the compound *ἐξωμολογέομαι* is not found in the active voice.

<sup>2</sup> The omission of the names of the sons suggests that the offence dates from the time of

Artemon, and that his sons make the restitution. This stone accompanied the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> I can merely state the opinion in this place that the inscriptions quoted in these pages give a better idea of the Artemis of Ephesus, the Mother, the Parthenos, than can be obtained from any other source.

I have set forth the facts by a *tabula sacra*, propitiating the god and thanking him. Compare ἐξελάσασθαι and εὐέλαιος in Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 220.

22. In No. τλβ', Aur. Stratonicus, having in ignorance cut wood from the sacred grove of Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaeitis, κολασθεὶς εὐξάμενος εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέστησα. The date is 235–6 A.D.

23. In No. τλδ', A.D. 126, ἐκολάσθη Ἀμμιάς οἰπὸ Μητρὸς Φιλείδος ἰς τοὺς μαστοὺς δι' ἀμαρτίαν λόγον λαλήσασα, καὶ [ἀ]λθαμένη, καὶ ὤμοσε ἑκκ τῆς ἰδίας αὐλῆς,<sup>1</sup> ἐγὼ οὖν ἤδη τὰ ἐπιμήνια . . . The inscription is also published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1884, p. 378. The terms ἐκολάσθη and ἀμαρτίαν are similar to the inscriptions below. The rest is obscure; apparently she was cured and then took an oath to make some monthly service.

24. In No. τκς', in A.D. 143, Artemidoros and Amias μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἕξ, (ε)ἰδόντων καὶ μὴ (ε)ἰδόντων, λύτρον κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ καὶ Διὶ Ὀγμηνῶ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοῖ[s], the word λύτρον seems to be used almost in the sense of εὐχὴν as a ransom paid to the god for Artemidoros and his wife.<sup>2</sup> The only sense I can gather from the opening words is 'with their relations six in number, some of whom know and some do not know.' The Μουσείου reads ἕξ ἰδόντων καὶ μὴ ἰδόντων. The word αὐτῷ seems to imply that Men and Zeus are one,<sup>3</sup> and the concluding phrase is equivalent to καὶ τοῖς συνβώμοις θεοῖς.

25. This use of the word λύτρον occurs also in an inscription published in the *Classical Review*, 1888, p. 138, by Mr. Hicks, who despairs of the transcription and interpretation. I copied the same inscription at a khan in Simav in 1884, and can attest the accuracy of the copy sent to Mr. Hicks.<sup>4</sup> But at present I can contribute little but guesses to the explanation of the strange text, although the words are quite clear: Παλλικῶ Ἀσκληπιάς κώμη Κερυζέων πα[ι]δίσ(κ)η [Δ]ιογένου λύτρον. The word λύτρον, occurring at the end, proves it to be a dedication to a deity. Asclepias, the slave of Diogenes, dedicates the expiation (λύτρον) to some deity. The village of the Keryzeis is introduced in an obscure fashion; but the meaning is probably 'Asclepias (a native of) the village.' The inscription is engraved below a relief representing a figure compounded of Men and Telesphoros, wearing a very short mantle with a peaked hood, with the crescent moon behind his shoulders, standing facing, and bearing a spear in his right hand. The upper

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we should read αὐ[δ]ῆς.

<sup>2</sup> In a long unpublished inscription of the district I find ἔλουσε (*i. e.* ἔλυσε) τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ νῦν εἰλασμένη εὐλογεῖ Μητρὶ Ἀρτάμιτι (*i. e.* Ἀρτέμιδι). The date is 119 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Βεννέϊ, which identifies two gods of two different districts. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> My variations are Π or ΙΤ for Γ at the

beginning, ΗΚΕ for ΗΕ in 2, and Λ for Δ at the first letter of [Δ]ιογένου: the last is quite clear and certain. κώμη for κώμης, and παδίσκη for παιδίσκη, are also probably errors of the engraver, but Mr. Hicks's copy, which reads ΠΑΙ for my ΠΑ, gives the clue to the above interpretation.



part of the stone, which is now lost, may have contained the beginning of the inscription with the date and the word *θεώ*. Then comes the title *Παλλικώ*. The twin Sicilian deities Palikoi are well known; but the representation is almost unique.

26. Mouseion, No. υξ', *Αὐρήλιος Τρόφιμος Ἀρτεμισίου ἐρωτήσας τὸν θεὸν ἀνέστησα Μητρὶ θεῶν στήλην εὐλογῶν σου τὰς δυνάμεις*. The word *ἐρωτήσας* proves that the *ἐπιταγή* of the god, which is frequently mentioned, is the oracle given to a worshipper consulting him.

27. No. τκζ', *Απολλώνιος Δραλᾶς δυνατῇ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῷ* is explained by the inscription of Dionysopolis [Γ]νέιος Ἀφιάς Θεοδότου δυνατῇ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῷ, ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων δυνατὰ ποιεῖ.

28. The inscriptions of Koula show more variety as well as better Greek than those of Dionysopolis. In the latter *ἐπιζητέω* seems not to occur, *κολάζω* is the only verb indicating the punishment inflicted by the god, *ἱεροποίημα* does not occur, nor *ἀποδείκνυμι*, but *ἀπαγγέλλω*, *ἐξομολογέομαι*, and *στηλογραφέω*<sup>1</sup> take their place. I think however that peculiarly inflected aorists from *ἰλάσκομαι* can be traced. In the obscure parts we may perhaps look for expressions to correspond to *εὐχαριστῶν* and *εὐλογῶν τὰς δυνάμεις*.

The dates of the inscriptions of Satala vary from A.D. 126 to 237. Those of Dionysopolis evidently belong to the same period, but as they are even ruder than those of Satala, and as the earliest at Satala are also the rudest, the inscriptions of Dionysopolis may be placed for the most part in the second century.

29. Several of the inscriptions copied at Ephesus by Mr. Wood belong to the same class of inscriptions as those of Dionysopolis and Satala (*Inscr. Augusteum*, 2-4 and 8), *εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κυρία Ἀρτεμι, Γ(αίος) Σκαπτιος*, and *εὐχαριστῶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι Στέφανος*, &c. These inscriptions contain the formula 'I give thanks,' which occurs both at Dionysopolis and at Satala and nowhere else, so far as I have observed. Artemis has the title *κυρία*, as Apollo is *κύριος* in a Dionysopolitan inscription (Hogarth, No. 17). The expressions 'Great is Artemis,' 'Great is Apollo,' are found at Ephesus and at Dionysopolis. The legend *ΛΗΤΩ. ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ* occurs on a coin of Ephesus (Imhoof, *Monn. Gr.* p. 285), beside a type of Greek style showing Leto with the twins in her arms. In the article already quoted<sup>2</sup> I have traced the worship of Artemis-Leto from the Pamphylian coast at Perga, through Kabalis to Dionysopolis and Satala on the north, and on the west along the slope of Messogis to Ephesus. The god who is associated with her as *σύνναος* and *σύνβωμος*, under the names Men, Sozon, Sabazios, Apollo, is not her husband but her son: she is both *παρθένος* and *μήτηρ*. She is, as Professor Robertson Smith suggested, the Semitic Al-lat, the Alilat of Herodotus, and

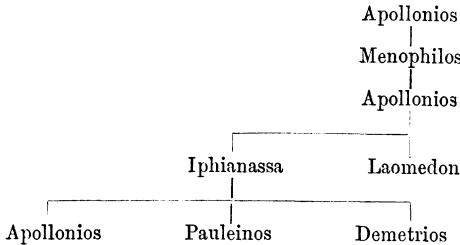
<sup>1</sup> *στηλλογραφῆσαι* occurs at Satala, No. τισ'.  
*ἐξομολογέομαι* occurs there once also.

<sup>2</sup> 'Antiq. of S. Phrygia,' &c., in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1887.

her worship takes us back to an older state of society, when true marriage was unknown, when descent was reckoned only through the mother, and when the divine mother of all life was, like her worshippers, unmarried (*παρθένος*). The worship of such a goddess cannot be accounted for except as the divine model for a corresponding social system among men. After the old social system had given way to the more advanced stage of society (introduced probably by European conquering tribes), the old religion still persisted alongside of newer forms, in which the *ἱερὸς γάμος* was the divine prototype and sanction of human marriage.

30. One rite of the primitive religion, whose traces are gradually being discovered among the inscriptions, may here be mentioned, viz. *τὸ ἱερὸν ἄθυτον αἰγοτόμιον* (Hogarth, No. 17). We may gather from the fact that this flesh was sacred and not allowed to be eaten, that at Dionysopolis the goat was offered as a purificatory sacrifice (*καθαρμός*), but not as an ordinary *θυσία*: the flesh of the former might not be eaten, whereas the flesh of the ordinary sacrificial victims was regularly eaten. I have not repeated the text of Hogarth 17, 18, 20, in which I have nothing to add, except the possibility of *Ἀσκληᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰοῦ ?]μιος ἱερὸς*, but *[εὐξά]μενοι* below rather favours Hogarth's reading.

31. The priestly family of this cultus is alluded to in several inscriptions, and we can recover from them the pedigree for several generations: see above, No. 12, and 'Cities and Bishoprics,' No. 5, 6.<sup>1</sup>



There can be little doubt that these persons are all to be placed in the second century. Apollonios, son of Apollonios, the priest, belongs to the same family and century, and must be the son of one of the Apollonii of the above pedigree.<sup>2</sup> These priests call themselves, sometimes at least, priests of the Saviour Asklepios; and they make dedications to Zeus Nonouleus and to Leto with Apollo Lyermenos: there can be little doubt that here the various masculine names denote merely varying aspects of the same deity, who is closely akin to the Sozon Theos of Artiocheia ad Maeandrum, Themissonion, and the Ormeleis, and to the Men Karou of Attoudda, who was a healing god with a medical school attached to his temple.<sup>3</sup> This Anatolian god is

<sup>1</sup> In 6 read *Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μηροφίλου τῷ διὰ γένους ἱερεῖ τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Γ. Νώνιος*, *Ἀπολλωνίου υἱός*, *Ἀνηρησίξ, Διόφαντος, ὁ διὰ γένους ἱερεὺς*, who dedicates to Zeus Mossyneus, belongs to the

same family.

<sup>3</sup> 'On miraculous cures in the worship of the Mother of the Gods,' see Foucart. *l.c.*, p. 98 and 170.

identified with the Greek Zeus as the great god, with the Greek Asclepius as the healing god, and with the Greek Apollo as the sun-god and the god of prophecy. The name and character of Men may perhaps seem inconsistent, but I believe that Men was wrongly identified, through the popular etymologizing tendency, with the Greek word *μήν*. Men is a native name, properly Man or Manes,<sup>1</sup> and the crescent moon on his shoulders is really a mistaken representation of archaic curved wings. The name of the 'Hiera Kome,' viz. Atyokhorion, gives an insight into another aspect of the cultus. The references given in 'Cities and Bishoprics,' part ii., § 23, show that probably the mysteries described by Clemens Alexandrinus belong to this cultus.<sup>2</sup> The entire class of reliefs showing a goddess of the Cybele type accompanied by a youthful god (the latter called by Conze Hermes-Kadmilos), are also, I think, under the influence of the same cultus.<sup>3</sup>

W. M. RAMSAY.

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<sup>1</sup> At Aemonia he was called Manes Daes (or Daos) Heliodromos Zeus; see 'Cities and Bishoprics,' No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Protrept.*, c. 2; see Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Conze in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 1.



Ephesus

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Biblical World*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Mar., 1901), pp. 167-177

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](#)

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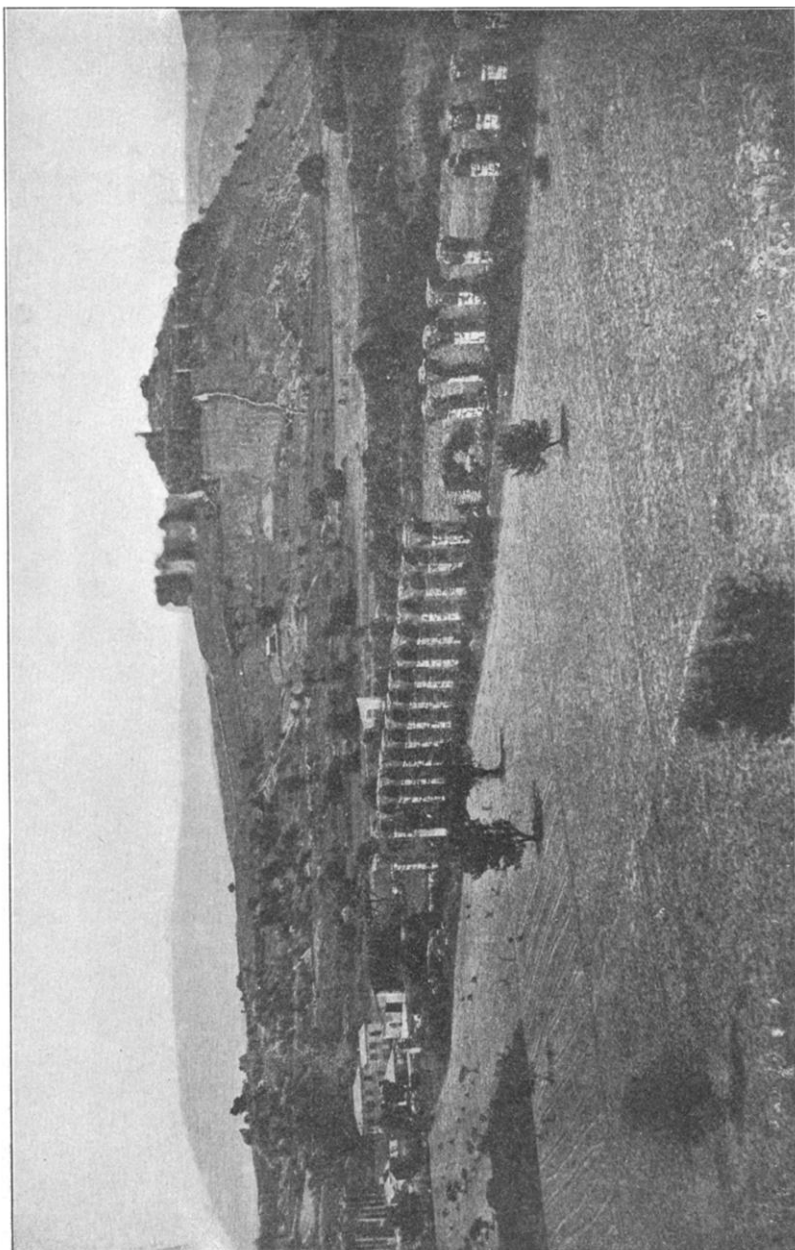
## EPHESUS.

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NO CITY ever had a more picturesque approach, or a more beautiful situation, than ancient Ephesus. Its importance lay in its position as the greatest harbor on the eastern coast of the *Ægean* sea, and one of the main links of connection on the chief line of communication between the East and Greece or Rome. Ephesus was the gate by which the West visited the East: the East looked out through it over the sea toward the West. The Roman governor of the province of Asia—richest, fullest of great cities, most civilized, and most full of intellectual life of all the provinces of the Roman empire—was bound to land first in Ephesus, as he entered on his office. Let us imagine ourselves standing on the deck of the ship which bears the proconsul to his province and his capital, on a morning in early summer. The Roman governor—a man already past the prime of life, who had reached this richest prize of his career after a long series of offices, both military and civil, through which all who entered on the high career of politics must pass in strictly defined order; a man educated first in the training of the schools and afterward in the school of life and office—gazes, full of curiosity and interest, around him. While still far out at sea, he catches a glimpse of Chios to the left, or of Icaria to the right, according as his ship keeps a northerly or a southerly course. Afterward, nearer on the right, he passes the splendid, lofty mass of mountainous Samos, while the varied coast of Ionia lies on the left and in front. As he approaches the coast he distinguishes a sandy beach in front of the rocky hills. The ship keeps straight on toward a break in the hills, two to three miles wide, and enters a gulf which runs up several miles into the land. In the centuries that followed this gulf has been silted up and



THE HILL OF AYASALUK AT EPHEBUS (BYZANTINE AQUEDUCT IN FOREGROUND)

transformed into dry land; and so Ephesus is now several miles distant from the coast, though it was built to be a great seaport. Ancient Ephesus had an outer harbor, which was part of the land-locked gulf, and an inner harbor, which, through the deposit from the river, had been cut off from the gulf and was entered only with some difficulty by a long and shallow channel. Several islands in the gulf have since then become rocky hills in the plain which the river has slowly won from the sea.

Ephesus, which we have thus approached from the west, lies on the outermost spurs of the mountains that fringe the gulf on the south. We see it before us, at the inner corner of the gulf. Its walls stretch from west to east for two miles along the southern shore, and the battlements and towers stand out sharp and prominent from the top of the long ridge of Mount Coressos above the city, while the houses sleep in the deep glen under the shadow of the fortified hills. The extreme westerly point is the Hermaion, or hill of Hermes; a little to the east is the loftier hill of Astyages, on which still stands in unusually good preservation a tower called, in local tradition, "St. Paul's Prison;" but this name is, of course, merely fanciful, for the narrative of Paul's residence in Ephesus, as it is recorded in Acts, almost excludes the possibility of his having suffered imprisonment during his stay in the city. The tower was standing at that time, for it is part of the fortifications built by King Lysimachus about 285 B. C., when he refounded the city on a new site.

In the accompanying photograph (fig. 1) St. Paul's Prison is seen in the background; right of it and farther away is the Hermaion, while part of the long ridge of Coressos closes in the view on the left. In front of Coressos, at the left edge of the view, appears the magnificent arched entrance to the stadium, one of the most imposing monuments of the ancient city. The ruins in front are of Roman brick, the substructures of some large building of the imperial time. Perhaps the *prætorium*, or official residence of the Roman governor, was built here soon after 100 A. D., when Ephesus was made the capital of the province of Asia instead of Pergamus. In earlier times, after the province was annexed to the Roman empire in 133 B. C.,



Pergamus was recognized as the capital, because the province was made out of the realm which the last king of Pergamus had bequeathed by his will to the Romans. But Ephesus, with its splendid harbors, was a far more important trading city than Pergamus (which was an inland city, far to the north of the direct line of trade between Rome and the East); and it grew



FIG. 1.—“ST. PAUL'S PRISON” (IN BACKGROUND)

steadily, far outstripping Pergamus, until at last the emperor Hadrian, 117–38 A. D., recognized it as *the* capital of the province. From that time onward Ephesus must have been the ordinary residence of the proconsul, when he was not engaged in one of his progresses through the province.

Already during the first century, and still more from Hadrian's time onward, many of those magnificent shows and festivals and games by which Roman policy loved to amuse and please the population were exhibited in Ephesus, and attracted vast crowds. The court of the Roman governor formed a center for the whole country. The goddess of Ephesus became the goddess of the entire province of Asia; and her worship drew vast crowds of pilgrims from the whole country, as well as tourists



and merchants from Europe. Finally almost every Roman official of the province, and not merely the governors, would pass through Ephesus, coming and going in their frequent change of office, and they had often large retinues with them.

Thus the city was during the Roman period enriched, not merely in the natural course of trade, but also by the vast crowds of guests who thronged its squares and streets; and these strangers (many of whom were wealthy) must have poured into Ephesian pockets large sums of money. All trades that are stimulated by crowds of visitors, tourists, and sightseers must have flourished exceedingly.

The great future that lay before the city had been foreseen centuries previously by King Lysimachus; and, as soon as he came into possession of the Ionian coast, about 287 B. C., he sketched out the plan of a great city, worthy of being the capital of Asia. He built the fortifications, not on the site of the earliest city, but on a new place, strongly defended by hills on the land side, and protected on the sea side by the shallows and islands of the gulf. The completion of his plans was prevented by his death. His great new city, called Arsinoe after his wife, then sank back to the second-rate level of the older Ephesus, and resumed the ancient name. But time and natural circumstances were on his side; and when peace gave free play to natural advantages under the Roman empire, Ephesus rapidly attained its true position, first of commercial, and finally of political pre-eminence.

The eastern part of the city is far more extensive than the western. A double hill, called Pion, standing some distance north of and separate from Coressos, was included within the walls. On the northwestern edge of Pion lies the stadium; and in the middle of its western slope the great theater was cut out of the side of the hill. The accompanying photograph (fig. 2) shows the theater as it was before the recent excavations, made by the Austrians, had disclosed all the buildings of its front. Above it, to right and left, the flat twin summits of Pion are seen. This view is taken from the direction of St. Paul's Prison. The low ground between the theater and the prison has been the principal

scene of the recent Austrian excavations. Here were the forum, many streets and buildings, including a gymnasium, and the arsenal and docks opening out of the larger outer harbor called Panormus. Through one of those streets the excited mob, roused to fury by the skilful appeal of Demetrius, rushed along toward the theater, calling loudly on "great Diana of the Ephesians."

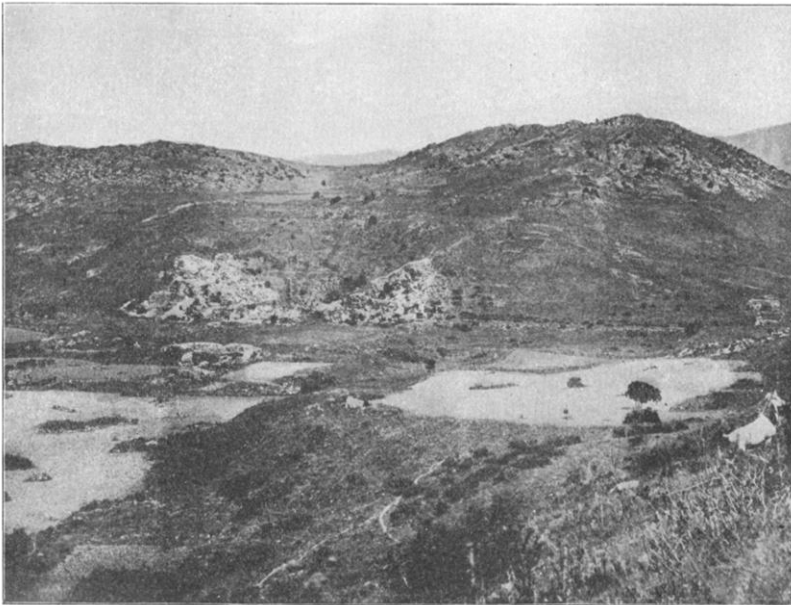


FIG. 2.—THE THEATER AT EPHESUS

Going from the forum toward the prætorium, the modern traveler passes the most ancient Christian monument of Ephesus, a large double church, about 300 feet long. This is doubtless "the very holy church called Maria," in which was held the third œcumenical council, 431 A. D. Near it, on the southeast, is a large, shallow basin of marble (fig. 3). At first sight one would take it for the basin of a fountain, but there is no hole in the center. It is commonly called a baptismal font; but there is no reason to accept this name as correct. It is shown in the third photograph.

Some of the most striking remains of Ephesus are situated

in the narrow valley between Pion and Coressos—a large gymnasium, a temple, a small theater or odeum, a church, and the interesting old Greek polyandrion, wrongly called by Mr. Wood the tomb of St. Luke. Here also are the imposing ruins of the Magnesian gate, and many interesting monuments



FIG. 3.—“THE BAPTISMAL FONT”

on the roads that lead out of it northward to the temple and southeastward to Magnesia.

The shape of Arsinoe-Ephesus was like a bent bow. The western end rested on the Hermaion, the eastern on the northern skirts of Pion; the sea washed up into the middle space. But the sea was difficult of navigation on account of its shallows; and the river was continually raising the shallows, and encroaching on the sea. Engineering operations attempted by the Pergamenian king Attalus in the second century before Christ, and by a Roman proconsul under Nero, some years after St. Paul's residence in the city, were powerless to arrest the evil.

The harbors were silted up, then the whole gulf was silted up, and now the coast runs in a straight line from north to south beyond the outermost western hills.

Such was Ephesus, the Greek city, the Ephesus of politics. It came into existence, and it perished. But we have still to look at the goddess' Ephesus, the city of religion, which existed

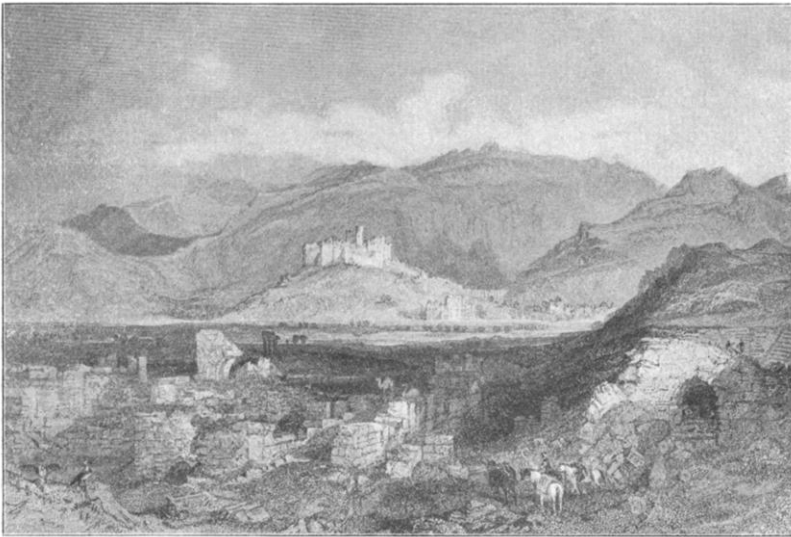


FIG. 4.—GENERAL VIEW OF PLAIN OF EPHESUS  
(From a drawing made in 1830)

before the dawn of history, and is still existing and likely to exist till history ends. Ephesus survives, but on a different site. "I will move thy candlestick out of its place" is the threat in Revelation; and the threat has been fulfilled.

Standing on a rocky hill, cut into a sanctuary of ancient religion, between the stadium and the double church, one looks east toward a bold hill crowned by a mediæval castle or fortress of considerable extent, nearly two miles distant. This is the view shown in fig. 4, taken from the drawing of Mr. Allone, made about 1830. In the foreground, on the left, we see the ruins of the prætorium; on the right, the entrance and some of the seats of the stadium; behind the stadium are the outer

northern slopes of Pion; in the middle distance are the hill and castle of Ayasaluk, in front of which in the plain is the large and splendid mosque built by Isa Bey in the fourteenth century; on the southern side (*i. e.*, the right) of the hill is the village of Ayasaluk, and behind it is a Byzantine aqueduct; in the distance are the mountains of Messogis, which bound the middle Cayster valley on the south.

We have selected this old view as showing the appearance of the plain before any excavations had been made in or near the city. The drawing is not quite accurate. It shows the castle hill as conical, whereas it is steep only on the north (left) side, and sinks slowly in a long line to the south. It also shows the castle too lofty in proportion to its extent; and the artist, deceived by the clear atmosphere, represents the mountains as if they were nearer than they are. But it gives some idea of the beauty of the Ephesian plain.

The mosque points us to the temple of Artemis. Ephesus was a center of religion centuries, and perhaps millenniums, before it became a political capital. Whatever be the form of religion that rules in the country, it finds a home at the same spot, near the hill of Ayasaluk; for in Asia Minor religious feeling clings with marvelous persistence to definite localities. The site of the temple of Diana, or Artemis as she was called by the Greeks, was long sought everywhere except in the right place. It was hidden deep beneath the accumulated soil of the plain; and most looked for it in the city in front of the large theater, while Kiepert conjectured that it stood out in the plain near the Cayster, a mile or more west of the castle of Ayasaluk. But anyone who was acquainted with the spirit of Asia Minor religion would have observed that Justinian built the great Church of St. John Theologos on the hill of Ayasaluk, and Isa Bey his mosque close under the shadow of the hill; and would have inferred that the temple of Artemis was very near those later shrines. At last, after many years of excavation, Mr. Wood found the remains of the temple about a hundred yards south of the mosque.

The modern name, Ayasaluk, shows the religious feeling.

Justinian's church became the center of population. The mediæval castle was built around it. The place was called "the Saint Theólogos," in Greek *Ayos Theólogos*. In Italian *Ayo-Thológico* was corrupted into *Alto Luogo*, suggesting a meaning in that language. In Turkish *Ayo-Sológico* became *Ayasalúk*.

Another view of the hill of *Ayasaluk* is seen in the frontispiece; it is taken from the east; the Byzantine aqueduct appears

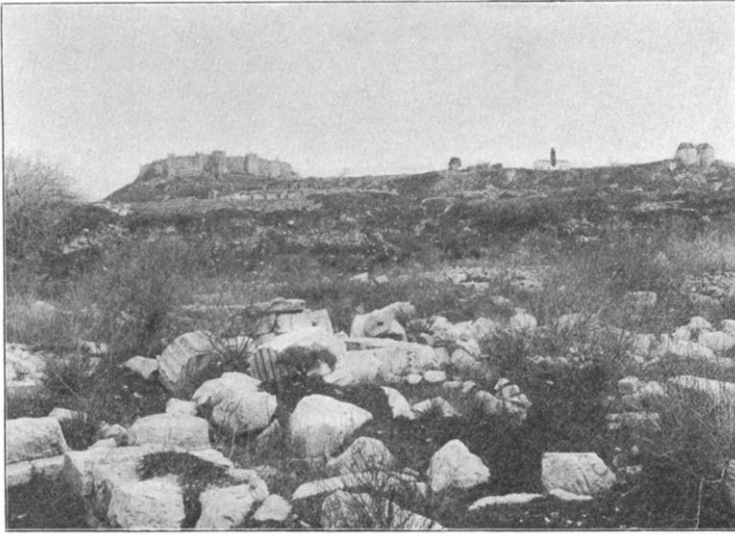


FIG. 5.—RUINS OF TEMPLE (IN FOREGROUND) FROM THE EAST

in the foreground; the railway depot interrupts the line of the aqueduct on the left; behind it and farther to the left, outside the picture, lie the hovels of the modern Turkish village. In the background is Mount Galesion. With its broken pillars crowned by a series of storks' nests, and built to a large extent of fragments and inscribed marbles from the sacred precinct of the goddess, this Byzantine aqueduct is one of the most quaint and interesting remains that past history has left in the valley.

In fig. 5 we stand in the excavations south of the temple, and look north over its ruins and over the mosque (which is almost hidden by the intervening soil) to the castle of *Ayasaluk*. The shapeless marbles seen in fig. 5 and fig. 6 are all that now remain



on the spot. In fig. 6 we stand west of the temple, and look eastward to the village; at the left appears the extreme southern end of the castle wall.

The temple of Artemis was built several times. The temple, whose insignificant ruins are shown in the photographs reproduced in figs. 5 and 6, was built during the fourth century B. C.



FIG. 6.—RUINS OF TEMPLE OF DIANA (FROM THE WEST)'

It was constructed to take the place of an older temple, built during the sixth century, containing columns presented by Crœsus, king of Lydia, and burned by Herostratus on the night when Alexander the Great was born. The platform or stylobate on which stood the later temple was, according to Dr. Humann's estimate, only two and a half meters above the sea level and almost three meters above the older temple; but, as these estimates carry the old floor of the temple below the level of the sea, we must suspect some mistake. The stylobate of the later temple is about twenty-three feet below the present surface of the valley; but, before assuming that this whole difference of level is due to alluvial deposit from the river during the last two thousand

years, we should like to have some expert opinion whether the enormous weight of the temple and the vast solid platform on which it stood has not caused a subsidence of some feet into the marshy soil.

Tradition, which here, as in so many cases, has been proved by recent research to be correct, tells that the earliest shrine of Artemis stood on the seashore; but, if that be so, it must evidently have been above the sea level.

This great temple of Artemis was one of the wonders of the world, partly on account of its great size, partly from the gorgeous decoration lavished on it both inside and out. The temple was excavated by Mr. Wood about 1870; but the remains found were very scanty, though some remarkably interesting pieces were among them. This was due partly to the fact that the temple had been used as a quarry from which the buildings of later centuries were constructed; but the question also remains unsettled whether the inadequate extent of the excavations is not partly in fault. That was the opinion both of Mr. Wood and also of Dr. Benndorf; a comparatively small space has been disclosed, and all around more than twenty feet of soil cover up possible remains. Every important fragment of the temple that was found was carried to the British Museum; among those that were left everything that could be made use of has since been taken away for building purposes.



The Geographical Conditions Determining History and Religion in Asia Minor

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Source: *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Sep., 1902), pp. 257-275

Published by: [The Royal Geographical Society \(with the Institute of British Geographers\)](#)

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# The Geographical Journal.

No. 3.

SEPTEMBER, 1902.

VOL. XX.

## THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS DETERMINING HISTORY AND RELIGION IN ASIA MINOR.\*

By Prof. W. M. RAMSAY.

IF geography be regarded as the study of the influence which the physical features and situation of a country exert on the people who live in it, then in no country can geography be studied so well as in Asia Minor. The physical features of the country are strongly marked; its situation is peculiar and unique; its history can be observed over a long series of centuries, and amid its infinite variety there is always a strongly marked unity, with certain clear principles of evolution, standing in obvious relation to the geographical surroundings.

In the first place, the Anatolian peninsula stretches like a bridge between Asia and Europe. Owing to the great barrier of the Caspian, the Caucasus and the Black Sea, all migrations between Asia and Europe must either keep the northern side, through Siberia and Russia, or the southern, along the Anatolian road. A few of the invasions of Europe by Asiatic peoples have taken the northern path; but, generally, westward moving migration and invasion have followed the southern road through Anatolia, and all westward movement of civilization which did not travel on shipboard took the same path.

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\* The following paper was in its inception the preface to a Report on Exploration in Asia Minor, addressed to the Trustees of the Wilson Travelling Fellowship in Aberdeen University; it merely suggests questions and indicates promising lines of exploration. Much is necessarily omitted, and I hope not to be taken as disbelieving or ignoring the considerations which I have been unable to include in a brief paper.

[Map, p. 372. We are greatly indebted to Dr. Richard Kiepert for much fresh material which has been used in constructing the map that accompanies this paper.—  
ED. G. J.]

Of the many invasions in which Europe has retaliated and sent her armies eastward over Asia, only one of any importance has passed north of the Caspian, and that is the great movement now going on, whereby Russia is throwing her armies, her railways, and her peoples over Asia to the shores of the Pacific. Otherwise, all movements eastward from Europe, in so far as they did not go by sea—the movements of armies, of pilgrims and Crusaders, of state messengers, of merchants and trade—have followed the lines that lead eastwards over Anatolia.

In the second place, Anatolia is a bridge with lofty parapets. The roads traverse the high, hollow, central plateau, closed in by loftier mountain ridges which separate that open plateau from the sea. The parapet on the south is the vast ridge of Taurus, stretching back from the western sea into the main central mass of the great Asiatic continent, only at a few points traversable by migrations or by armies, or by the rivers that drain the plateau and flow south in deep chasms cut through the heart of the mountains. It is not meant that Taurus was ever absolutely untraversable. Men can traverse any mountains, and there are ridges more difficult than Taurus. But it is practically impassable in unfavourable weather, and during the many months when it is covered with snow; and at all times elaborate preparation and provision must be made for the crossing of a body of men. Thus in practice the roadways were few, and migrations were confined to known lines.

The mountains which form the parapet on the north, though not so strikingly continuous, and at no period in history called by one single name, are really almost as serious a barrier to confine the tides of movement to the Anatolian east and west roadway. You enter the roadway at one or other of a few points, where alone entrance is easy, and you are driven on, eastwards or westwards, according to the temporary direction of the tide. If you come from the west, you enter with Godfrey and the Crusaders at Dorylaion, or with Alexander the Great at Celænæ. Until a few years ago you entered the bridge on horseback or on foot; now you enter in a railway-carriage. You move on eastwards, and pass off the bridge by one or other of a few well-marked exits. If you come from Asia, you follow the same inevitable paths; nothing differs except the direction of your motion and the tides or the motives that impel you.

Thus the history of Anatolia has been one of startling vicissitudes, of constant variety, of rapid changes in population, in government, in the trend of development; and yet the unity amid the variety is so easy to comprehend that it may fairly be called unmistakable. The development has always lain in the action and collision of forces moving eastwards or westwards; it has never been complicated by side influences coming in from the sea on the north or on the south; it has been simply the series of phases in the immemorial conflict between Europe and Asia. The central point of that never-ending battle varies from time to

time. At one time the Greeks gather to a siege of Troy; at another the Arabs or the Egyptian Memluks storm the walls of Tarsus, defended by Greek fire or by Crusaders' axes and lances, or by that small fraction of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia who could be induced to forget their mutual quarrels about points of ritual and to unite to save their own families against the slaughterers from the East; at another the Arabs are being beaten back repeatedly from the ramparts of Constantinople, or the Turks are pouring in through a breach. As you cast your eyes back over the past, you see Croesus crossing the Halys to destroy a great kingdom, or the younger Cyrus the Persian leading 10,000 Greeks from Sardis to Mesopotamia, to show them how easily a vast Persian army might be scattered by a few trained and disciplined troops. You may see Louis VII. on New Year's Day in A.D. 1148, with his French Crusaders, fording hand-in-hand the unfordable Mæander, and scattering before their first charge the Turkish army drawn up on the further bank to prevent their crossing; \* or Manuel with his splendid army of mail-clad warriors, European and Byzantine, jammed in that long narrow defile near Pisidian Antioch, and crushed with the stones and darts of the Turks on the hills above. If you want to see what happened when an army abandoned the few recognized paths, cast your eyes on the soldiers of the First Crusade, wandering and perishing amid the mountains of Anti-Taurus, or Frederick Barbarossa's German Crusaders struggling over the central Taurus, fed by an Armenian prince in his stronghold among the mountains, and Barbarossa himself disappearing under the waters of the Calycadnus so suddenly that his people could not believe he was dead, and long imagined that he was only waiting the proper moment to reappear in his German home. All are but small skirmishes in the great battle of East and West.

To illustrate this principle fully would be to write the history of the Anatolian peninsula. In every age, in every war, in every crisis, the opposing forces may be recognized as respectively Eastern and Western. Often, where two rivals contend for the succession to a throne or a tent, one may be recognized as champion of the East, and the other, as his opponent, attracts to his side the support of the West; and probably that would be found to rule in every such contest, though we are not always well enough informed of the facts. But the writer's 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor,' which has had the honour of being published by the Royal Geographical Society, illustrates on page after page the infinitely varied forms in which the principle has worked itself out in history (though, from its extreme brevity, it gives only the dry bones of history, into which the reader must breathe life for himself);

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\* This brilliant feat of arms is wrongly attributed by Gibbon to Conrad, the German Emperor, who also took part in the second crusade. On the scene, see 'Cites and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' vol. i. p. 162.

and we pass from it. I may only be permitted to say, in passing, that the experience and study of twelve years since that book was written have amply confirmed the general scheme of topographical history contained in it, and also furnished both many corroborations of details in the application of the general rules and many improvements or corrections in other details. I do not know which have given me personally greater pleasure; it is pleasant to find that one's instinct or reasoning has been right, but it is almost more pleasant to find that a mistake has been put right and a stumbling-block cleared away. The corroboration gives one confidence to go on in the path of investigation; but the correction opens a door, and often reveals a new chapter in the political or historical geography of the country. Moreover, most of the corrections have come from investigators whom I might almost venture to call pupils of my own, because they made their first essays in my company or with my advice; and it is always a peculiar pleasure to learn from men whose early steps one has helped in some small degree to direct.

One of the omissions in that book was that the importance of the mountain barriers on the north and south was not sufficiently worked out, and thus several chapters of history passed unobserved. To this subject my studies have recently been directed, and they have been illuminated by explorations which, after a long interval of ten years, I was enabled to resume by a concurrence of favourable circumstances. One point in this wide subject may detain us for a few moments.

The great mountain wall of Taurus, on the southern side of the plateau, has always been the most effectual boundary-line in the Anatolian peninsula; and this in spite of the fact that the plateau has rarely been the seat of a capital, but has generally been subject to one of the great empires of the east or the west. Many causes of course contributed to give Taurus this importance as a dividing line; but we here simply assume the fact without analyzing the contributory causes.

The ancient historical records often express the bounds of nations or of spheres of influence by the phrases "within" or "beyond the Taurus." More than at any other line, one feels that at Taurus falls the dividing-line between east and west. Even at the present day, when the whole of Anatolia outside the walls of Smyrna and the railway-lines is in a sense distinctly Oriental, one feels that when one crosses Taurus by the great pass of the Cilician Gates and descends south and east into Cilicia, one has crossed a line of demarcation, and is surrounded by a more Oriental spirit. Cilicia, as the Romans long arranged it, is more a part of Syria than of Asia Minor. In it you detect at once the impression of the Arab and the Ansarieh; you hear yourself addressed no longer as Tchelebi, which was practically universal as a title of respect before you crossed Taurus: the people now style you Hawaja, as in Syria or Egypt. That single detail is significant of the changed atmosphere that rules beyond the Taurus.

In my 'Historical Geography' the contrast between the Ægean coastlands and the rest of the great peninsula is described, the former being, as it were, a part of Greece, full of the light and the variety and the joyous brightness of the Greek lands; the rest, including the whole plateau, being, alike in geographical character and in spirit, part of Asia, impressive in its immobility, monotony, and subdued tone. But one feels inclined to draw a further distinction, and to describe the west coast as Greek, the plateau within Taurus as the Debatable Land, and the country beyond Taurus as Eastern and Asiatic. Yet the moment that one has uttered the words one feels that they are inaccurate. More than any other city, Tarsus impresses one as the meeting-place of East and West. And in history what variety is there in the lot of Cilicia and in the kind of division which Taurus marks!

In the long wars between the Byzantine, or rather the Roman, Empire and the Saracens, Taurus with Anti-Taurus divided the Romans from the Arabs for centuries, Tarsus on the south-west and Melitene on the north-east being the frontier fortresses on the Arab side. The Arabs twice attempted to advance their frontier from Tarsus over Taurus and to hold Tyana; but both the Caliphs Harun-al-Rashid and Al-Mamun, who built a mosque and stationed a garrison in Tyana, found it necessary to draw back to Tarsus before two years had elapsed. For a longer period they held Cæsareia, in their advance from Melitene; but that also they failed to hold permanently. They could never establish themselves beyond Taurus. They crossed Taurus in their annual raids, often in two raids per annum; they captured almost every city in the whole land; they thrice besieged Constantinople; and yet through more than three centuries of such war they never held a foot of land beyond Taurus outside the range of their weapons at the moment. They conquered and they passed, and the people of the land recovered from every blow with marvellous rapidity. In all history there is probably no other proof so striking of the elasticity and recuperative power that belongs to the well-knit society of an organized people, welded together by a long-established system of reasoned law and by a common religion. Roman society was too compact for the Arabs to conquer—a hundred battles and a hundred defeats had no serious effect on it. The lower civilization of a loosely knit Oriental despotism could make no impression on the fabric that Roman organizing genius had created.

But, if the Roman social fabric survived the sufferings of those terrible centuries, when Arab raids were to be dreaded every year, the suffering was terrible. The Roman civilization had weakened the stamina of the nation, and a long continuance of peace had made the general population feeble, unwarlike, perfectly content to be defended by a professional army, which had become almost a caste.

When a civilized people has lost the strength, which must in the last resort be its defence against the attack of barbarism, it is always in danger. The professional army might have been able to defend the line of Mount Taurus and keep the Mohammedan wolves from the Roman sheepfold, if the great pass of the Cilician Gates had been the only way of crossing Taurus from Cilicia. That pass, an easy road for the most part to traverse, is also a very easy one to defend at many points by even a small force. In Byzantine time it was strongly garrisoned, and a line of beacons flashed the news to Constantinople as soon as the Arabs were moving against it.

But the long-continued peace and prosperity of the Roman Empire had opened other roads. Taurus had never been an absolutely impassable barrier, and under the Roman peace many cities had grown and prospered in its highest grounds, where now no dwelling is known except a few black tents of nomads in the summer. Those cities, rich and prosperous, had improved the roads, and made it easy for the light raiding armies of the Arabs to cross the mountains. A large population of traders and artisans, clergy and schoolmasters, and other peaceful persons, was powerless before a small force of hardy barbarians, accustomed to weapons from infancy, regarding war as the one business of life and the chief duty of religion. Hence the Arab raiders could go where they pleased, ravage almost any city they chose, and easily avoid the slower regular armies of Roman trained soldiers; but they could hold nothing permanently beyond the line of Taurus.

If, at a later time, the more barbarous Turk achieved what the more polished and more fiery Arabs had failed to do, the Turkish triumph exemplified the only way in which barbarism can conquer a civilized and organized society, apart from practical extermination, viz. by breaking up the fabric and constitution of society and reducing it once more to an aggregation of disconnected atoms. As the present writer has elsewhere shown, the Turkish conquest was not achieved by battles and victories; it was gained by the nomad tribes which spread over the land, destroyed the bonds of communication which held society together, and reduced the country from the settled to the nomadic stage. The Turkish conquest meant the nomadization of the country.

That word "nomadization" opens up a great subject, and I have been asked to give more space to it than it occupied at first in my manuscript. The subject is one which, so far as I know, is hardly alluded to by the professed historians. As you read the history of the two centuries following the appearance of the Turks on the eastern horizon of the Roman Empire about 1070 A.D., you often wonder how it was that the Seljuk Turks overcame the empire. After their first great victory at Manzikert, whose character can only be guessed, their armies



were never able to meet in fair fight and on even terms a Byzantine army,\* if the latter was led with any degree of prudence or skill. Yet the Roman civilization, which had resisted three centuries of continual Arab conquest, steadily grew weaker and died out before the loose, undisciplined, ill-organized Seljuk power. The story of the Seljuk conquest of Asia Minor has still to be written (for Gibbon's brief generalizations are hardly satisfactory, and Sir H. Howorth's admirable essay makes us desire a detailed study according to localities), and here it can only be alluded to in the briefest terms.

The Turkmen nomads are distinguished from the Turks proper as clearly by the Byzantine historians† as they are by the facts of the present day; and the incidental statements of those historians as to the insidious progress of the nomads over the country are very instructive. The picture that those Byzantine writers set before us has been summed up by the present writer in the following words: "The nomad Turkmens spread over the face of the land; the soil passed out of cultivation; the population decreased; the Christian cities were isolated from each other by a sea of nomad wandering tribes; intercourse, and consequently trades and manufactures, were to a great extent destroyed; and gradually the Christians in most places acquiesced, as we have seen, in the Oriental spirit and the Oriental religion of the dominant race. It is a remarkable instance of degeneration from civilized to barbarian society, and one which it would be instructive to study in detail; but the general fact is summed up in the phrase, the nomadization of Asia Minor."‡

The great numbers of the wandering Turkmen tribes explain one striking fact in the Seljuk Empire. The many magnificent khans built by the Seljuk sultans along the principal roads that radiated from their capital, Konia, form one of the most impressive features of modern Anatolia, and are worthy of mention along with the beautiful Seljuk mosques, medressés, and tombs, as evidence of the remarkable development of architectural art in that period.

Recent German travellers describe those khans as a proof of the high stage of civilization on which the Seljuk State stood; and the latest of those travellers thinks that the khans have taken the place of similar Roman and Byzantine buildings, and conserve in their uniform

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\* I speak here only of the Seljuks, not of the Osmanli (Ottoman Turks), whose Janissaries were the best force in Europe; but the Janissaries were the tax levied in brain and muscle on the Christians.

† Some evidence as to the spread of the nomadic tribes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is quoted in my 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor,' p. 213. See also the following note.

‡ 'Impressions of Turkey,' p. 103. The progress of the nomads in the western districts is described in my 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' vol. i. pp. 16 f., 27 ff. 299 ff.; vol. ii. pp. 372 f., 447, 598, 695.



plan the accepted method of Byzantine khans.\* But this view requires serious modification. As those same travellers remark, the great Seljuk khans are almost like fortresses, with their massive walls and their single well-protected entrance. Not a trace remains of any similar Roman or Byzantine building, and this furnishes a conclusive proof that the inns and *mansiones* of the civilized empire were buildings of a much humbler and more evanescent character; private initiative then furnished sufficient entertainment for travellers without the artistic and architectural magnificence of the Seljuk khans, and forts were not needed. The khans attest a high development of art, but not a sound condition of society and government.

The truth is that such buildings as the Seljuk khans were not built or wanted in the Roman and the Byzantine period. But in the Seljuk time the caravans, which maintained trade and communication between the surviving cities of the land, required the shelter and protection of those vast fortress-like constructions,† for the roads connecting the greatest cities of the Seljuk state were unsafe. The cities were like islands in the ocean of nomadism; and the khans furnished harbours of refuge at short intervals in the dangerous voyage from city to city. If the country is safer in more recent times, the reason is that caravans and commerce were gradually destroyed on almost all roads, trade dwindled and died out, every town became perforce self-sufficient, and the empire ceased to be an articulated organism. On the few roads along which the markets of Europe still attracted a certain amount of caravan-traffic the danger continued, but where there were no travellers to rob and no trade to plunder, the nomads were either at peace or employed in mutual warfare, especially where the nomad Turkmens met the nomad Kurds. Hence the older travellers describe them all, Kurds and Turkmens alike, as unruly and dangerous, while the traveller at the present day finds them generally quite peaceful and quiet. I have spent many nights in encampments of Turkmens or Kurds in the great central plains,‡ or in Kurdish villages of the eastern parts of Asia Minor, often arriving with two or three native attendants towards sunset; yet the nomad Kurds of Galatia have the most evil reputation, and were still during the last two decades a terror to all government officials. They never showed any disposition to molest myself or my friend, though they believed us to be owners of fabulous wealth. But I confess that I sometimes felt profoundly thankful when I was safely departing from the tents of those wandering Kurds, the rudest of all Anatolian tribes.

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\* Sarre, 'Reise in Kleinasien,' p. 77 f.

† "Ein äusserlich festungsartiges Gebäude" (Sarre, p. 78).

‡ The Kurds of the central plains, especially of ancient Galatia, are more thoroughly nomadic than those of the more eastern districts, so far as I have seen the latter. The nomad Kurds are the most unattractive race in Asia Minor ('Impressions of Turkey,' p. 114 ff.).

But the number of questions which open on every side when one begins to discuss that great subject of the degeneration from Roman organization to the nomadic stage in Asiatic Turkey is endless; and we must return to our proper subject for the moment, viz. the effect of the Taurus range as a division between races, as a defence of a settled people against invasion, and as a limiting wall to determine the lines of migration.

If Taurus divided Arab and Roman, Mohammedan and Christian, in the time of the Saracen wars (641-975), it was again the boundary between Christian and Mohammedan in the early Turkish period for about four centuries beginning from 1071 A.D. The Turks came in from Central Asia over Armenia, and held the central Anatolian plateau for centuries before they gained possession of Cilicia; they captured Constantinople and advanced to Belgrad before they captured Tarsus. Christian powers, Byzantines, Latin Crusaders, and Armenian princes, quarrelled with one another for possession of Cilicia. Taurus saved them from Turkish armies, but there was no such barrier on the Syrian side, and the Memluk sultans of Egypt destroyed the Christian kingdom of Cilicia. Here again the nomad Turkmen tribes, gradually spreading across Taurus and over the plains, were the true conquerors, sapping and destroying the links that held together society in the country.

Thus the effect of the Taurus as a division between nations, as well as in directing and limiting the march of armies, might in itself furnish a great subject.

Only in one case is there a district of any importance in the Anatolian peninsula which lies outside of this classification, which we have described, into central plateau, mountain-rim, and coast valleys. There is one secondary valley on the north, where there intervenes between the plateau-rim and the sea a mountain-ridge parallel to the main ridge which forms the northern boundary of the plateau. Between these two parallel ridges there stretches east and west a valley of considerable importance, forming the most fertile part of the ancient country of Paphlagonia. That valley has a history which stands entirely apart from the history of either the plateau on the one hand or of the sea-coast cities on the other. Just as you might sail and explore along the coast, and travel extensively in the northern parts of the plateau, yet never enter the great Paphlagonian valley, and remain almost unaware of its existence, so you might write a minute study of the history of the coast and of the plateau, and hardly ever have occasion to mention the intermediate valley. And yet the valley had a great history; it contained some powerful cities. The wars of the Mithridatic dynasty of kings against the Romans and the states of the West, for the most part, were fought or manœuvred along that valley. Some of the most obscure campaigns in the long wars between the kings of the Romans and the Saracen invaders seem to have taken

place in the valley, and those campaigns are so obscure because the ordinary data for interpreting the evidence by the conditions of the plateau or the coast fail us for the intermediate Paphlagonian valley. Its cities became even more important, in comparison to the rest of the country, during the earlier stages of the Turkish period, and are often mentioned.

But that long history of the Paphlagonian valley has never been written. Its many ancient towns are for the most part unknown even by name. Perhaps the task cannot be achieved, because recorded history has kept to the leading paths, and neglected the byroads; but if the task is attempted it demands a special historian, who is prepared to explore and study it by itself and for itself.

Once you have reached the plateau it is, as a rule, possible to make a road almost anywhere. Yet even there there are certain gates towards which many roads must converge, and through which they must pass. A double zone of mountains, whose old names are unknown, and which are almost nameless in modern times, runs north and south across central Phrygia, and roads must keep either to the north or the south of them. All travellers from Ephesus to the east passed by the southern end of those mountains; but travellers from Smyrna and northern Lydia generally went by the northern end. The two modern railway-lines mark the two routes.

The lofty ridge which comes up from the west, from Trojan Ida, called Temnos and Dindymos in parts of its course, approaches very close to those central Phrygian mountains, and a narrow glen, down which flows a tributary of the Mæander, divides them. That glen forms a funnel, up or down which roads and travellers going in very diverse directions must necessarily pass. For about 10 or 12 miles persons going from south to north travel side by side with others who are going from east to west. Their roads all converge to one end of the glen, and diverge again at the other.

Until that glen was noted on the map, and its importance observed, the march of the Ten Thousand, which Xenophon has described, was an insoluble riddle. In my earlier years of exploration, having only the vague, featureless, and inaccurate old maps, I found that glen a sore trial and puzzle. Filled with the desire to be constantly traversing new routes, and to avoid repetition, I found myself in the most annoying way doing the treadmill up and down the glen. In one year, when thoroughly on my guard against it and resolved to avoid it, I traversed it three times.

But this repetition only gave proper emphasis to its importance. Then it became obvious that the Ten Thousand, who had marched from Sardis towards the southern end of the central Phrygian mountains, as if to follow the southern route, and had turned backwards towards the north-west, must have traversed the glen and gone round the northern

end of the mountains. No other way was possible, and when this observation was applied, it was easy to follow the march of the Ten Thousand all over Phrygia, and to say at any point that Xenophon's foot must have trod within a few hundred yards of where we stood. At the south-western entrance to the glen stands Keramon Agora, the Market of Tiles, that peopled city; and after leaving its north-eastern exit, the eastward bound army soon found itself in the broad plain of Kaystros.

The exploration and communication along the coasts took place almost entirely, of course, by ship, and lie outside our present subject, except in so far as it affected or was affected by land conditions. The fact that at various points the mountains touched the sea, and made the coast road tedious and difficult, threw the communication more and more completely on to shipboard, and this meant that communication along the north and south coasts was for centuries entirely in the hands of the Greeks, and that the coast towns, even so far east as Tarsus and Trapezus, were strongly affected by Greek influence, and often even transformed into cities of the Greek type, with free institutions and constitutional government by elected magistrates according to published law.

Moreover, the sea was dangerous and difficult. On the north coast, the Black Sea was the most uncertain and treacherous known to the Greeks: at no period of the year could the weather be counted on; in the most settled summer weather a tempest might occur. Far back, in the beginning of Greek history, we can dimly trace the immense influence exerted on the Greek mind by the first experience of that sea with its dangers and its wonders. It is not too much to say, though here we can only make the strong statement and pass on, that the discovery of the Black Sea played as important a part in forming and training the Greek mind, in determining its bent, in moulding its literary expression, as the discovery of America has played in the modern world. But to illustrate that assertion would need a whole evening.

But the life of a country is always mirrored and idealized in its religion; and the religion of the coast cities must necessarily have been moulded a great deal by their dependence on the sea. This we can observe well on the north coast. The Ruler of the Sea, Achilles Pontarches, was the great deity of the north coast cities; an association of cities was allied in his worship, and the high priest was called by the same name as the god, the Pontarch. The god had his chosen home in that island, far out in the sea opposite the mouths of the Danube, where he dwelt with Helena, the island which occasionally appeared before the storm-tossed sailor as a haven of quiet. But he was worshipped also in all the cities, whose prosperity depended on his favour, and the sailors made their vows to him before they

sailed, and paid them after their safe return. He was worshipped in all the cities in South Russia, in the Crimea, as well as on the Asia Minor coasts; but probably his chief seat was in Sinope, that great harbour of the early time, on the promontory that juts out far into the sea. And when a new form of religion required a new expression of the old religious fact, a Christian saint was substituted for the pagan Pontarch Achilles; and St. Phocas of Sinope became the sailor's god, or at least their patron and protector.

The severance of the north coast from the plateau is thus as strongly marked in religion as in history. It would not, however, be true to say that the severance in religion was absolute. The mountain-ridges which barred and hemmed in ordinary communication offered no insuperable barrier to the spread of religion. The strange fervid cults of the plateau proved as impressive to the coastlands as they did in the European lands to which they spread in wave after wave. The divergence in the religion of the coast took the form of additions to a common religious stock—such as the cult of Achilles Pontarches.

On the south coast less is known of maritime religious foundations. The existing records show little except gods of the common Anatolian type. Yet there must have been more. Especially at Myra, in Lycia, we may look for some special sailors' cult. Myra was the harbour for the direct over-sea communication with Syria and with Egypt. This communication was not old—the early ships never ventured to desert the coast and strike boldly out to sea. But at least as early as the first century of our era, the large ships which carried the Egyptian corn to the Roman granaries habitually tried to run straight across from Alexandria to Myra. A west wind blows with wonderful uniformity in the Levant, and those ships could commonly trust to a good run due north to the Lycian coast. But if the west wind blew too strong, the ship would make too much leeway, and find itself unable to clear the western end of Cyprus; and then it was obliged, in the peculiar conditions of navigation there, to run to the Syrian coast and keep round the east and the north of Cyprus. In such circumstances the blessing of the god of Myra would be sought with special devotion; and, though this cult is not proven in its pagan form, which as we have seen was only of quite late origin, the Christian cult which took its place is well known. St. Nicholas of Myra played the same part among the sailors of the Levant as St. Phocas of Sinope did among those of the Black sea.

Phocas was a martyr of the reign of Trajan. Nicholas was Bishop of Myra more than three centuries later. The Christian form evidently established itself earlier on the north coast than on the south, and this is in strict accord with other evidence, which shows that the new religion had taken deep root in the northern coastlands by the time of Trajan, whereas on the south it was very much later in attaining such strength.

But it was not merely armies, or migrations of peoples, which have swept eastwards or westwards across Anatolia. Art, knowledge, new thoughts and new religions have trod the same path in either direction; they, too, move only westwards or eastwards across the bridge, rarely if ever northwards or southwards. Such movements, though less imposing and romantic than the march of armies and the combat of heroes, may justifiably detain our attention longer, precisely because they are less striking and more easily escape notice.

There are some apparent exceptions, which, however, vanish under more careful scrutiny, and therefore only help to emphasize the general principle. One example may here be given. The present writer is responsible for the theory (published in 1882) that the Greek alphabet, after travelling by ship with the Ionic Grecian merchants to Sinope, penetrated thence southwards across the mountains into the central plateau, where we find it in use east of the Halys about the seventh century B.C. But after further study he retracted this theory, and argued that the Greek alphabet went up eastwards from the west coast, in the ordinary course of trade and political relations; and dated that communication by the recorded fact that a king of Phrygia was married to a daughter of Agamemnon, King of Æolic Cyme, about 700 B.C. Historic tradition remembered that dynastic fact—a striking example of the way in which a royal family embodies and represents the history of its nation—and the union of the two royal families stands to us for the intercommunication between the active Greek cities of the west coast and the peoples of the plateau, in the course of which the alphabet and many other ideas passed eastwards or westwards. That second theory may now be regarded as the accepted view. Even those English scholars who accept nothing in history but what is printed in German may accept this view with easy minds, because it has been rediscovered independently by a learned and able young German professor, who began to travel in Anatolia about eight years after the second view had been published and republished in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and soon found out and made known the truth, gently rebuking the error of the English scholar who had advanced the first theory.

Such movements of thought and religion are complicated by a new factor, the influence of the land: those movements did not merely sweep across the country like armies from one side or the other; sometimes they originated in the country; sometimes they were modified, profoundly or slightly, as the case might be, in their passage. An army may march across the country, gaining no material strength, but merely losing part of its force; but even an army may learn something in its long travels, and those who return to their own land may, like the remnant of the Crusaders, come back wiser and better able to understand the world than when they started.

This influence, this new factor, may take one of two forms. In the



first place, it may arise out of the situation of Anatolia as a bridge and meeting-place between Eastern and Western ideas. When the thoughts and knowledge of two diverse peoples meet, either in alliance or in hostility, the result is not to be represented as a simple addition. Ideas are not like dead matter to be placed side by side: they unite and are productive, or they die; but they cannot remain inert and unvarying. The result of their meeting may be, and commonly is, more like a process of multiplication; occasionally, it is a process of division or destruction. For example, the invention of the art of coinage is attributed to Asia Minor by Herodotus; and modern opinion agrees unanimously with him. In the great highway of commerce and intercourse it was natural that this idea of a common measure of value, guaranteed by a trustworthy authority, should be struck out. Along with this invention we may refer to the speculation of M. Radet\*—one of the most brilliant pages of his striking work on Lydia—that the organization of trade and caravans and bazaars, the typical Oriental method of commerce, belongs to the same country.

Similarly, the development and improvement in practical working of many ideas springs from the intercourse and jostling of many men and many minds along the great bridge. The simplification of chronological reckoning by the use of a definite era, so that a date can be expressed by a single number, may belong to Asia Minor; it became common, and probably it originated, in the adapting of Greek ideas to a wider sphere of practical life, which occurred after Greece went forth under Alexander the Great to conquer the East, when it settled down under his successors to the great practical problem of how to rule the conquered world. The cumbrous method of dating by the annual magistrates of the city, which commended itself to the patriotism and pride of the Greek citizen in Greece, became too obviously unworkable in the wider sphere of the Hellenized East. In no part of the ancient world is the custom of expressing dates by counting from a fixed era more firmly established in common everyday use than in one district of Asia Minor, embracing the eastern part of Lydia and western parts of Phrygia.

But, in the second place, there is a growing opinion among the most recent investigators—an opinion strongly held by the present writer—that Anatolia was not merely an intermediary, developing foreign ideas in a practical way, but also played a not unimportant part as an originator. We are inevitably forced back to a time when Anatolia was not merely a bridge between opposite lands and great peoples, but was itself the centre of a great empire exerting an influence on the outer world. The empire is closely connected with the most fascinating and

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\* Criticized and accepted with some modification in the writer's 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' vol. ii. p. 416.

the most obscure historical problems which are at the present time under discussion. Every step that is being made in the rediscovery of the early Greek world, and the history of early intercourse in the Eastern Mediterranean lands, constitutes at the same time indirectly an advance in the history of the ancient Anatolian world, even though the discoverer is not conscious of the side light which he is throwing on that subject. Twenty years ago that empire was not even dreamed about by any one; even yet it is almost an unknown quantity, which is to be estimated from its effects more than from direct evidence about its actual nature. But the direct evidence is slowly being discovered—very slowly, because there is no organized effort being made to discover it, but mere sporadic experiments by occasional travellers, generally inexperienced, who, as soon as they acquire experience and grow enthusiastic in the investigation, are drafted off to other spheres of life. But still discovery, though slowly, does progress; and what was reckoned only a dream ten years ago by many, is now an admittedly real factor in history, which has an acknowledged place in every modern discussion of the early Mediterranean world, and which, after ten or twenty years, will occupy far greater space than it does now. An ancient system of writing in hieroglyphics, different from any other known system of expressing thought by visible and permanent symbols, is known in Asia Minor through a long process of development, and is dimly traceable as an influence on other countries. Characteristic Anatolian artistic forms have been studied and specified by several investigators, though still they are chiefly evident as the unknown factor needed to explain the development of the East Mediterranean world. Most certain and most typical of Anatolia is its religion, the influence of which on the Greek and Roman world is the one form in which Anatolian influence has been long recognized by modern scholars. This they could hardly fail to do, seeing that the ancients themselves acknowledge it, describe it, and inveigh against it; but still it was left to comparatively recent scholars to show how far-reaching and long-continued that influence was; and among those scholars the most acute and able has probably been Mr. P. Foucart, formerly Director of the French School of Athens,\* who writes of Anatolian religion entirely from the Greek point of view as being an outrage on the Greek spirit, relieved from being abominable only by becoming sometimes ridiculous in its fervour. But at least the fact is established that this influence spread in wave after wave of a sort of religious revivalism over the classical world, mostly among the uneducated classes, but still often affecting the population so profoundly as to receive State recognition or require State regulation and even coercion. For good or for evil, it was at least enormously powerful.

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\* 'Les Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs,' 1873.



In all these departments, writing, art, religion (and doubtless others might be added), there is perceptible a connection with the geographical character of the country. Elsewhere the present writer has argued\* that the hieroglyphics must have been originated on the great central plains; and he believes that an important part in the domestication of certain animals must be assigned to the same localities. The soil of those now desert plains is generally highly fertile. Only the application of water and skill is needed to make them very fruitful; and the ruins of large and rich cities are found where now the country is absolutely barren. The arts that were needed to utilize those wide plains were all embodied and taught in the religion of the country. The domesticated animals were all sacred, and the treatment of them was prescribed as part of religious ritual.

As might be expected, therefore, it is in religion that the direct influence of geographical features is most obvious. Ancient religion was far more intimately and universally associated with social and family life than is the case with modern European nations. Religion had made and ordered all social relationships. The individual was bound in the ties of religion from his cradle to his grave. Every act of his life, good or bad, joyous or mournful, moral (to our conceptions) or immoral, was equally presided over by a divinity, and, as it were, done under the divine sanction. The early religion of Anatolia was therefore the outcome of the whole circumstances and environment that acted on the people.

One feature in the Anatolian religion rises before us prominent and impressive at the first glance. The ordinary and familiar idea is that God is the Father of all mankind and all life. Such is the almost universal European and Semitic conception. But it was the motherhood of the divine nature that was the great feature in the Anatolian worship. The male element in the divine nature was recognized only as an occasional and subsidiary actor in the drama of nature and of life. The life of man came from the Great Mother; the heroes of the land were the sons of the goddess, and at death they returned to the mother who bore them.

In the social customs of Anatolia, even after it was overspread by Greek manners and Greek ideas, many traces remain of that primitive idea. Descent was sometimes reckoned through the mother; women magistrates are frequently found even in the Hellenized cities of the land. And in its history the same impression remains: it is everywhere the most pathetic of histories. Not vigour and initiative, but receptivity and impressibility, swayed the spirit of the people, marked their fate, and breathed through the atmosphere that surrounded them—a continuous, barely perceptible force acting on every new people, and subtly

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\* 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' vol. i. p. xv.

influencing every new religion, that came into the land. For example the earliest known trace of the veneration of the Virgin Mary in the Christian religion is in a Phrygian inscription of the second century; and the earliest example of a holy place consecrated to the Mother of God as already an almost divine personality is at Ephesus early in the fifth century.

On the great level plains of the central plateau the spirit of man seems separated from the world by the mountains, and thrown back on its own nature; but it is not confined, for the idea of confinement is absolutely alien to that vast expanse, where the sole limit to the range of the human eye seems to be its own weakness of vision, where a distant mountain-peak only emphasizes the sense of vastness because it furnishes a standard by which to estimate distance. The great eye of heaven, unwearying, un pitying, inexorable, watches you from its rising over the level horizon till it sinks below the same level again. There is a sense of rest, of inevitable acquiescence in the Infinite Power which is around you, all-pervasive and compelling. The sense of individuality and personal power grows weak and shrinks away, not daring to show itself in the human consciousness. The phases of the year co-operate in this effect, with a long severe winter and a shorter but hot summer. Where water pours forth in one of the many great springs which give birth to strong flowing rivers, the country is a garden; but otherwise the fertile soil is dependent entirely on the chances of an uncertain rainfall. The north wind tempers the heat, and the harvester trusts to it entirely to winnow his grain on the threshing-floor. Everything impresses on the mind the utter insignificance of man and his absolute dependence on the Divine power. The peasant of the present day still calls every great life-giving spring "God hath given."

But the Divine power that was so evident was not the stern, inexorable power of the hard desert. The people saw the nature of the land, rich and full of good things to those who accepted the divinely revealed method, and cared for the holy soil and the sacred animals, as the goddess, their mother and patron, required. St. Paul, with his usual unerring insight into the character of his audience, spoke to the rude Lycaonian peasants about the God "who did good, and gave rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling the heart with food and gladness."

For the student of that country and history, it is always and everywhere necessary to go back to that religion, to recognize it as the originator of all national life and of all social forms, and as a continuous force acting throughout the later development of the country.

In the exploration of the city of Ephesus an example may be found of the use that might be made of this principle. Mr. Wood spent six years searching for the site of the Temple of Artemis, and at last he found it exactly where it ought to be, beside the little hill on the top

of which was built the great church of St. John, and on the lowest slope of which is the splendid mosque of Isa Bey. The church was the largest built by the Emperor Justinian, that greatest of builders with the single exception of the Emperor Hadrian.

The historical process is obvious, since Mr. Wood's discovery disclosed it. The dominant Christian religion had to claim for itself the sanctity attaching to the ancient site. It did so by building that great church overlooking the temple. But Christianity gave place to Mohammedanism, and again this new religion made itself heir to the religious associations and holiness of the locality by constructing between the two older religious sites one of the largest and most splendid mosques in the whole country.

The history of Ephesus is an extraordinary series of vicissitudes, but the religious centre is always the same. The Greek city was at a distance from the religious centre; it aimed at commercial or military advantages, and its site was changed more than once as the sea-coast receded. The holy place was the governing centre of the plain before the Greeks came; its priests watched the Greek cities grow and change and decay. The outward form of the religion was altered, but the old belief was not extirpated, and it took new root in the heart of the conquering religion, so that in the fifth century we find the legend of the Virgin Mother of God firmly established among the Christians of Ephesus, though it was not strong enough to obliterate the historical fact that the Holy Theologian had lived many years and died in the city. But the belief in the old holy place was a force always attracting the population thither, and growing stronger as the standard of education in the Eastern Church degenerated, and at last proving irresistible. Thus the centre of population was moved back to the old centre of religion. The old Asiatic paganism had proved too strong alike for the Greek trade and education and for the Christian teaching. The Greek spirit had come, and lived for twelve hundred years, and died of weakness, but the old beliefs continued as strong as ever. The old goddess had not merely her home in the open plain among the haunts of men; she was the goddess of wild nature and nursing mother of all wild animals, and she had her other home among the mountains on the south of the plain. And so among the Christians the home of the Virgin Mother of God was discovered and made a centre of worship and pilgrimage near the old mountain house of the Goddess-Mother.

An apparent exception to the principle that the great movements of history and thought must either keep to the coast-lines or to the central bridge, and that no great movement on the central plateau ever springs from the northern or the southern coast, is presented by the enterprise which carried the first Christian mission from Perga on the Pamphylian coast to Pisidian Antioch and the neighbouring towns on the central bridge. The theologians have disputed, and will doubtless dispute to

the end of time, about that sudden transition; but the geographer and the historian who study facts instead of starting from theories can never hesitate as to this great fact. The first mission movement began to work its way westward along the sea-route by Cyprus and the Pamphylian coast; and at this point it deserted the coast-route and transferred itself to the far more fruitful and important land-route over the central bridge. The important movements of thought had almost always taken the land-route, for the coast-route affords only narrow and limited opportunities along its course. It was easy for the pioneers of new ideas to carry them by sea from the Syrian shore to Athens or to Rome; but by the way they made no impression and left no seed. On the other hand, along the land-route new religious movements worked their way by conquering the cities and the peoples through which they passed: they planted themselves firmly at each stage, and each step was the preparation and the basis for a further step.

Of the many movements of thought that have occurred along the great bridge, the only one which can be traced in any detail is that by which Christianity was diffused over the country and into Europe; and it would be an instructive example of the principles which have just been laid down to study that important movement. But it would need a separate article to do so even in the briefest outline. One may only say here that the current conception, which indicates the spread of that movement by a series of lines radiating from Syria across Asia Minor to the north, north-west, and west, is entirely incorrect. The movement of thought was along the great bridge, by the road on the southern side of the plateau, direct west from Syria to Ephesus, and then back again in return waves along the north coast by sea, and along the northern roads over the plateau by land. And probably the older movements, about whose diffusion we have no information, exemplified equally the same geographical laws.

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Before the reading of the paper, the PRESIDENT said: This is not the first time that we have had the pleasure of welcoming Prof. Ramsay in this room. I am proud to say that our Society has had a great deal to do with the extremely valuable work of the Exploration Fund in Asia Minor. I now call upon Prof. Ramsay to read his paper.

After the reading of the paper, the following discussion took place:—

The Rt. Hon. JAMES BRYCE: I feel great diffidence in saying anything upon the most interesting and instructive paper which we have heard from my friend Prof. Ramsay, because I see present several accomplished travellers whose knowledge of Asia Minor is far more extensive and profound than any I could claim. Among others I see Sir Charles Wilson and Mr. Hogarth, who both know Asia Minor thoroughly, and are undoubtedly more competent to speak of it. My knowledge is slight, and is practically confined to the north and west coasts. I have never had a chance of travelling over the central plateau which gives its distinguishing character to Asia Minor as a whole. The paper seems to me an admirable illustration of the way in which history should be studied in connection with geography.

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# MAP OF ASIA MINOR

TO ILLUSTRATE THE PAPER BY

Professor W. M. RAMSAY

Scale of Miles

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Natural Scale 1:2,500,000 or inch = 39.45 miles

Secant Conical Projection.

Heights in feet. Railways -----

CONSTANTINOPLE  
(BYZANTIUM)

SEA OF MARMARA  
(Propontis)

Samothraki

Gulf of Xeros

Gallipoli

Artaki B.

Imbros

Lemnos

DARDANELLES  
(Hellespontus)

TROY  
(Ruins)

Kaz Dagh Mts.

L. Abullonia

Brusa  
(Rusa)

Mitilini  
(Lesbos)

Khios

Chios

SMYRNA

Sardis  
(Sardes)

Odemish

Tire

Ajialik  
(Ephesus)

Samos

Demirci D.  
(Tennos)

Ushak

Manisa

R. GEDIZ

R. MENDEREZ (Mæander)





























W & A K Johnston, Limited, Edinburgh & London.

The Geographical Conditions Determining History and Religion in Asia Minor: Discussion

Author(s): James Bryce, Charles Wilson, D. G. Hogarth, Henry H. Howorth and W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Sep., 1902), pp. 275-282

Published by: [The Royal Geographical Society \(with the Institute of British Geographers\)](#)

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the end of time, about that sudden transition; but the geographer and the historian who study facts instead of starting from theories can never hesitate as to this great fact. The first mission movement began to work its way westward along the sea-route by Cyprus and the Pamphylian coast; and at this point it deserted the coast-route and transferred itself to the far more fruitful and important land-route over the central bridge. The important movements of thought had almost always taken the land-route, for the coast-route affords only narrow and limited opportunities along its course. It was easy for the pioneers of new ideas to carry them by sea from the Syrian shore to Athens or to Rome; but by the way they made no impression and left no seed. On the other hand, along the land-route new religious movements worked their way by conquering the cities and the peoples through which they passed: they planted themselves firmly at each stage, and each step was the preparation and the basis for a further step.

Of the many movements of thought that have occurred along the great bridge, the only one which can be traced in any detail is that by which Christianity was diffused over the country and into Europe; and it would be an instructive example of the principles which have just been laid down to study that important movement. But it would need a separate article to do so even in the briefest outline. One may only say here that the current conception, which indicates the spread of that movement by a series of lines radiating from Syria across Asia Minor to the north, north-west, and west, is entirely incorrect. The movement of thought was along the great bridge, by the road on the southern side of the plateau, direct west from Syria to Ephesus, and then back again in return waves along the north coast by sea, and along the northern roads over the plateau by land. And probably the older movements, about whose diffusion we have no information, exemplified equally the same geographical laws.

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Before the reading of the paper, the PRESIDENT said: This is not the first time that we have had the pleasure of welcoming Prof. Ramsay in this room. I am proud to say that our Society has had a great deal to do with the extremely valuable work of the Exploration Fund in Asia Minor. I now call upon Prof. Ramsay to read his paper.

After the reading of the paper, the following discussion took place:—

The Rt. Hon. JAMES BRYCE: I feel great diffidence in saying anything upon the most interesting and instructive paper which we have heard from my friend Prof. Ramsay, because I see present several accomplished travellers whose knowledge of Asia Minor is far more extensive and profound than any I could claim. Among others I see Sir Charles Wilson and Mr. Hogarth, who both know Asia Minor thoroughly, and are undoubtedly more competent to speak of it. My knowledge is slight, and is practically confined to the north and west coasts. I have never had a chance of travelling over the central plateau which gives its distinguishing character to Asia Minor as a whole. The paper seems to me an admirable illustration of the way in which history should be studied in connection with geography.

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It lays down the bold lines which determine the character of the country, and it brings these into association with the successive movements of religion, of politics, and of commerce by which the whole history of the country has been determined. If we could make historical study start from a thorough knowledge of the geographical conditions and physical structure of a country, we should make it incomparably more valuable as a means of general mental training and as a basis for all kinds of human knowledge than it has yet been in most places made. One could wish nothing better for those who are endeavouring to secure for geography its proper place in education than that they should read and meditate on such a paper as Prof. Ramsay has given us. One felt, in listening to his paper, how much freshness might be given to historical teaching were it made to begin from a study of mountains and valleys, and to show how these determined the succession of events. I was reminded by some passages in his address of another remarkable plateau, also the home of an early civilization, also the scene of great events—I mean the great plateau of Mexico, which in some respects bears a similarity to Asia Minor in the character of its elevation, in the abruptness of its declivities, especially towards the east, and in the contrast between the early populations which inhabited the upper levels of the plateau and the populations which dwelt below. But, unfortunately, our historical knowledge of what passed before the Spanish conquest is so slender, and the natural course which American history would probably have taken was so completely interrupted by that conquest, that one can simply suggest the analogy. As respects the destruction of the prosperity of Central Asia Minor by the incoming of the nomads, while expressing no disagreement with Mr. Ramsay's view, I should be disposed to add that the decline in the machinery and administrative organization of the East Roman monarchy was a concurrent cause, accelerating the process which the paper describes. I was much struck by another remark which Prof. Ramsay made in the latter part of the paper, where he referred to religion in Asia Minor. He pointed out that one of the ancient civilizations which must have had most influence, but about which we know least, had its original source in the plateau of Asia Minor at a time practically anterior to any recorded history, at a time before the growth of the Lydian Empire, and contemporaneous with the earlier Babylonian Empire. And he passed on to speak of the religious influences which had their origin on this great plateau. It struck me, in listening to his observations, that it is a noteworthy fact that all the great religions of the world have originated among peoples not connected with the sea. If we take the great historical religions, such as Buddhism, the religion of ancient Egypt which had an enormous importance for the ancient world, the religion of the Hebrews, the religion of Persia from the time of the Zend Avesta to modern Parsism, Christianity and Islam, you will see they all originate with peoples who have little or nothing to do with a seafaring life. There seems to be truth in Prof. Ramsay's suggestion that it is intensity which makes the power and strength and permanency of a religion. It is not susceptibility to new ideas which makes a religion powerful, enabling it to lay a strong grasp upon the mind of the nation in whose midst it grows up, and rendering that nation able to communicate to others the faith which has had power over itself. The religions which sprung up in races connected with the sea, of whom we may put the Greeks and Phœnicians as examples, although they obtained local influence, never exercised the same wide sway over the hearts and minds of men, never had the same permanency and strength. And among these intenser forms of faith, although we know least about it, we may perhaps reckon the religion whose primal seat is usually attributed to Phrygia. There can be little doubt that the religion of Phrygia embodied in the worship of the Great Mother must have had a very

powerful influence not only upon the familiar worship of Greece, but upon that curious under-current of Greek religion which concerned itself comparatively little with the Olympian deities, but showed its power in the so-called mysteries and various other recondite ways. There are, indeed, traces of its influence upon early Christianity also. I cannot help hoping that the ideas he has given us on this topic will hereafter be worked out more fully than in the extremely interesting but necessarily concise paper with which he has favoured us to-night.

SIR CHARLES WILSON: I can only echo what Mr. Bryce has said with regard to the importance of Prof. Ramsay's paper. You may have noticed that it is very different in character to many of the papers which are read in this theatre. Prof. Ramsay has never once mentioned himself or any of the dangers and difficulties of travelling in Asia Minor, but his paper is a very important contribution to the history and geography of that country. It is impossible, or very difficult, to criticize the generalizations which he has made; but you have the result of over twenty years' study of the country, instead of, as we often have had in this theatre, a record of personal adventure, or diary of exploration. There are few points upon which I wish to say anything. One is with regard to the nomadization of Asia Minor. We have contemporary records of the way in which the nomads devastated the country. They cared nothing for town life; all that they thought about was food for their flocks and herds. For three centuries a succession of nomad tribes passed through the country; they ate up everything as they went; they cared nothing for agriculture, or whether the people in the towns starved or lived; and they entirely ruined perhaps one of the richest countries in the world. I think that Prof. Ramsay has placed the ruin of the country by the nomads a little too early. I should be inclined to attribute it to the passage of the Mongols through Asia Minor, and all that the Mongols left behind them was swept away by the advance of Timur and his Tartars. But I entirely agree with him as to the way in which the towns were isolated by the advance of the nomads, and the difficulty of keeping up communication between town and town. I may perhaps mention that the Seljuk Turks, who must be distinguished from the Osmanli Turks who followed them, were not only great builders of khans, but of other public buildings. I do not think anything impressed me more, as a mark of the great power and architectural skill of the Seljuks, or rather of the foreign architects employed by them, than the great works at Alaya, on the south coast of Asia Minor, which I might almost call the Portsmouth of the Seljuk Empire. The slips and other buildings connected with the navy of the Seljuks were built in the same solid manner as the beautiful khans which are scattered over the country. So also with regard to the mosque architecture. I think the style of architecture in the Seljuk mosques and in the Medressehs, which they built throughout Asia Minor, is one of the most beautiful that I have seen. I remember bringing it to the notice of the late Mr. Fergusson, the well-known architect, to whom it was unknown; and even now we have little information respecting the details of these beautiful buildings. With regard to the importance of the Taurus as a dividing range, I may perhaps notice a fact which Prof. Ramsay did not mention. In the last century the range was the boundary between the territories of Egypt and those of the Turk for about nine or ten years. The Egyptians, who had advanced as far as Kutaya in Asia Minor, whence they were obliged to retreat by the European Powers, had their boundary at Mount Taurus, and there are still in existence, in the great pass of the Cilician gates, the forts which were thrown up by Ibrahim Pasha as a defence against the advance of the Turks into Cilicia. I may perhaps mention that Prof. Ramsay intends to visit Asia Minor again this year. There is one particular investigation which Prof. Ramsay has been very anxious



for many years to carry out, and in which he is extremely interested—the excavation of the site of *Lysra*, which is well known. Very important results may be expected from such exploration, and I hope that in a not far distant future, funds may be subscribed to excavate that very ancient and interesting biblical site. I think that Prof. Ramsay's paper is one of the most important which has been read for some time in this theatre.

**Mr. D. G. HOGARTH:** Certainly Prof. Ramsay's ideas do not belong to that dead matter of which he has spoken. The points which struck me most are those which concerned the question of the nomadization of Asia Minor; many of them were so obvious, when they had been said, that one wonders they had never been said before; but so far as I know they have not, but they now seem to me to be final. I was specially interested in that suggestion of how a barbaric society can split up a society very much stronger, more organized, and more ancient than itself. Of course, in a paper so full of ideas, there are some which are sure to provoke a certain amount of criticism. There are two particularly which I should like Prof. Ramsay, if there is time, to say a word more about: one is the main idea of the paper—the significance of the Taurus. I do not really mean to criticize the main contention that the Taurus is an extremely important mountain range, but I am not quite certain whether it has accounted for quite as much as Prof. Ramsay seemed to indicate. I have various reasons. He spoke of Cilicia being an Oriental country in strong distinction to anything on the other side of the Taurus; but I would venture to remind him that Cappadocia and Pontus had a very strong Oriental colouring from an early time. Furthermore, as he knows, and as I have had reason to know, and still more Sir Charles Wilson has had reason to know, the Taurus is far from an impassable range. It is, on the whole, an easily passed range; it contains almost the easiest pass in the world—that is to say, the easiest if not defended by a hostile army—and it has often been, as a matter of fact, passed by empires, by armies, and by nations in the past. I would only call attention to one fact, and that is that Asia Minor was for a long time part of an empire which had its centre in Syria. There was at that time no very impassable barrier in the Taurus range, and although it is quite true that the Arabs never succeeded, although they often passed the Taurus, in holding land on the other side, I would ask whether that is necessarily due to the impassable nature of the wall-like Taurus, or whether it may not be partly due to considerations of latitude and of sea-level? The nomads who came into Asia Minor came for two main reasons. Their perennial unrest is due to the fact that there are very large tracts of country in Asia which are of a lean character. These nurture and raise a hardy population which rapidly increases, but for whose increase the land does not provide sufficient subsistence. They are, therefore, always moving. They move like air—where there is a vacuum. Asia Minor has provided that vacuum, and they have moved towards it from the two main areas, the one being the Central Asia area, the other being the Arabian area. Though it is true that the nomads who came into Asia Minor did come from the northern area, I would ask whether that is really due to the greater ease of communication, or rather to the fact that those who came from the Arabian area were unfitted by the latitude in which they had been born to effect any permanent lodgment on so cold an area as the Asia Minor plateau. The other point—and here we are very much in the region of conjecture—was connected with that interesting section towards the close of his paper, when he spoke of the possibility that Asia Minor had not always been a bridge, but had been itself the source of certain strong influences, and, as he indicated, perhaps of a very considerable independent empire in very early times—that is, the empire which has been dimly indicated

for some time past by what are called the Hittite monuments. Though I do not deny the fact that Hittite monuments are spread over Asia Minor and are monuments of very great importance, I am not sure whether we have reason to say the centre of that empire was in Asia Minor. It would be very difficult to accept that without strong proof in face of the fact that in historic times no empire had its seat in that country. It is a very significant fact that the main successor of Alexander, as soon as he aimed at anything more than a small government, passed out of Asia Minor, and established the centre of his empire, not in Asia Minor, but in the north of Syria, and there his successor built the most famous city of Hellenistic times. Therefore, what we find is, that while armies and kings were continually passing through Asia Minor, while great battles were fought in Asia Minor, at every one of which an empire was lost and an empire was born, at the same time, after those battles the victor did not establish himself in Asia Minor, but passed to one side or the other. That being the case, it raises a strong presumption, there being no authority where we can get any information—it raises the presumption that the centre of "Hittite" empire was not in Asia Minor, but was in one of the more fertile regions to the north-west or the south-east. Asia Minor is, of course, a rich country up to a certain standard, but I doubt if it can be put into competition with the valley of the Orontes or the Rumelian plain. That is why it has been used as a bridge rather than as the centre of a new power. Before I sit down, perhaps I might be allowed to refer to almost the last paragraph of the paper, the section in which Prof. Ramsay deplores the fact that those who go into Asia Minor have so soon to leave it. His own career has been a great example of what an extraordinary benefit it is to geographical knowledge that one person should be able to study one particular subject for a considerable time. We in England who do all these things by private enterprise, and have nothing to do with the Government in the matter, are very severely handicapped. It is only when these kind of enterprises are supported by a government that it is possible to carry them out with any continuity. I have nothing, not a word, to say against this Society, and nothing but praise for the members. The Society has most nobly helped the work in Asia Minor for many years, not only by making grants towards the actual travelling, but by the still more difficult and expensive work of supporting the publication. The great work Prof. Ramsay brought out some ten years ago, 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor,' is a monument both to himself and this Society. It is not for me to say one word about public bodies and the character of this Society, but I do wish something could be done by which the Government could be interested in this matter, and could secure to Prof. Ramsay, and people like him, some continuity for their work in a country like Asia Minor.

The PRESIDENT: With regard to the 'Cilician Gates,' isn't it the fact that Ibrahim Pasha opened it up?

Mr. HOGARTH: He opened the passage—made it wider.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH: The only possible claim that I have in any way to say a word upon this paper, is that I have written so much on the movements of the nomads, and that when quite a boy the very first papers that I published were on the "Westerly Drifting of Nomades," in which these same Seljuk Turks filled rather a conspicuous place. I cannot say what I have to say, which will be very short, without expressing my own personal gratitude for the extraordinary precision and clearness and compactness with which so many facts were condensed together in this paper, which was so desperately interesting to all of us. If I may raise one issue, it is more for the purpose of getting an answer from Prof. Ramsay than for any other purpose. The issue I would raise is this, that the civilization and the culture and the fertility of Asia Minor are all on its borders, and that the interior of Asia

Minor is now what it must always have been, very largely indeed, a country in which it was impossible to have a settled people at all—it must always have been a country of nomads. And you will notice a remarkable fact in the map before you, that the only town in the great stretch of country reaching from Sardes to Trebizond is Iconium. From the very earliest times you have had in the centre of Asia Minor, just as you have had in the centre of Spain, which is another case to add to the one that Sir James Bryce mentioned in Mexico, a great plateau where only nomads could really very largely exist; and consequently you find this curious fact—that every great set of invaders who came to Asia Minor plunged themselves into these central districts, and it was from here they made their raids and their conquests of the surrounding districts. It was so, I believe, with those Aryan nomades, the Cimmerians, who in the seventh century B.C. devastated Magnesia and the other coast towns of Asia Minor. The Galatians, who were in a somewhat nomadic state, also planted themselves, not on the coast, but in this same central plateau, and from this they made their invasions until they became more or less settled. It was the same with the later Turks. We must separate these Seljuk Turks from every other kind of Turk. Every beautiful piece of porcelain that comes from Western Asia, in nearly every case I have seen, comes from a Seljuk mosque or a Seljuk building of some kind. It is the fact that they were extremely amenable to a settled life that distinguishes them so absolutely from all the other Turks that one knows anywhere. The Turcomans themselves, who are their first cousins, and who now inhabit the great plateau, when the Seljuk empire was destroyed in 1260, broke up into ten small communities, and one of them became afterwards the great Ottoman empire. It grew out of one of these little fragments. This particular kind of Turk must be differentiated from all others by the fact that they were capable of forming settled communities, that is why they differed from the nomad Arabs. The Arabs had their great towns at Baghdad Damascus, and at Aleppo they had another; but the great mass were Bedouin, who were quite incapable of forming settlements in towns and of forming a great nucleus from which to fight a civilized power like the Byzantines. Also, no doubt, as Mr. Hogarth mentioned, their whole surroundings, the particular kind of camels they had, and the life they had led, made Asia Minor very difficult for them to settle in. We were only recently talking in the coin room of the British Museum of the fact that on many of the Asia Minor coins the camel is represented, but it is always the two-humped camel. In the time of the Greeks there must have been a large number of these camels, because they are so often represented on the coins. I consider the most interesting problem that has to be solved in Asia Minor is for some one like Prof. Ramsay to give us a work on the mythology of this country. It has been the fashion too long and too much to confuse the gods and goddesses of the various provinces of Asia Minor with the corresponding gods and goddesses of Greece by giving them names, sometimes double names, in which the native god or goddess is lost altogether in the Greek prototype, which we know very well. The fact of the matter is that the whole surroundings of this mythology were absolutely different to anything that we have in the Greek world, and there is nothing so misleading as this practice. There is no one who can do the work so well as Prof. Ramsay, if he would give us a monograph on this subject, and I hope he will be able to say he has something of the kind in contemplation. I am sure we all feel exceedingly grateful to him for his paper, and we hope it will only be a very short time before he gives us another.

Prof. RAMSAY: On the effect produced by the nomad Turkmen and other tribes I have laid special stress, while omitting the terrible Mongol raids, partly

because the nomads have not been properly taken into account by any historian (except the original Byzantine writers), so far as I know; but also because the nomads were a permanent and earlier cause, while the destroying hosts of Tamerlane came and went, and the Roman cities which he annihilated might have revived, had not the nomads already isolated them from one another and paralyzed the circulation which makes the blood of the nation vital.

Mr. Hogarth's remarks about the difference in character between the high plateau north of Taurus and the low hot Cilician lands do not seem to me to conflict with anything I have said; they merely lay due emphasis on one of the causes which united to make Taurus a boundary. But his argument that, because the plateau of Asia Minor has usually been subject to an external empire, having its capital further east or further west, therefore that must always have been the case in the earliest times—that is an argument which I cannot accept; and Mr. Hogarth himself has recently been supplying a disproof of his own reasoning. Crete has been insignificant in history for nearly 3000 years; but now, thanks to Mr. Evans and myself, we have perfect corroboration for the Greek belief and myth that Crete was once a great centre of power and civilization. In the circumstances of the period between 3000 and 1000 B.C. (very different from later conditions), Crete and central Asia Minor stood in very different relations to the countries around; and the myths which speak of great kingdoms on the central plateau are confirmed and proved by the imposing ruins of Pteria, an imperial city, not a mere provincial capital.

Sir H. Howarth most justly praises the art of the Seljuk Turks, as I have often done, but there remains much to say as to causes. On the other hand, he has, I venture to think, exaggerated the barrenness and unproductiveness of the great plains of the central plateau. Those plains are marked as "désert salé" on the maps, such as Kiepert's; but this is quite false. The soil is almost everywhere good, and only needs the distribution of the water supply (which is frequently available) to make it a garden. It was covered with towns and even great cities in ancient times. Between Iconium and Trebizond (not to speak of such great cities as the present Kaisari, the ancient Cæsareia-Mazaka) there were many important cities, Justinianopolis, Pteria, Sebastia, Neocæsareia, and a score or more of others. During last summer we found the site of Savatra, containing the ruins of a considerable city, with its own coinage and its theatre, where now it is physically impossible for more than a few nomads to find food and water.

But Sir Henry also has touched on a remarkably interesting subject, the distribution of animals and the relation of that subject to mythology and religion—a subject which I have very briefly alluded to in my rather desultory paper, but about which there is much to say. As he says, we were a few hours ago talking in the British Museum of the Anatolian camel. Now, contrast what he has stated about ancient times with the fact that at the present day the camel of Asia Minor is the one-humped Arabian, not the two-humped Bactrian camel.\* What an amount of history lies in that one contrast! Here I cannot add more, but what is stated about the Anatolian systems of breeding in my 'Impressions of Turkey,' pp. 272-274, is enough to show how much may be expected from proper investigation by a more competent observer in the country. I have often longed for the company of a trained naturalist in Anatolia. In conclusion, I may say that I have long wished that the opportunity might be given me of making a proper study of

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\* The Bactrian camel is used in Anatolia only as a sire, and the offspring of Bactrian sire and Arabian dam is always mule.

the mythology and religion of Asia Minor; and that I am very grateful to Sir H. Howorth for the expression of his interest in that wish. I had written something more in this paper on the relation of land and religion, but had to omit it; and I may flatter myself that what I wrote was on the right lines, because it agreed with the spirit of what Mr. Bryce has said to-night.

In the course of my paper I spoke about my successors, junior to myself, but I omitted to mention, as I intended to do, my predecessors, and especially to say that it is to Sir Charles Wilson that my own explorations in Asia Minor are entirely due. It happened that on the day that my wife and I landed in Asia Minor, now almost twenty-two years ago, Sir Charles Wilson, who was at that time organizing the English Protectorate over Asia Minor, had come to spend two days in Smyrna, and I met him on the day I landed. And it was owing to his example, to his teaching, and to the way in which he invited me to accompany him on two journeys and showed me in practice and in theory the ways of travelling and investigation and surveying—it was entirely due to this cause that my own explorations were directed to that part of the country. I felt it to be unfair to speak only of my successors, and to have omitted entirely to refer to the origin of my own work on the subject.

The PRESIDENT: In closing the discussion, I should like for a moment to refer to the early geographers who have worked in Asia Minor. The greatest geographer this country ever produced, Major Rennell, devoted many years to the study of what could then be known of the geography of Asia Minor in order to elucidate the March of the Ten Thousand and other historical points. The earliest of our modern travellers in Asia Minor was Mr. Hamilton, whose accuracy of observation would be testified to, I am sure, by every one who has gone over his ground, and he was a President of this Society.\* One of our oldest vice-presidents, and the one who was for the greatest number of years vice-president, was Colonel Leake, whom I think Prof. Ramsay mentioned as the greatest of modern topographers. Since his time we have endeavoured to help the work of exploration in Asia Minor, and the result has been Prof. Ramsay's great work on the geography of the country, and his paper this evening, which I cannot help feeling is the forerunner of something much more detailed in every branch of the subject, which I am sure we all hope may appear in the course of time. The paper is full of suggestiveness—nearly every paragraph makes you want to know more on that particular point, and therefore I think we may hope that before many years have passed we shall have more complete information from Prof. Ramsay on each point that he has touched upon in the paper. I think it must have struck us all how very much history owes to accurate topography. In Prof. Ramsay's paper he spoke of that secondary Paphlagonian valley, the history of which can only be elucidated by the study of its topography, and still more that glen which he mentioned, and which, as I understood him, is the key to an accurate knowledge of the March of the Ten Thousand. It was always a puzzle in what direction Xenophon marched until that particular glen was discovered, when the whole story became perfectly clear. There are one or two other instances in the paper showing the great importance, as Mr. Bryce has pointed out, that accurate geographical knowledge is to any one who wishes to elucidate or understand history, and especially ancient history. But the subject is full of interest, and I am sure you will all wish to pass a cordial vote of thanks to Prof. Ramsay for his paper this evening.

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\* Hamilton is styled "the prince of travellers in Asia Minor" by Prof. Ramsay.



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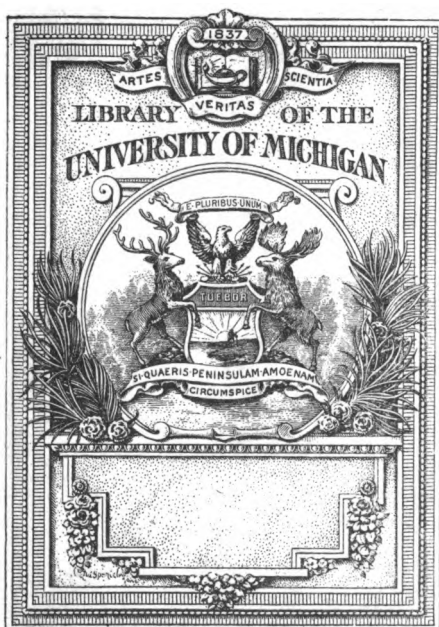
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# The education of Christ

Sir William Mitchell  
Ramsay





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By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L.

Professor of Humanity in Aberdeen  
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IN MEMORY OF  
MY MOTHER



## PREFACE

**I**N a form much abbreviated to suit the due limits, Chapters I.-V. and VIII. of this book formed the Murtle Lecture in the University of Aberdeen, on 2nd February, 1902.

The lecture—not really a lecture, but rather the dream of a student's life—was given only with reluctance and much diffidence, in deference to the wishes of those who are responsible for the lectures. It is published now, in an improved but still imperfect form, at the wish of my friend Dr. Robertson Nicoll (from whose advice I have on other

occasions gained much), in the hope that, such as it is, it may be not altogether devoid of interest for a wider audience, if such it should find.

The pertinence and, one might almost say, the necessity of the additions, Prologue and Chapters VI.-VII., will probably be evident to every reader.

It is right to add that part of the first chapter is taken with slight modification from a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society in London, 10th March, 1902, on the influence of geographical conditions on the history and religion of Asia Minor (to be published in the *Geographical Journal*, September, 1902), also that Chapters III. and V. are adapted and improved from a paper contributed at the request and suggestion of my friend the editor, Mr. C. G. Trumbull of



Philadelphia, U.S., to the *Sunday School Times*, 10th February, 1900, on the influence which the surroundings of Nazareth exercised on the mind of Christ.

To avoid criticism it may be explained, that though for brevity's sake I have spoken of Nain as if it were on the site of the modern village at the foot of the hill, yet there can be little doubt that the ancient city was on the top. If I may express an opinion, Nain seems to have more claim than Safed, which is probably a purely modern town, to be the "city set on a hill".

W. M. RAMSAY.

KING'S COLLEGE,  
ABERDEEN, 1st Sept. 1902.



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## PROLOGUE.

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## PROLOGUE

### THE POWER OF THE GREAT PLAINS



## PROLOGUE.

### THE POWER OF THE GREAT PLAINS.

**I**N view of the high importance which in the following pages is attributed to natural surroundings and geographical conditions as an educative influence on the mind of Jesus and on all mankind—an importance which some may consider exaggerated—it seems right to incorporate in this preliminary chapter some justificatory and explanatory remarks, and to draw them from the writer's own experience. It is only fair to make clear in the beginning the prepossessions—it may be prejudices—which are inherent in the ensuing chapters, especially as they contain, not any formal argument or exposition, but merely the impressions and dreams of an individual.

For example, the writer takes the view in a later chapter that the unresponsiveness of



Renan's mind to the interest and historic grandeur of Jerusalem was a natural concomitant and symptom of his inability to comprehend the width of outlook and of sympathy that characterised Jesus: accordingly the great French scholar's picture of that *âme tendre et délicate du Nord* remains a sentimental fancy and never approaches historic reality. Had his intellect been free to respond sympathetically to the spirit of the country, he would have seen the life and understood the spirit of Jesus differently; but he began to study with alienated sympathies, and could see neither rightly.

Such a criticism may be condemned as springing from mere prejudice. Doubtless many will consider that so learned, *spirituel* and eloquent a scholar as Renan must have been able to judge Jerusalem aright, and that one who does not possess a tithe of Renan's knowledge of its history ought not to presume to criticise his capacities and his work. Those who judge thus would not be likely to agree

with the views which are stated in the following chapters, if they should read them.

Yet those prepossessions—or prejudices—are but a slow growth.

I look back on the reading of Renan's *Vie de Jésus* in early college days as one of the great pleasures of my youth, and am grateful to that brilliant writer for stimulation of intellect and new thoughts. Anything that I say in criticism is only the outcome of more than thirty years of meditation about questions which were in my mind when I read the book, and have never been long absent, but have kept recurring during watches by night and work by day, on land and on sea. As I pondered over the problems of Anatolian history and topography, during long marches over the plains of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, or in riding from village to village over the bare, gently swelling hills of Phrygia, those other questions kept their place and claimed attention. Ideas which began in the reading of T. H. Green's *Witness of God*, while I was

reading for the Final Schools in Oxford, gradually shaped and remodelled and rearranged themselves; and at last were compacted and cemented in the educative experience of a ten days' ride from Damascus to Jerusalem.

Most of all it has been the experience of the impressive vastness and uniformity and unvaryingness, monotone not monotonous, of the Central Anatolian plateau that has influenced the thoughts here expressed. It is impossible for any one to live or to travel long in those level solitudes without having his mind and thought profoundly affected by them. The strange and indescribable charm which they exert on every explorer will be attested by many, who may not share in all the views which I express.

Some people are more sensitive than others to the influence of those impressive solitudes. The power that lives in them speaks to men in different ways; but it influences—whether they are conscious of it or not—all men

and all nations that come within its range. To those who are accustomed to gain their knowledge of the world through observation of natural phenomena, mainly by the eye, that power will address itself through the eye. To those whose life is spent in thinking over problems of history and philosophy and scholarship it will reveal itself accordingly. But when you attempt to define or express the subtle influence that the great plains exercise, it eludes description and defies analysis. You see it in history ; you become aware of it in life ; but you cannot seize it.

I must turn to the form of literature in which some of the deepest thought and most acute observation of nature at the present time seeks expression—prose fiction—in order to find an attempt to give body to the spirit of which I speak. Some years ago I was struck with the vivid yet delicate sensitiveness to the life and power of nature, shown in the following paragraphs of a story by Mr. Owen Rhoscomyl, the scene of which was laid

on the Western Prairies of America. They expressed what I had long been in search of, and what I had found no other writer to express.

Appearing in the lightest pages of one of the lightest popular magazines of the day, the Christmas number of the *Idler*, in some year about 1895, the story, grim and realistic, stood out very impressively from its somewhat frivolous surroundings, as the brief, compact utterance of a life's experience. One felt immediately that the author had lived in the scene of his story, and that the paragraphs which are quoted in the following pages contained no fanciful fiction, but were transcribed from the book of reality.

I was at the time groping to find analogies in the ordinary life of the common average man to the experience of St. Paul, when *as he was come nigh unto Damascus, there shined round about him a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun.* In Mr. Rhoscomyl's paragraphs I seemed to listen to the account

of such an incident. The author was known to me only as the writer of romances about Wales and Welshmen ; but I recognised at once that he must have lived for years on the plains, in order to become so saturated with their spirit as to give it such free and compressed utterance. Taking the liberty of writing to him, I learned that my impression as to the life and experience of the writer, and as to the intention and meaning of the paragraphs, was entirely correct, and that the analogy, which I had caught as I read, was in the author's thoughts as he wrote ; and he kindly permitted me to make use of his words for my purpose.

One must remember that the incident described in the paragraphs which follow is not taken from the life of a sentimental or excitable race, but from the experience of a class, who are as cool, hardy, self-reliant and reckless as any men in the world—the cow-boys of the Prairies.

*Two days ago he was riding back, alone,*

*in the afternoon, from an unsuccessful search after strayed horses, and suddenly, all in the lifting of a hoof, the weird prairie had gleamed into eerie life, had dropped the veil and spoken to him; while the breeze stopped, and the sun stood still for a flash in waiting for his answer. And he, his heart in a grip of ice, the frozen flesh a-crawl with terror upon his loosened bones, white-lipped and wide-eyed with frantic fear, uttered a yell of horror as he dashed the spurs into his panic-stricken horse, in a mad endeavour to escape from the Awful Presence that filled all earth and sky from edge to edge of vision.*

*Then, almost in the same flash, the unearthly light died out of the dim prairie, the veil swept across into place again; and he managed to check his wild flight, and look about him. His empty lips were jibbering without a sound escaping them, and his very heart shivered with cold, for all the brassy heat of the day. But the breeze was wandering on again; under the great sun the prairie spread dim to the south-*

*west, and tawny to the north-east; only between his own loose knees the horse trembled in every limb, and mumbled the bit with dry mouth. All was as before in earth and sky, apparently, but not in his own self. It was as if his spirit stood apart from him, putting questions which he could not answer, and demanding judgment upon problems which he dare not reason out.*

*Then he remembered what this thing was which had happened. The prairie had spoken to him, as sooner or later it spoke to most men that rode it. It was a something well known amongst them, but known without words, and as by a subtle instinct, for no man who had experienced it ever spoke willingly about it afterwards. Only the man would be changed; some began to be more reckless, as if a dumb blasphemy rankled hidden in their breasts. Others, coming with greater strength perhaps to the ordeal, became quieter, looking squarely at any danger as they faced it, but continuing ahead as though quietly confident that nothing happened save as the gods ordained.*



If I consulted the author, it was not that I needed any confirmation of my first impression, or any assurance that this passage is no fanciful piece of fiction, like the introduction of ghostly apparitions, and strange premonitions, and the rest of the stock-in-trade of the ordinary story-teller. One recognises the spirit of the great level plains in that remarkable effort of description, just as certainly as, when one stands

Where the long green reed-beds sway  
In the rippled waters grey  
Of that solitary lake  
Where Mæander's springs are born ;  
Where the ridged pine-wooded roots  
Of Messogis westward break,

and reads the various descriptions given of that famous scene by different authors, one knows that Strabo had been there, but that neither Herodotus nor Matthew Arnold had ever seen the spot, and one recognises what Arnold has gathered from Strabo. But you need reasons and external authority before you

can state to the world what you know with inward certainty.

The physical effects which the author describes are, of course, special to the individual, in whom deep feeling finds outward expression after the fashion that belongs to his own idiosyncrasy. So, too, the perception of the influence is accomplished through the sense of sight, but this also is an accident of the individual temperament. The reality of the phenomenon consists in the consciousness, too suddenly awakened, of the Divine nature that lives in the vast world around him. He has seen, and he knows, as by one of those *flashes struck from midnights*, those *fire-flames noondays kindle*, those *moments*

Sure though seldom,  
When the spirit's true endowments  
Stand out plainly from its false ones.

The Divine power has manifested itself to him, and he can never again lose the knowledge, nor live the unthinking and free life of former days. That consciousness, from which he can never

escape, which he cannot doubt or disown before his own soul, is a power within him, driving him on to his destined fate. He struggles against it, and rebels ; but it is all in vain.

Not essentially dissimilar are the terms in which Virgil describes Apollo's prophetic terms somewhat fanciful, but modelled on some older account of the prophetic frenzy :—

And as before the doors in view  
She stands, her visage pales its hue,  
Her locks dishevelled fly,  
Her breath comes thick, her wild heart glows,  
Dilating as the madness grows,  
As breathing nearer and more near  
The God comes rushing on his seer.  
The seer impatient of control  
Raves in the cavern vast,  
And madly struggles from her soul  
The incumbent power to cast :  
He, mighty Master, plies the more  
Her foaming mouth, all chafed and sore,  
Tames her wild heart with plastic hand,  
And makes her docile to command.

The agony, the struggle and the suffering spring from the resistance of the untutored,

half-savage soul to the Divine message. Far different is it with a nature like that which animated the great Hebrew prophets, to which the Divine message comes as the welcome longed-for guide of a soul in search of it, already educated into eagerness to listen and to obey.

What must especially be emphasised is that in this case, which Mr. Rhoscomyl has portrayed as a typical and representative one, the physical experience, the affection of the sense of sight, which forms the method of manifestation, is no mere trivial or fanciful misinterpretation of the phenomena of nature. It is the outward concomitant of the soul's perception, in a case where the soul cannot be reached without some such impression of the senses. The man cannot grasp the idea except through the senses, and especially the sense of sight, in which all his work and life have moved. He has been accustomed to live by the eye, to trust to it, to stake his life daily on its quickness and certainty, to learn almost

exclusively through it. Nothing can sufficiently impress him with its reality except through the sight. But his eye is as quick and true as the eagle's. He knows that it can make no mistake : no more than a woodman can mistake an oak for an elm : what it shows him is for him real.

But to describe what he has seen, and to make another understand how he has gained his knowledge, there lies the impossible. The best that can be done in the way of description, either in the case of Saul or of that Prairie rider, will always seem to many to contain an element of diseased and fanciful error.

But those who have known know. What seems to be distempered in the language arises only from the inadequacy of human expression to paint the truth. Every description must make use of metaphor and analogy and sensuous imagery to express what is essentially above the level of ordinary experience. Hence all such attempts at expression must be read

with sympathetic understanding and with a firm resolution not to bind down the meaning to the exact and strict limits of the imperfect terms which are employed.

When the Divine power manifests itself to man, he knows it, and it becomes to him a possession for ever, to rule in him or to destroy him : there is no middle way. When it has revealed itself to others, we recognise the truth by its effect on them ; but we cannot understand in what way the Divine truth has revealed itself to them, nor can they explain the process to us.

But only the arrogant self-satisfaction, which makes one's own narrow range of power and knowledge the measure of all things, which disbelieves and derides everything in another that is unfamiliar to oneself, will depreciate the experience which is dimly and figuratively described in the words just quoted.

Although, however, the individual case eludes us, and mocks all attempt to understand or to measure it, we can trace this

influence more certainly and picture it more definitely in the history of a race, through the accumulating experience of generations ; for every country has its special character, and influences its inhabitants in its own way.

In Anatolia, on the vast plains of the Central Plateau, we have a country which shows considerable analogy to, along with certain differences from, that where the paragraphs which have been quoted found their origin. On those great level plains the spirit of man seems to be separated from the world by the mountains which shut it off from the sea, and thus to be thrown back on its own nature ; but it is not confined, for the idea of confinement is absolutely alien to that vast expanse, where the sole limit to the range of the human eye seems to be its own weakness of vision, where a distant mountain-peak only emphasises the sense of vastness, inasmuch as it furnishes a standard by which to estimate distance. The great eye of heaven, unwearying, unchanging, inexorable, watches you from

its rising over the level horizon till it sinks below the same level again. You breathe an atmosphere of inevitable acquiescence in the Infinite Power which is around you, all-pervasive and compelling. The sense of individuality and personal power grows weak and shrinks away, not daring to show itself in the human consciousness.

The phases of the year co-operate in this effect, with a long severe winter and a shorter but hot summer. Where water pours forth in one of the many great springs which give birth to strong-flowing rivers, the country is a garden ; but otherwise the fertile soil is dependent entirely on the chances of an uncertain rainfall, unless man follows the teaching of the ancient Anatolian religion and practises irrigation. The steadily blowing north wind tempers the heat, and the harvester trusts to it with perfect confidence to winnow his grain on the threshing-floor.

Everything impresses on the mind the utter insignificance of man, and his absolute de-



pendence on the Divine power and the Divine teaching. The peasant of the present day still calls every great life-giving spring "God-hath-given" (*Huda-Verdi*).

But the Divine power that was so evident was not the stern, pitiless power of the hard desert. The desert can inspire in man only resignation before the fate which is always overhanging him but always incalculable, which he can neither guard against nor prepare for, but must accept when it comes upon him. Islam with its fatalistic acquiescence is the growth that must spring from the desert.

The Anatolian people saw the nature of the land, rich and full of good things to those who accepted the divinely revealed method, and cared for the holy-soil and the sacred animals, as the goddess, their mother and patron, required. St. Paul, with his usual unerring insight into the character of his audience, spoke to the rude Lycaonian peasants about the God "*who did good, and*

*gave rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling the heart with food and gladness”.*

Hence sprang a religion of patience and docility, but a religion of work, not of dumb acquiescence in presence of an inevitable and unknowable fate. The reward could be calculated on. The order of nature could be understood, and man could adapt himself to it: the way was mapped out for him in the prescriptions of a religion which had fashioned itself for him in the country. It was a religion of peace and toil, of obedience and plasticity, which might have developed to higher forms in a state of continued peace; but the country lay in the track of armies.

One feature in the Anatolian religion rises before us prominent and characteristic at the first glance. The custom familiar in other countries is that God is called the Father of all mankind and all life. Such is the almost universal European and Semitic expression. But it was the motherhood of the Divine nature that was the great feature in the

Anatolian worship. The male element in the Divine nature was recognised only as an occasional and subsidiary actor in the drama of nature and of life. The life of man came from the great Mother; the heroes of the land were the sons of the goddess, and at death they returned to the mother who bore them. It was the Mother Goddess who nourished her people, guided them through life, taught them how to cultivate her land and to breed and train her sacred animals to their use, and at last received them back to herself.

In the history of the land the same impression remains: it is everywhere the most pathetic of histories. Not vigour and initiative, but receptivity and impressibility, swayed the spirit of the people, marked their fate, and breathed through the atmosphere that surrounded them—a continuous, barely perceptible force acting on every new people, and subtly influencing every new religion, that came into the land. For example, the

earliest known trace of the veneration of the Virgin Mary in the Christian religion is in a Phrygian inscription of the second century ; and the earliest example of a holy place consecrated to the Mother of God as already an almost Divine personality is at Ephesus early in the fifth century.

For the student of the country and history, it is always necessary to go back to that religious susceptibility, to recognise it as the originator of all racial life and of all social forms, and as a continuous force acting throughout the development of the country. He observes, point by point, and detail after detail, the natural characteristics of soil and climate giving form and content to the religious myths and beliefs and institutions of the inhabitants, in spite of all outward changes.

In the city of Ephesus an example may be found of this principle. Mr. Wood spent six years searching for the site of the Temple of Artemis, and at last he found it exactly where

it ought to be, a mile north-east from the Greek city, beside the little hill on the top of which was built the great church of St. John, and on the lowest slope of which still stands the splendid old mosque of Isa Bey. The historical process is obvious, since Mr. Wood's discovery disclosed it. The dominant Christian religion had to claim for itself the sanctity attaching to the ancient site, and it did so by building that great church overlooking the temple. But Christianity gave place to Mohammedanism, and again this new religion made itself heir to the religious associations and holiness of the locality by constructing between the two older religious sites one of the largest and most splendid mosques in the whole country.

In the history of Ephesus and in the history of the whole country there is never any continuity either national or municipal, no unity of racial or religious development. The one thread of continuity consists in the religious susceptibility, which the scene and atmosphere

of the land implant in man. That state of feeling is far more deeply seated than creed or ceremonial : it is, as it were, the half-articulate substratum on which religion may be built up. But it has found no development from within : it has only been modified under impulses from without. It has remained almost wholly inarticulate and elementary ; but still it remains, hardly varying under many successive religious forms, exercising no inconsiderable influence even on Islam, which is itself too elementary to be easily modified ; and it always attracts the popular awe and reverence to the same holy places, which were recognised thousands of years ago as those where man came nearest to, and was most readily influenced by, God. Cities grow up and decay and are replaced by new cities on new sites, which in their turn pass into ruin as changes of sea-shore and river-course alter the conditions that favour municipal prosperity ; but the Divine never changes, and its favoured abodes remain the same.

A power like that, originating freely and spontaneously in the nature of the country, and breathed in its atmosphere, must be essentially right and true. Though it may be imperfectly understood by man, it is the Divine voice : it is a revelation of the Divine nature. What it has lacked is the opportunity of development. The historian will study the reasons and the causes ; but the fact is obvious that there has been only a process of degeneration, that the first stage was best, that the revelation stopped almost at its beginning. The changes that have occurred have been forced from without, not springing freely from the inner conditions. There has been no succession of seers to hear the Divine voice with increasing clearness and completeness ; but there has been a succession through the ages of invaders, of barbarous armies sweeping over the country, of foreign conquest and domination, of forced immigration ; there has been a frequently recurring state of uncertainty and danger, of helpless exposure to irresistible

attack and massacre ; and these causes have prevented the needed formation and strengthening of national character, while they have frequently introduced foreign religions in the debased form in which the superstitious minds of a brutal and undisciplined Oriental soldiery could conceive them.

Religion to be true must be constantly growing. It cannot become stagnant without falsifying itself. The nation which does not increase in its power of interpreting the Divine purpose, and fails to produce a succession of listeners to and interpreters of the Divine voice, has become dead to the Divine message. In that country, where a true national character has never been allowed scope to develop, the history of religion has been one of degradation and of increase in the polytheistic spirit, which constitutes an infallible index of growing insensibility to the Divine nature. You learn there more clearly than in any other country that religion cannot be real and permanent except through the



continuous revelation of the Divine nature to man.

That is the general principle which years of study have shown me as ruling in the history of the land. And, if it rules in the people, that is because it affects first of all the individual man.

**CHAPTER I**  
**ON A MOUNTAIN TOP**



## CHAPTER I.

### ON A MOUNTAIN TOP.

IN the outset of the public career of Jesus stands the remarkable incident of the Temptation. The authority obviously is the account given of it by Himself to the disciples ; and we are told that “ *without a parable spake He not to them* ”. How far the details partake of the nature of parable, intended to make transcendental truth intelligible to the simple fishermen, we cannot precisely tell, and no man ought to dogmatise.

But no one doubts—no one can doubt—as to the essential truth that lies under the narrative.

Jesus had begun His life ignorant of His nature and His destiny, an unthinking infant. He had “ *grown in wisdom and stature* ”.

He had gradually attained, in thirty years of education, in work and in thought, to a clear conception of His mission, of the career that lay before Him and its ultimate issue. Such a career can be entered on only by one who has fully weighed it all, and counted the cost, and voluntarily, deliberately, with his eyes open, taken on him the burden of that great and terrible life and death.

During that period in which Jesus was contemplating in the solitude of the desert the life that lay before Him, an alternative presented itself to His mind, and engaged His attention for a time, and exercised a certain attraction on Him, but was decisively rejected. He was tempted to swerve from the career which He had chosen ; but His firm resolve proved superior to the temptation.

Jesus afterwards related the story to His followers in such language as they could understand. It is surely alien to His nature to suppose that He imparted this narrative to them in order to show how infinitely superior

He was to the temptations that beset ordinary men, and how far the motives which appealed to them were from exercising any attraction on Him. An incident narrated in that spirit could only show that He stood far aloof from the difficulties and trials of common men.

Surely the purpose is plain in that story. Jesus felt the force of temptation, and it needed a distinct effort of will and resolution for Him to resist it. He was placed in a position where a real choice between alternative courses had to be made.

Those who were placed very near Him and in actual contact with His immediate followers, recognised that truth. As the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has said, "*He Himself hath suffered being tempted*": He "*hath been in all points tempted like as we are,*" and hence He "*can be touched with the feeling of our weaknesses*".

Nor can it be imagined that this was the first and only time when Jesus felt the attraction of some other possible career in life

Temptation does not come only once to a man; nor did it come only once to the Son of Man. But to every man of strong character there comes the last temptation—when the alternative which has been attracting him away from his true career is decisively rejected, and ceases for ever to tempt him. A great step in the development of his character is then achieved. Other difficulties may and will beset him, but that one weakness at least has been transformed into strength.

This final Temptation is the one which has been recorded for us at the opening of the career of Jesus. As the Greek poet Simonides has said: "*It is hard to show oneself a good man*"; and this remarkable narrative reveals to us that the same difficulty which besets all men had to be surmounted by Jesus. It was not without a struggle—a process of temptation and the resisting of temptation—that He finally chose the good and refused the less good.

But observe the character of that Tempta-

tion. The motives which had some power over His mind were not such as appeal to a vulgar or an uneducated and slow nature : they were of the higher type, likely to fascinate a noble, generous, ardent intellect, which had thought deeply and aimed high, a mind of the really educated type.

It was the sense of power, the aspiration to do something great and to achieve some remarkable exhibition of moral or intellectual ascendancy, that the Tempter appealed to. Even the mere physical craving for food after a long fast was presented before the mind of Jesus as an opportunity of exercising His power over nature.

In the Temptation *the devil taketh Him unto an exceeding high mountain and sheweth Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them*. Only the dullest and most witless of critics will make the objection that it is impossible to see all the kingdoms of the world from any mountain. The man whose temptation came in this form was one to whom



the wide prospect of a great stretch of country was inspiring and creative, revealing far more than the eye beholds, lifting the mind on the wings of imagination to a far-reaching outlook over history and time, and suggesting a vision of the authority and glory of a world-wide empire.

In the whole narrative, as most readers probably will agree, the detail which most clearly partakes of the nature of parable is the promise which the Tempter held out on the summit of the mountain : "*All these things will I give Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship me*". The career of ambition and worldly power is metaphorically expressed as the worship of Satan ; but to the disciples, ignorant and simple as they were, that career had to be presented in a flash of description and condemnation, such as would cut its way into their minds.

The man who was tempted by those suggestions and methods was one who had thought much. He had surveyed in imagina-

tion all the kingdoms of the world ; and the view of the mighty opportunities open to surpassing intellect and high aims had occupied His mind and exercised a certain fascination over it. To that fascination the Tempter appealed ; and Jesus deliberately and finally chose a spiritual kingdom and the power of truth. He had considered the world and its facts ; and He had estimated all things at their true and eternal value.

How then had He gained this wide outlook over the kingdoms of the world ? The more one knows of the dull, narrow, insensate nature of the Oriental peasant, the more must one wonder at the breadth and ardour of mind that is revealed in the Temptation, and the more eagerly must one try to imagine the influences which had educated that unique personality.

As one reads the biography of Jesus, one cannot fail to be struck with the effect that seems to have been exercised on His mind and nature by the wide prospect from a

lofty elevation. Try to cut out the mountain scenes from His life. How much poorer would the Gospels be.

It was on a mountain at dawn of day that He chose from among His disciples twelve, whom also He named Apostles, "*that He might send them forth to preach and to have authority*".

When He was in Jerusalem, His life was divided between the Mount of Olives and the Temple. The Temple was the focus of Hebrew life and religious feeling: the Mount of Olives was the one point close to Jerusalem where He could find a wide prospect and a quiet moment to enjoy the recuperative influences of nature. Every day He was teaching in the Temple, but after the day's work He always retired to the Mount. When on His last journey He approached Jerusalem from the east, and came in sight of it, as He crossed the shoulder of the Mount, the sudden prospect of that marvellous view over the city drew

from Him His lamentation over the terrible fate that should soon befall it.

His most characteristic discourse was the sermon on another mountain, beside the Sea of Galilee.

The Transfiguration took place on a mountain summit.

It was on a mountain in Galilee that the final instructions were given to the Apostles to *go into all the world, and make disciples of all the nations.*

And similarly, in the present case, the climax of His temptation lay in the vision of worldly power that was suggested by the view from "an exceeding high mountain". The climax is spoiled in the order of Luke's narrative, in which this temptation is put second in order of the three; and we must beyond a doubt prefer the order of the temptations as Matthew describes them.

In the career of Christ the last scene is a suitable balance to the first. The crisis of the first turned on the survey of worldly

power and glory from a mountain top. The climax of the last is the mission of the Apostles from the Galilean mountain to enter into possession of the whole world. In the correspondence of the two scenes there is that perfect propriety which characterises the whole of the biography of Jesus: the arrangement, so entirely natural and unstudied, has the perfection of consummate art.

Passages like these press on us the idea that a notable side to the character of Jesus lay in His poetic and imaginative susceptibility to the influences of natural scenery. This susceptibility did not take the form merely of a liking for the picturesque, which seems to be rather a fashionable idol of the modern mind than a deep-seated craving of the human spirit. It was the suggestiveness of a wide prospect, the stimulation of the mind accompanying the outlook from a point of vantage, which moved the nature of Jesus, and was probably a strong influence in determining His education.

Surely there is no one among us who has grown up without experiencing the apparent quickening of the pulse, the stronger beating of the heart, the exaltation to a higher plane of feeling, that affect one as he looks over some of the striking prospects in our own land, where historical associations and natural beauty unite to quicken one's patriotism and ennoble one's nature.

That experience in all of us I presume as a point to start from.

I shall not recite an essay on schools and educational methods in ancient Palestine. Information on those subjects is accessible in the biblical encyclopædias and the histories of that period. A man's education lies not in what is common to all, but in what is special to himself. It lies in the use which he resolves to make of the opportunities which the law of his nation or the custom of society or the generosity of some benefactor opens to him.

When sometimes a day-dream or a vision

seems to offer a momentary glimpse into the education of Christ, one thinks of Him on a lofty eminence. Such a dream I will venture to relate to you.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **AT NAZARETH**





## CHAPTER II.

### AT NAZARETH.

NEARLY four years ago the governing body of this University permitted me to take advantage of the only opportunity that has ever come to me of seeing the chief places in which the life of Jesus was spent. Without that experience I do not think that any one is equipped to speak or write about ancient history to the highest height of his own powers, such as they are.

I spent a long Sunday afternoon at the village of Nain in the company of one friend, who was sympathetic and responsive to the influences of nature. We ascended the steep slope of Mount Moreh, on the skirts of which the village stands, and beheld the wide prospect over the plain of Esdraelon or

(45)

Megiddo, that great valley which runs right across Palestine from the Mediterranean Sea on the west to the River Jordan eight hundred feet below sea-level on the east, dividing that mountainous land as by a deep trench or chasm, on the north of which is the hill-country of Galilee, and on the south are the hills of Samaria rising still further south to Mount Ephraim and the highlands of Judah.

We read the touching story of the Widow's son, the story which has made Nain familiar to every educated person so long as the world shall last. We looked out over that great plain of Megiddo, which lay outstretched before us, to Mount Tabor a few miles north, and to Mount Carmel far away to the west, and between them we looked towards Nazareth, from which we had just come, and we could catch a glimpse of its highest-lying buildings over the intervening hills on the northern edge of the great plain.

Then we read the brilliant pages in which Professor George Adam Smith has described

that plain of Megiddo ; and there came to me the thoughts which I shall try to express to you in words too halting and insufficient—words in which some ideas are caught from the eloquent paragraphs of the book which we had just been reading.

Nazareth lies deep in a rounded hollow among the hills of southern Galilee. Its houses cluster in the depths of the hollow around the Fountain of the Virgin, or climb in straggling, haphazard order up the hillsides. The day before, coming from the Sea of Galilee by way of Cana, we had looked down from the northern edge into the cup where Nazareth lay, in its isolation and seclusion, quiet and restful, apparently cut off entirely from the world, "*alike unknowing and unknown*".

That first impression had been intensified when we went down into the hollow and looked up to the encompassing hills, a narrow, unbroken circle, like a barrier defending Nazareth from the world, seeming to repress

the tendency to wander or to travel, and to throw the inhabitants back on their own company and their own thoughts. One felt that, in a child who was naturally inclined towards meditation, this inclination would inevitably be strengthened and confirmed, as he grew up in Nazareth. But one also felt that the surroundings seemed too narrow, and there was a danger lest, in that little hollow amid the rather featureless and monotonous succession of bare hills through which we had come to Nazareth, the sympathetic and responsive mind of such a child as we have thought about might be cramped and hardened and starved from want of suggestion in the scenes around him. The satirical question of the Jews, whether any good thing could come out of Nazareth, began to assume a new meaning in our minds. It did not seem easy to understand how history had given an affirmative answer to that question.

But when, a few hours later, we proceeded on our journey southwards, we quickly

realised that our first impression of Nazareth had been incomplete and misleading. We crossed the summit of the hills that shut in the little town on the south ; and immediately what a scene lay before us. Before us lay the great plain of Megiddo, and opposite us from the southern edge of the plain rose the mountain-land of central Palestine. Away to the right we saw Mount Carmel, closing the valley on the west and dividing it from the plain of Sharon. On the left the eastern view was closed and the plain was narrowed by Mount Tabor, Mount Moreh (round whose slopes lay Nain, Endor, Shunem and Jezreel) and Mount Gilboa. Nowhere, not even from the summit of the Mount of Olives, with Jerusalem before and the Dead Sea behind, has the historian or the philosophic thinker a more inspiring and impressive view than that from the brow south of Nazareth.

To the young Jewish boy of that ancient time every corner of the great valley, every rising ground of the surrounding hills, was

filled with memories of a mighty past and the lessons in patriotism and religion that they conveyed, filled too with stirring and impressive sights of the present, and suggesting visions of the future.

And so the young Jew of Nazareth looks over the valley towards the hills which contain and conceal Samaria and Jerusalem, Bethel and Bethlehem, with the eyes of intelligence and sympathy and fascination. Every name and every scene is full of meaning to him. The past history of his people lives before him as he looks around.

On Mount Carmel Elijah is pitted as a solitary champion against the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal ; and with him is God, and victory.

Over there in the front of the Samaritan hills is Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddo, where the mourning has become a proverb in Israel, since Josiah for once disregarded the message of God, and was defeated and slain at the first charge of the Egyptian army.

To the east, on Mount Tabor, Deborah the prophetess from the south meets Barak with his warriors of the north, and before them far and wide extends the large Canaanite host which holds all the great plain ; and the men of the hill-tribes, resolute to maintain the national religion, cut through the centre of the enemy, while the stars in their courses fight against Sisera, the storm makes the great plain into a marsh where their chariots of iron only impede and disorder the Canaanite ranks, and the Kishon swollen high with rain sweeps them away in its torrent waters.

Further to the east, between Mount Tabor and Mount Moreh, is Endor, where King Saul played a game against the powers of the world of death, in violation of the law that he had himself enacted, staking his honour and his religion and his kingdom and his life, and losing everything. And there, a few miles further south, divided from the narrow ridge of Mount Moreh by the deep and narrow Vale of Jezreel, is Mount Gilboa, where the



last scene is being played : on the mountain is arrayed the whole host of Israel, while below them in the Vale of Jezreel are the victorious Philistines, out of sight at first but emerging as they win their way round and up the mountain. The advantage in position, in experience of generalship, and in personal bravery, is lost by the king who had ceased to trust himself or to be true to his religion.

Almost in the same place the Three Hundred, with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, drive before them the invading host of the Midianites in midnight panic.

There lies Jezreel, the scene of so much of Israel's glory and crime. There is the vineyard of Naboth. Behind it the Vale of Jezreel runs away down to the Jordan ; at its foot, far down behind Mount Moreh—not in sight from this point, but a longer excursion towards Jezreel has made you able to call it up in memory—the grim fortress of Bethshan rises in the distance *like a ship at sea*, and the heads

of Saul and Jonathan are fastened on its walls. Up that sloping Vale the rebel Jehu has driven furiously, and he comes into view at the summit beside Jezreel. You know him by the pace that he drives at, and you know the fate which awaits the royal family that led the kingdom astray.

That valley of Megiddo, a great cleft across the country, was the natural road from the coast to the east ; and there the never-ending battle between light and darkness, between good and evil, was still being fought, as it had been in the past, and would be in the future. The barbarism of primitive savagery invaded the land with the Bedouin tribes of the east. The barbarism of too precocious civilisation, with its reckless pursuit of pleasure and money and power, came up from the sea with the Phœnicians and the Romans.

The boy watched the Roman travellers, merchants, messengers, soldiers, officials, going east and returning west ; he heard much about the glory and power of the great Empire, the

oppressor of the Hebrews, which kept its garrison even in the Holy City, and made the high priests of Jerusalem its slaves. Nazareth was to him like a hermitage beside a great centre of life : he could pass in a few moments from the quiet seclusion of his home into full view of the busy world, and then retire again to peace.

And, as the past had been, so the future would be. The valley of Megiddo, as any thoughtful mind could foresee, would hereafter be the scene of as great battles as had ever been fought there.

The event has already justified the anticipation. Mohammedanism there waged the decisive wars against Christianity—battles more decisive than the capture of Jerusalem itself—whether against the defenders of the Byzantine faith and government, or against the invasion of the crusaders from the west. Napoleon won a victory in the valley under Mount Tabor, just where Deborah and Barak had fought ; but his victory was the last

effort of human genius fighting against impossible conditions, and was almost immediately followed by retreat.

And then—last scene of all—when the “*unclean spirits of evil go forth unto the kings of the world to gather them together unto the war of the great day,*” where else could the Jewish child foresee that the battle must be fought except in that plain? And so, in the vision in the Isle of Patmos, many years later, one of the disciples of that Child looked upon the preparations for that great battle, and he saw that “the kings of the whole world had gathered them together into the place which is called in Hebrew Ar-Megiddo”. Would that detail ever have taken the exact form in which it is set down in the Revelation, if the childhood of Jesus had not been nourished on the study of history as it was revealed to Him in the view from the brow of the hill at Nazareth?

One cannot but ask whether we may here recognise in the Apocalypse the echo of one

of the lessons, not otherwise recorded, in which Jesus educated His disciples by parable and apologue, in history and in insight, so that, immediately after His death, the highest and best-trained intellects in the nation "*marvelled*" at their words, and "*took knowledge of them that they had been with Jesus*"?

Either that : or else the minds of all the Hebrews had become so familiar with the historic importance of Megiddo, that any of their prophets who looked into the future would naturally see in that valley the theatre of the great battle of the nations.

Most impressive of all to the young Jew of Nazareth was the fact that he should be standing there, and not in his own family home in the distant land of Judah at Bethlehem. Israel had deserted God, and the issue had been that the Galilean hills and the great plain of Megiddo had passed from them ; and for a time there was not a Hebrew in Galilee of the Gentiles. Then the southern Jews, who had remained true to their religion, began to settle in that

pleasant northern land, which had once belonged to the lost tribes.

But those emigrants from the south, who had made their new home in the pleasant land of the north, still clung to their connection with Jerusalem, because their meeting at that centre of their religion was the guarantee of their national unity and permanence. They made regular visits to Jerusalem ; and thus they kept alive their national feeling and their hold on their religion. They also kept fresh and living the memory of their ancient home and their tribal and family connection in Southern Palestine. Nazareth was merely their place of residence, though the outer world fancied that it was their city and fatherland ; but they knew in their own hearts as a fragrant memory that their own city and true home was far away in the highlands of the south. An idea, which lay hidden deep in their minds and was hardly known outside the household circle, was a stronger force in their nature than all the tender associations of childhood

and lifelong residence. And that in itself was an education to the child in the Nazarene house. He learned from infancy to estimate the ideal above the actual, to regard immediate material surroundings as temporary and evanescent, and to look for truth and reality in the world of thought.

Living among such scenes and in such circumstances, the thoughtful Jew of Nazareth could not fail to learn thoroughly the lesson, so that it became part of his mind and nature, that religion makes the nation, and the loss of religion must destroy it.

But that lesson is not enough by itself alone to make an education. What is the religion that is to make the nation? What is the essential and permanent factor, what is the creative and vitalising element, in religion? Will the traditional worship in its Judean centre be sufficient for Israel?

The lessons had to be carried further, and the experience of Nazareth alone was not sufficient.

**CHAPTER III**  
**A HEBREW BOY'S EDUCATION**





## CHAPTER III.

### A HEBREW BOY'S EDUCATION.

THE scenes of nature and the localities in which great events have occurred have a meaning only to the educated mind ; they carry no significance and no teaching for the savage, the ignorant, or the narrow mind. One may ask how far was that young Jew of Nazareth trained to appreciate the inspiration of that wonderful scene, which was always open to him within half an hour's walk from his own door ?

About the answer to that question we cannot hesitate.

No education was ever so well adapted to train a thoughtful child in the appreciation of his own country, to render its past history

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living and real to him, to strengthen his patriotic feeling, to make every geographical name and scene full of meaning and historic truth, as the training which every Hebrew child then received. He learned to know one small collection of books thoroughly, and that library gave him a training in literature and in history, in philosophic insight and in religious feeling.

I doubt if modern scholars sufficiently appreciate the Hebrew education in that period. They are never weary of describing the narrowness, the ignorance, the prejudice and the sordid formalism of those old Jews. It is true that those old Hebrews were ignorant of much that we know. But there is no fallacy so universal, and none so dangerous in this world, as the opinion that the man who does not know exactly what we ourselves know is an uneducated and ignorant person. The man who really knows is the man who has discovered truth for himself, and not the man who has been taught results.

If most of the Jews of that time knew nothing about Homer and Æschylus, all of them were familiar with the great poets and prophets and law-givers of their own land. They had none of the scientific interest and aptitude of the Greeks, and the inventions of Archimedes were strange and incomprehensible to them ; but no one would now maintain that an educated man must necessarily understand the latest scientific theories and inventions of the age. We all know that the modern Board-school child can expose the errors and show up the ignorance of the great Greek astronomers and investigators ; and, beyond a doubt, children a century hence will marvel at the ignorance of the great physicists and electricians of our day. Children will marvel, because they have only been taught results ; but educated men will admire the great discoverers whether of the Greek period or of our own day. They discovered, and therefore they knew, in their own line and their own degree ; yet the greatest of them made only a

small advance in the long road towards knowledge.

And, further, the educated man has learned that many roads towards many goals of knowledge stretch out before us, and that he who has struggled forward a little distance on any of them has done well, and may take rank among the men who know. If the Jews were far behind some of the Greeks in some of the paths of intellectual and artistic attainment, they were far beyond them in the even more important paths of moral progress and of national education.

The lofty pride with which the Jew then looked down on the Gentile was not merely the result of ignorant bigotry: its strength lay in this, that the Jew stood both morally and intellectually on a far higher level than the Gentile. Most of us know by experience the feeling with which the men who have been accustomed to play the game fairly look down on those who are incapable of obeying the laws of the game and would snatch at

unfair advantages. To play the fair game is not the whole of morality : but "*'tis something, nay, 'tis much*". So the Jews were not perfect masters of a wide and true morality ; but at least they stood on an immensely higher level than that of pagan society.

The Hebrew conception of a general national system of education was pitched on the same superior level.

It is true that the most admirable side of the Greek city constitution lay in the firm grasp of the principle that it is the duty of the State to educate its citizens ; but the education which the cities provided was narrow in its conception, shallow and unreal in its character, and destitute of any vivifying and invigorating ideal.

As for the Roman imperial system, its one educational aim seems to have been to prevent the mass of the people from thinking too much, and to provide them with abundant and cheap amusements.

The result was that the Græco-Roman world was decaying and dying from the dearth of true educational ideals.

Only among the Hebrews was there any real, salutary, invigorating system of national education. Only among them was the principle firmly grasped and boldly enunciated, that the poor man's son has as much right to be educated up to his true capacity as the rich man's son, and that both alike should be taught to work.

We are most of us so busy studying, as patient and unquestioning disciples, the very latest German authority—not necessarily the greatest, but we must have the latest—who has printed or lectured on the New Testament, that we have no time to act on the rule of the great Germans and search after truth for ourselves, regardless of authority. We only see what the teachers whom we worship have said. But the truth is this, and it is a truth which will soon be discovered and emphasised by the

Germans, and will then be brought over and accepted among us, that the Hebrew nation was at that time the most highly educated people in the world—in the true meaning of the word education.





## **CHAPTER IV**

### **AT JERUSALEM**



## CHAPTER IV.

### AT JERUSALEM.

THE surroundings of Nazareth alone did not furnish a broad enough education ; but that young scholar, whom we are imagining, saw more than the land of the north. He went up to Jerusalem among the southern mountains every year, and saw his own land among his own people. He saw, also, what the Jewish system had made of the land and the nation.

Nearly two hundred years ago the Jews had freed themselves from foreign rule. A small people in a little country, untrained to war, they had, by sheer belief in their God and the strength thereof, defeated army after army of a great military power, and won by the sword freedom for their own religion and their

own customs. They had kept their religion and they had excluded the foreigner ; and the result had been failure. Their own city under their own rule always *killed the prophets and stoned them that were sent unto her*. Their religion had not been sufficient for them. It was killing the national heart and fossilising the national life.

The foreigner could not be kept out. A wider idea of unity had been introduced into the world, and was being slowly, blindly, irrationally, unintelligently wrought out amid bloodshed and cruelty by the destroying and yet consolidating Empire of Rome. The brotherhood of the nations was an idea too noble and too wide for the old Jewish religion ; but the idea had come into the world and it could not be cast out. The old Judaism must be enlarged to contain the new idea ; but that old religion seemed to have lost the power of growth, and to have become a rigid, cast-iron system, which rejected and abhorred the thought of growing.

This, then, was the further lesson that had to be learned. The nation and the world needed a religion of growth, of development, of evolution.

That the contemplation of the scene, as one looks over Jerusalem, suggested such thoughts in the mind of Jesus from childhood upwards—thoughts that grew more clear and definite as the years rolled on—seems not open to doubt.

The statements in the Third Gospel that, during the final visit to Jerusalem, He used to retire to the Mount of Olives every evening (xxi. 37), and that this was a custom with Him (xxii. 39), might fairly be understood as true also of previous visits to the city.

This inference is confirmed by the Fourth Gospel: St. John expressly mentions that on an earlier visit to Jerusalem, at evening *Jesus went to the Mount of Olives, and early in the morning He came again into the Temple.*

Still earlier in His life an example of His already formed habit of going forth in the

evening from the city to the Mount may, in all probability, be found in the story of Nicodemus, who *came unto Him by night*. On that elevated place how naturally the illustration suggested itself to Him, and how vividly it would come home to the mind of Nicodemus: *The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth*. In a northern land we, who spend our life mainly within the walls of houses, often fail to appreciate the peculiar tone given to the everyday life and thought of those nations whom we study so much, Greeks, Romans and Jews, by the fact that they lived in the open air. Among all the modern books which offer an ideal picture of the life of the Mediterranean peoples, modern or ancient, I know only one in which blows the breath of the open air; and yet, unless you catch that spirit, you are divided by a wall from the life of Greek or Jew, and can never understand it with true sympathy.

But, as you read the words which St. John has preserved, you feel yourself out on the quiet hillside, with the breath of the evening moving gently around you ; and you remember that the time was the season of the year about the Passover, when, in the poet's words,

Spring's awakening breath will woo the earth  
To feed with kindest dew its favourite flower.

You remember also that the same poet thinks about

Evening's breath, wandering here and there ;  
and you begin to ask whether the earlier printed text is not correct (though now discarded by editors) in those other lines of his :—

The breath of the moist air is light  
Around its unexpanded buds.

The very word is the same, for the Greek word means "the breath" as well as "the wind" ; and the literal rendering of Jesus' saying is "*The breath (of the air) breatheth where it will*". And then you know that Nicodemus, desirous to speak secretly with



Jesus, did not need to slink with veiled head into a garret or a cellar where the poor Galilean peasant lodged ; but, knowing His custom, went forth to the Mount.

And, if it be asked why it was His habit to spend the evenings on the Mount, there is only one answer : “ *Come, and ye shall see* ”. No one who looks over that wonderful prospect is likely to doubt that its ethical and historical interest—and in the Jewish mind the ethical and the historical aspects were identified—was always present to Him there, and formed the attraction to draw Him thither.

We have only to read over the various incidents in the life of Jesus which occurred on the Mount of Olives, in order to see how suggestive the prospect was to Him, and how naturally on that commanding height His mind turned to anticipate the future fate of the city over which he was looking, and to review the circumstances of the coming judgment of the whole world, comparing them

with the great judgment in past history, the Flood. It was on the Mount, in view of the sea which flowed over the cities of the Plain, that His most grave and impressive discourse on watchfulness and responsibility and readiness to meet the sure and sudden judgment was delivered.

Equally certain is it that the scenes, through which the annual journeys to and from Jerusalem led Him, were not without effect on His mind.

More clearly and insistently than in any other land, the philosophy of history, the Will of God as it has wrought in the world, is written on the landscape of Palestine; and the rightly educated mind cannot but read it. And yet there are strange examples of blindness to the surpassing interest which that country has for the historian.

It is, indeed, easy to understand why the large class of tourists to whom Switzerland represents the ideal of natural beauty must be disappointed with Palestine.

The scenery, more especially in the central and southern regions, is rarely in itself grand or picturesque or impressive in the ordinary sense ; and it is in an equal degree devoid of the rich beauty of high cultivation and productiveness. The hills as a rule are bald, bare and featureless. The terraces by which in happier times the soil was supported on the slopes have almost everywhere been destroyed, and the soil has been washed down into the hollows, where it impedes the outflow of the waters and produces marshes. Thus the land is desolate and unattractive. In general the slopes and hillsides are a wilderness of stones and rocks, where a few scanty shrubs can barely find a hold, and the glens a wilderness of marsh, with a scanty rim of cultivable land above the level of the bog and below the level of the bare rocks, just sufficient to grow food for the miserable and scanty population.

Those who would enjoy the scenery of Palestine must bring a trained mind, familiar

with its history, able to perceive the unity and the purpose in the evolution of that history, able to understand and sympathise with all that the country meant to its own people. They must have learnt the lesson that in every case the country has much to do with the formation of its people's character, that in Palestine especially the country was the decisive factor in making the people, and that the desolation of the land is a necessary part of the history of its people.

There are, however, great and justly respected scholars, whose want of sympathy is, at first sight, astonishing and disappointing.

It would be not altogether a useless or unfair test to classify the interpreters of Hebrew history according to their power of comprehending the nature of the country and of reading in its features the history of the people. Take, for example, what Renan says about the view of Jerusalem and its influence on the mind of Jesus.

*The parched appearance of Nature in the*

*neighbourhood of Jerusalem must have added to the dislike Jesus had for the place. The valleys are without water; the soil arid and stony. Looking into the valley of the Dead Sea, the view is somewhat striking; elsewhere it is monotonous. The hill of Mizpeh, around which cluster the most ancient historical remembrances of Israel, alone relieves the eye.*

The allusion which Renan makes to the Dead Sea shows that in this passage he has in mind the view from the summit of the Mount of Olives. The brief description of Mizpeh, quite in the most approved guide-book style, is the sole historical thought that occurs to him. The least educated of Cook's tourists could hardly have seen less in that scene than the distinguished and eloquent French scholar. And yet Renan was a Breton, one of a race in whom we should have expected that the sensibility to the unseen and spiritual side of the world would be highly developed.

But the fact is that he came to the scene

with his mind made up and his eyes closed to a great part of the character and work of Jesus. He could not possibly understand the emotions and ideas which that marvellous prospect, the most entrancing in the world to the true and open-minded student of history—the view over Jerusalem to the hills of Bethlehem and to Mizpeh—over the Dead Sea and the Jordan to the land of Moab and Ammon and the country of Gilead, rising like a great mountain-wall in the east—must rouse in the mind of Jesus ; because, if he began to understand it, his sentimental and narrow conception of Jesus would no longer have been possible. As long as he could not forget his prepossessions nor widen his views, the scene necessarily remained to him a mere arid, unsuggestive and repellent desert. The Jesus whom Renan pictured to himself and set before his readers had a positive dislike for that *city of pedantry, acrimony, quarrels and littleness of mind*, set in its parched and dreary landscape ; but the Jesus of history and reality could not

look at it or think of it without an outbreak of love and despair: "*How often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not*".

**CHAPTER V**

**THE DIVINE IN THE WORLD**





## CHAPTER V.

### THE DIVINE IN THE WORLD.

**I**F you ask how I know that the Child of Nazareth drew such inspiration and such lessons from the scenes in view of which He grew up to manhood, the answer is that the truth of Christ is the lesson of the world's history. It is misleading and unreal to say that Christianity is true because Christ declared it : the right way of putting it is that Christ declared His message because He knew that it was true. You have only to look into the past with the understanding eye, and you see there Christianity written in large letters : either you do not understand, or you read there the message of the Christ. The history of the world previously is the preparation for Him : subsequent history proceeds from Him.

One must feel a profound pity for the man who cannot see this truth in history : all is to him so dark and perplexing, whereas to the eye which looks rightly all things stand out so clear and simple.

In that country you cannot but learn, and every leading spirit among the Jews always learned and proclaimed, the one great principle of history : the story of the world is simply the gradual unfolding of the Will of God within those conditions of time and space that hedge us in. It is the same principle that modern science teaches and flatters itself to have discovered—the principle that there is unity in Nature, that the order of Nature is uniform, universal, inexorable. Reality or truth is power, and power is God ; or, as St. Paul puts it, *the Kingdom of God is not in word, but in power* : truth lies not in abstract theory but in actual concrete effectiveness. To test whether an idea is true, whether if it is of God, watch it in its effects : if it lives and grows, it is true and Divine.

And so, to understand the present, we look back into the past. In the gradual evolution of history we see the gradual revelation, step by step, of the Will of God. Now that revelation must culminate at the due season, or, to use again the word of St. Paul, "*in the fulness of time*". It must culminate ; it must reach the fully developed stage at the proper moment. That is inexorably necessary : it lies in the nature of the case : it is involved in the very meaning of the word evolution. And this is that culminating stage in the evolution of the Will of God at the due season. When the world is ready for it, the perfect revelation must come, and that perfect revelation is the Divine Will, the Divine Nature, in such form as to be intelligible to man and to remain among men. As the Jews put it, the Christos, the Messiah, must come : as St. John expresses it, the Truth must *become flesh and dwell among us*.

And further, this Christ, this Truth made flesh, must die, because in this world the idea

is not real, unless it so seizes and possesses the bearer that he gives his life up to it, and spends his life for it. What great truth has ever become effective and real among men, unless it has found a soul ready to die for it? That is the law ; you can see it in the days of Socrates and in all time.

Yet not only must this Christ die ; He must also live. To be real He must be effective and permanent.

A dead Christ, such as Matthew Arnold sets before us in that sketch of the philosophy of history which he puts into the mouth of the Swiss recluse Obermann :—

Now he is dead ! Far hence he lies  
In the lorn Syrian town,  
And on his grave, with shining eyes,  
The Syrian stars look down—

such a dead Christ would be useless to the world. If those exquisitely pathetic lines expressed the truth, the hopeless conclusion of the stanzas in which the poet continues must also be accepted :—

In vain men still, with hoping new,  
Regard his death-place dumb,  
And say the stone is not yet to,  
And wait for words to come.

Ah, from that silent sacred land,  
Of sun, and arid stone,  
And crumbling wall, and sultry sand,  
Comes now one word alone !

From David's lips this word did roll,  
'Tis true and living yet :  
*No man can save his brother's soul,  
Nor pay his brother's debt.*

Every man must work out his own salvation  
for himself and by himself. No man can pay  
another's debt.

Thou hast been, shalt be, art, alone.

And yet there is an exception, as the poet  
himself immediately goes on to admit. Though  
man is separated from other men, the finite  
being parted from the finite, yet he is not  
wholly cut off from the Divine and the infinite.  
That connection is never severed. And so the  
poet has to correct himself, as that thought—

though in a narrow and poorer form—occurs to his mind ; and he continues :—

Or, if not quite alone, yet they  
Which touch thee are unmating things—  
Ocean and clouds and night and day,  
Lorn autumns and triumphant springs,  
And life, and others' joy and pain,  
And love, if love, of happier men.

Such is the disappointing and chilling summary of all that the poet can perceive of Divine and eternal in the world in which men live. But a dead Christ would be no more than a man ; and all other men would be separated absolutely from him. Only a living Christ could be Divine, and so connected with and related to every human being.

One cannot but observe in those words, in which Matthew Arnold describes the landscape of Palestine, the note which he has probably caught from Renan. The strain of sentimentalism and unreality must always produce a certain blindness to the deepest characteristics of *that silent sacred land*, and

prevent one from seeing there ought save desolation and aridity and ruin.

The necessity that the Christ must always be living governs the expression of the Gospels. The saying occurs repeatedly : *The Son of Man must suffer, and be killed*, but always the completing words are added immediately, *and rise again*. The half truth in this case would be no truth.

And so the Truth, as expressed by St. Paul, as lived by Christ, unites in itself both death and life : the Crucifixion and the Resurrection are two aspects of one fact, and neither is intelligible or complete without the other.

That Truth, as it stands revealed to us within the conditions of space and time, is the life of Jesus. That is the one most real, most true fact amid the never-ceasing flux and change, in which the world's history expresses itself. In comparison with that, all else is unreal, delusive, mere empty opinion (as Plato would call it) and not real knowledge. The life of Jesus is the reality on



which the life of all men rests. Christ died, and yet He lives. The Crucifixion and the Resurrection are two sides of the one truth, each by itself incomplete, each requiring the other to explain and justify it.

# **CHAPTER VI**

## **SUPERHUMAN NOT SUPERNATURAL**



## CHAPTER VI.

### SUPERHUMAN NOT SUPERNATURAL.

**N**OW there are many persons who are ready and eager to maintain as a matter of purely philosophical speculation that there must necessarily be a connection and a relationship of man to God, of the world to the power from whom and through whom it derives and maintains its existence. They champion that view as a matter of abstract theory, and they are ready to talk about it, to reason about it, to assume it as a premise in their arguments ; but they are not ready to admit it in concrete fact and living reality. It remains to them true in word, but not in power.

No such connection of God with man, however, can be real, unless it so expresses itself as to become a power among men and touch

the minds of men in general. It must manifest itself in a form that can be understood of men, a form that can be powerful and living among men ; otherwise it remains apart and powerless and unreal, a theoretic and abstract subject of contemplation and speculation among the few, not a truth that lives in the world of humanity. That is something of what St. John meant when he said that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us. The Divine nature did not simply remain apart from mankind, but expressed and embodied itself in such form as men could comprehend, and came among them.

The reason why so many persons are unwilling to admit the full consequences of their philosophic theory lies in this. Any such manifestation of the Divine presence in the world in real, actual, living form must necessarily involve some element of the superhuman. It would be a self-contradiction to say that the Divine presence in the world can embody and express itself in purely and simply human

form : it must be human to be known of men ; but it must be superhuman to be useful to men, to be and remain itself.

But, in their eagerness to attain a seeming but false simplicity, many would deny the existence and even the possibility of the superhuman element in the actual world. They label that idea with the incorrect and question-begging term of "miraculous" or "supernatural," and point the finger of scorn and ridicule at those who "believe in miracles and the supernatural". They restrict the term "natural" to the sum of ordinary human experience and acquired knowledge ; and the vast unknown that lies beyond, outside human ken, they set aside and ignore. But they either forget, or they have entirely failed to understand, that, in so far as in theory they have spoken about the Divine action in history, they have thereby admitted the existence of the superhuman in the world. It is really a proof of ignorance and narrowness, not of knowledge and broad-mindedness,

that they can put out of their reckoning the vast ocean which still remains beyond the present sweep of human faculties, but which may not always remain so, for the growth of education and science has made us distinctly more conscious of and sensitive to its existence than we were a generation ago. Every one who has lived through that period must feel that this growing consciousness of the reality of the as yet uncomprehended region in nature is one of the most remarkable features in the development of recent thought.

It is therefore unfair and irrational to confound the "superhuman" with the "supernatural". The "natural" includes both the human and the superhuman.

And the term "miraculous" is too vague and question-begging. In so far as it connotes "supernatural," it is a term that should be very carefully and sparingly employed ; but in so far as it means only "superhuman," it is unnecessary and misleading, since it conveys a false innuendo. The word belongs to an

early and undeveloped stage of thought, when men could hardly accept any idea or thought or principle of a general kind as true, unless it seemed to them to be guaranteed by marvellous or miraculous accompaniments. They craved the marvellous, in order to help them to trust what was beyond their comprehension; and they found it or invented it. But, as the power of thinking develops, men learn that the marvellous or miraculous lies in the sphere of the inconceivable and the unintelligible, and that it belongs to ignorance, not to knowledge. The word has lost its meaning for them, and they distrust anything that has become associated with it. The strange and marvellous accompaniments, in which a primitive age found confirmation of truth, seem to a modern mind to cast doubt upon truth. For the moment those accompaniments should be, not ridiculed, but set on one side as uncomprehended: in due course, as knowledge grows, they will find their place in a new conception and a broader science.

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It is a grand yet a common blunder to lay exaggerated stress on those sensuous accompaniments, and to fancy that we can really place ourselves at the point of view of those who become sensitive to Divine truth only through them. It is as stupid and irrational an error to refuse the truth because of those sensuous encumbrances, as it is to insist that the truth cannot be accepted without them. They are rather a branch of human history than of Divine reality, an evanescent and not a permanent factor in the growth of Divine knowledge. They have their reality and their value, to be estimated by the effect they have produced on human history ; but their value should not be exaggerated, any more than it should be slighted.

It is impossible for us in the present day to understand perfectly and sympathise fully with the thoughts of a remote past and a primitive, uneducated, undeveloped way of contemplating the world. Especially, those who live amid the surroundings of universities, and are mainly

occupied with the attempt to comprehend the more advanced forms and subjects of thought, are apt to lose the sense for the real character of primitive religion. But this at least must be kept in mind : the sensuous and material incidents which accompany the perception of the Divine nature by man, that is to say, the manifestation of the Divine nature to man—such incidents as are alluded to in the Prologue—are accidental, not essential : they are marks of weakness in the percipient, and proofs of insensibility to higher forms of revelation.

As the author of the Fourth Gospel evidently knew, it was as a concession to the weakness and imperfection of the disciples' nature that they were convinced by sight and touch and hearing ; and he remembers the words : "*Because thou hast seen Me, thou hast believed : blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed*". St. Paul had some conception of the development from the sensuous to the non-sensuous perception of truth, when he said : "*Though we have known*

*Christ after the flesh, yet now we know Him so no more*". And perhaps some veiled expression of the need for such a development should be read in the experience of Elijah, when he was bidden *go forth and stand upon the mount before the Lord. And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a sound of gentle stillness.* Was that a sound which affected Elijah's ear—perhaps as if

there crept

• A little noiseless noise among the leaves—

or did it speak direct to the mind?

The Divine action in the world is not "supernatural," but, in the strictest sense, "natural"; for it constitutes and gives being and form to nature; yet it must in the nature of things be and remain superhuman. And so too every revelation and manifestation of

the Divine power to man must be in a sense superhuman, inasmuch as it must descend to the plane of the human faculties and become apparent to human senses and powers of acquiring knowledge. It must, though in itself infinite and eternal, unshackled by the conditions of space and time, submit to the fetters of those conditions in order that it may be cognisable by man who lives under them. While it remains upon its own plane, it is indeed always *closer than breathing and nearer than hands and feet*. But, so long as it is restricted to that higher plane, *the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see*. Hence, while on the one hand the revelation of the Divine will to man is a necessary part of the order of nature, and is therefore strictly "natural," it must, on the other hand, necessarily be "superhuman," because it causes and constitutes the gradual elevation of mere human nature towards the Divine nature.

If then we read history as the Hebrew prophets understood it, and as the Jewish

education amid the scenes of the Jewish land must fix it in the really thoughtful mind—if we see in the history of man the gradual evolution of the Divine will—then the inevitable conclusion is that the Divine purpose—the Divine as present in the world in that relationship between man and God of which every true poet and every great thinker has had some conception, however dim and unsatisfying his expression of it has sometimes been—must seek completion by manifesting itself in a form intelligible to man ; and this is otherwise expressed by saying that it must become flesh and dwell among men.

But, in so far as the Divine descends to the plane on which man lives, just in so far must its manifestations be partial, local, lasting for a time and then seemingly withdrawn, granted to one human being and withheld from another. There must be a favoured nation, a favoured land, and favoured individuals, as there can never be equality among men or uniformity in nature. It is not that

any nation or any land is absolutely cut off from the Divine nature, or debarred utterly from coming into communication and communion with it ; but men are not equally ready or able to respond to the Divine.

In every communication which takes place between the Divine and the human, there is required not merely the wish of the Divine to reveal itself—for that condition is always fulfilled, and the Divine nature that encompasses us is always pressing itself upon us—there is also required a suitable condition of the will and mind and body of man, able to respond and to become sensitive to the impression. The revelation can never be wholly one-sided. The man who is to hear the Divine message must be attuned in his whole frame to the Divine pulsation ; and it is only few men on rare occasions who are so tuned.

In many nations and in all ages there have been individuals who could hear the Divine voice : *because that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God manifested it unto*

*them : for the invisible nature of the Divine, viz., His eternal power and Godhead, is clearly seen ever since the creation of the world, being perceived through the works of creation. And all men show the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith : inasmuch as He left not Himself without witness.*

But hardly have there been found in any nation a succession of persons to respond to the Divine impulse, to hear the Divine voice, and to be so possessed by the Divine message as to take the odium of preaching it boldly and stake their life on the issue. In many nations we trace the beginning and germs of true religion. In some we can trace a certain development and elevation in the national ideas of religion ; but, as a practical fact, the religious history of almost all peoples has been, after a certain time, generally a very brief time, one of degeneration and degradation, not of elevation and progress. The many causes which stifle religious feeling proved too strong

in almost every case : in some cases the fibre of the race seemed to degenerate amid luxury and success, in other cases conquest or massacre destroyed the more vigorous and noble element in a race, in others a crafty and ambitious hereditary priesthood distorted religious ideas to selfish ends ; and so on through all the range of crime and error.

In the Hebrew nation for many centuries there had been produced a series of prophets and seers, who caught the illuminating torch each from his predecessor. In their hands through a long succession the Divine message had grown fuller, clearer and more emphatic. The great prophets learned the lesson of the past and added to it themselves. There was a steady development in insight into the Divine nature and will, and in the power of applying that insight to the national requirements. The nation and its religious conceptions developed, lagging indeed behind the prophets, always seeming to the prophets to be slipping back into idolatry with its inevitable concomitant



immorality : for a low conception of the Divine wishes was always associated with low ideals of life and conduct.

The productive vigour in the nation had seemed to be spent, and the great race of the prophets seemed to be at an end, when John the Baptist appeared to carry on the succession.

His message was a simple one. The series of the prophets had in their message gradually wrought out and given form, though only in vague fashion, to the truth that a more perfect revelation of the Divine nature must in due time come. John recognised that the time had arrived, and that the line of the prophets was now to culminate in the perfect revelation of the purpose and person of God.

**CHAPTER VII**

**THE HISTORICAL JESUS THE ETERNAL  
CHRIST**



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE HISTORICAL JESUS THE ETERNAL CHRIST.

**I**N the preceding chapters the identity of the eternal Christ and the historical Jesus has been taken as self-evident, as following directly and inevitably from the belief that the Divine power exists as a real power in the world, concerning itself with human affairs. A Divine power which did not concern itself with humanity would be valueless and non-existent for mankind, the mere abstraction of a philosophic fancy, less real than the Gods of Epicurus. True reason must recognise that the real existence of the Divine power implies a God who takes interest in man, and that such interest must move on to its completion in the manifestation of God to man, and that this manifestation must be in a form

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of which the human faculties can take cognisance.

But it seems advisable, in view of the actual form which the question assumes within our own experience, to speak in a somewhat fuller way of the relation between that historical Christ, the child of Nazareth, about whom I have been telling my dream, and the eternal Christ, the Divine presence in the world, the expression of the relationship between man and God, the embodiment of the purpose of God and His unending interest in man.

This is the fundamental question which underlies and embraces all other questions regarding Christianity. It is the answer to this question that divides the schools. This is the question that forces itself on every one who possesses sufficient intellectual power to think about the nature of the Universe of which he forms a part, the question which every one must put to himself and answer for himself.

With regard to this question two lines of

thought naturally suggest themselves to those whose life is to a large extent passed amid the influences of a University ; one historical, the other literary.

That the Christ must come on earth in manifest form is, as we have seen, a matter of necessity. It must be so, in the nature of things. But the answer to this new question is a matter of historical evidence. We are placed in the position of John the Baptist, when he sent to ask, "*Art thou he that should come ? or look we for another ?*"

The answer of history is clear and decisive. The life of Jesus is the knot in which all the threads of previous history are gathered up, and from which the threads of succeeding events again diverge. In that single figure all previous development finds its sufficient explanation. From that single figure, subsequent development takes a fresh start.

This is not the place, nor is it necessary, to exhibit in detail the truth of those statements by showing, even in a brief hurried outline,

how the world was ripe for the perfect idea, and offered then, and only then, the needed period of peace for absorbing the teaching of Christ under the unity of the great Empire, when the world lay exhausted after the failure of all other experiments ; and how the championing of, or the resistance to, the new religion of Christ—even in the very imperfect and inadequate form in which men have as yet been educated to understand and elevated to accept it—has impelled and governed all subsequent evolution : the phases of Roman imperial history : the destruction of the Western Empire by the barbarians : the revival of Semitic Judaism with some admixture of Christian ideas unified by the stern spirit of the desert under the form of Mohammedanism : the thousand years during which the New Christian Rome, the capital of the Christian Empire, saved Europe from the inroad of that strong revival and gave it time slowly to assimilate the organisation of the Rome that it had destroyed : the preservation of ancient

literature and thought and law by the Western Church and the Eastern Christian Empire: the building up of modern society and administration on a broad basis of accumulated experience under Christian forms: the conquest or the absorption of the world by Christianised forms of government.

All that is patent to every one. Men may, from their different points of view, either ridicule or lament the imperfection of the Christian forms in which the best governments and the best societies have as yet been able to clothe themselves. They may inveigh against the evils which are still free to flourish and to spread owing to the too low standard of education and thought and life among even the most advanced nations. But the main facts are undeniable and are not denied. Jesus remade the evolution of history; and those who criticise most severely the contemporary developments of history and life among the Christian nations, reproach them with their failure adequately to comprehend and reproduce His spirit. In



other words, Jesus stands forth, even in the estimation of unsympathetic opponents, as the one perfect embodiment of the Divine spirit in human nature.

There remains another point of view from which to approach the question. St. Paul and St. John have expressed clearly the nature and mutual relations of the two Christs, the eternal Divine presence and the historical figure of Jesus ; and, in describing the former, we have only given a weak paraphrase of some of their impressive words. They emphatically identify the two figures, and build their life on the identification. And the authors of the four Gospels unanimously represent the historical Jesus as claiming on many occasions to be the eternal Christ.

In some way the persons who had come most familiarly in contact with Jesus had acquired a belief in this identity ; and the belief reconstituted their mind and nature, and gave them an incomparable influence in human history. They could not but believe. They had

seen and known. It would have been as easy for them to deny themselves, their existence, their self-identity, as to doubt that the man whom they had known was the Christ. There was no room in their nature for doubt or hesitation. That truth filled up their entire consciousness, and crushed out every other thought. It formed the firm foundation on which their whole life and mind henceforth was built up.

Moreover that belief of theirs formed the foundation on which the whole of modern life has been built up. Alongside of that belief there is in the world no other factor to place. It has influenced almost as profoundly those who stand outside of it, as those who are within its pale. No man can shake it off, or get away from it. It makes his surroundings and moulds his character, guides his education and determines his destiny, in spite of himself.

In ordinary life and in all the business of the world, one of the most valuable qualities that a man can be endowed with is the knowledge of men and of human nature, the insight

into character, the ability to judge who is worthy of trust and in what line each can be safely trusted. That is the quality beyond all others by which the successful men, the men great in practical life, have always been distinguished. And similarly in historical matters, the student is continually presented with cases of conflict of evidence ; and the question always comes up whom shall he trust, whose evidence can be accepted as really weighty and trustworthy. He needs that practical discrimination which shall enable him to decide between the honest and the dishonest, between the competent and the incompetent witness.

From this point of view, then, the ultimate question is, can we believe those witnesses?

The verdict of the world, and especially of those who are trained in practical life and in knowledge of men, is beyond all doubt. Those are trustworthy witnesses.

Especially, the thought that Jesus could have uttered any claim to be what He was not is rejected as inconsistent with His personality.

He could not possibly have been what He was in the world, if He had been capable of entertaining a false thought or compassing an imposture. Such a theory might be entertained by a pedant in his study, but not by a man able to judge of real life.

That verdict is quite apart from any expression of opinion, that the judgment and appreciation and memory of those witnesses were always faultless. It is simply a verdict that they are witnesses of the highest class among human beings.

The supposition either of conscious imposture or of unconscious deception has long been abandoned. No rational being now could hold either, or would waste his time in noticing or refuting either. The world of thought has passed beyond such fancies, though there will always be cases of survival of those and other outworn ideas.

At the present time the problem and the doubt have taken a different form. Since it has proved an untenable and impossible sup-

position either that Jesus could have made a false claim or that the obviously trustworthy and capable men who lived in His company could have admitted and believed such a false claim, if made by Him, the inference must necessarily be either that the claim was true, or that it was never made at all.

The latter alternative is the one that many modern scholars have adopted. Resolute that such a claim cannot be true, and wrongly branding it as involving an element of the supernatural, they have maintained that Jesus never made any such claim ; that those who knew Him never admitted it ; that it was a delusion of the second century, which grew up in the popular mind spontaneously and without conscious or deliberate fabrication on the part of any one, as the true outlines of the form and teaching of Jesus became blurred in the memory of mankind ; and that the documents, which describe the claim as made by Jesus and believed by His own followers and friends, were written a century or more after His death,

and attest, not the facts of the early first century, but the beliefs of the middle of the second century.

That theory, in various slightly differing expressions, has been the central point in the controversies of the last forty years. Its champions naturally attempted to prove their contention by discovering indications of late origin in the books themselves. It is admittedly impossible that books could be written about A.D. 160 without bearing the marks of contemporary thought and of the conditions amid which they were composed; and the theory of late origin must demonstrate its reasonableness by pointing out the marks of lateness, *viz.*, statements that are out of keeping with the spirit of the first century or views that savour of the second century.

This point it is important to notice. Those scholars did not begin to suspect a late origin for those books on account of the indications which they had detected in them. On the contrary, having for other reasons

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formed the belief that the books must be incorrect and unhistorical, they framed the theory of their late origin, and then set to work to find in them the required indications of lateness.

The real ultimate cause of their eagerness to discover historical grounds on which to rest their theory lies in their preconceived idea that the Divine nature could not have appeared on the earth in human form—in other words, that the Divine cannot manifest itself to man in a way to be cognisable by human faculties.

But this point is often ignored, whether consciously or unconsciously—probably sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously. There are some who, while not merely quite ready to accept, but founding their whole thought and life upon, the view that the Divine nature can manifest itself to man, are yet impressed by the ingenuity and logical skill of the arguments on which the theory of a late origin was supported, and fail to per-

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ceive that the theory never had any real foundation in strict historical investigation, but was merely an attempt to bolster up a preconception diametrically opposed to their own view.

I am not here conducting an argument, but merely stating impressions ; and therefore I may plainly and simply express an opinion.

Already that theory has ceased to be regarded as tenable by any properly trained scholar. It has been decisively proved that the books in question could not have been written in the second century. But properly trained scholars are rare ; and the theory has at present more adherents than it ever had before. It has taken possession of the popular literature to a great extent ; it has caught the popular ear ; and it not rarely seizes with compelling interest the mind of some young scholar—young either in years or in knowledge—and makes him commit himself to statements which can only seem laughable to those who know. I crave pardon for the



strong expression, but there is always a touch of the comic in the attitude of the youthful critic, however much one sympathises with his enthusiasm.

There are also a few fossil scholars, who have learned nothing during the last score of years, and compose verbal variations on the outworn theories of a former age. It has become a positive craze with them to dissect and chop up literature into fragments ; and in this impossible attempt they have lost all literary sense and historical insight.

But time is on the side of truth. The popular mind will gradually become disabused of its mistakes. One must wait patiently. Discoveries, too, will come to demonstrate to all, what is already sufficiently clear to many. But the process of discovery is slow, for the popular taste is not at present eager for it or ready to support the search.

Two fallacies lie at the bottom of this widespread acceptance of a false theory. One is that there must be some truth in an opinion

which many scholars have held. But there are no bounds to the extent to which the thoroughly logical scholar, working in his study, can go wrong, when he starts from false premises. The sole value of many very learned and ingenious theories is to disprove the premises from which they start ; and that is the case with the theory of second-century origin of the New Testament books. The first books in which it was proposed had the value of their suggestiveness, honesty, strong purpose and intense belief. Their authors had struggled a little onward in the path of knowledge, and not wholly astray. But their ponderous successors have no originality, and their works are among the least valuable productions of the human intellect.

The other fallacy is that that older theory is supported by, and lends support to, a more modern view that the books in question belong to the later years of the first century. This is a purely irrational and unpardonable error. Any argument which tells in favour of the one

view is an argument against the other. If a book suits the conditions and environment of the period A.D. 150-170 it is utterly out of keeping with the circumstances of A.D. 90 ; and *vice versa*. Those views are mutually destructive.

In one respect the issue of that theory of second-century origin is different from what its originators intended. It was their original intention to show that there was no deliberate falsehood on the part of any one concerned, that the belief in the Divine nature of Jesus had grown up naturally and then the books expressing the belief had naturally resulted from its existence. Thus the books might be honest, though mistaken.

But they have not established the possibility of such blamelessness. The more carefully the books are studied, the more clear does it become that they purport to be written by the eye-witnesses or by persons in the closest relations with the eye-witnesses. It is not the case that this character is given to them

only in a superficial way by attaching ancient names, or by inserting some formal claim. The entire expression and spirit of the books are given by authors who write as being in close or immediate relation with the events they describe, and who, without formally claiming that character, assume that their readers know it.

Accordingly the effect of that theory would be to show that those books were deliberate and conscious falsifications, carried out with a skill that is incredible to any one who knows the character of the second century. The theory does not fulfil the conditions laid down by itself for itself at the outset.

The fact is that, while there are many difficulties still unsolved with regard to the books in question, there is no positive theory of date which is not exposed to far greater difficulties than the view that they are genuine works of the period to which they purport to belong. We must stand by the decisive judg-

ment of the world that they are honest ; and the witness that they bear must be accepted.

The conclusion to which all our lines of thought point is that the belief in a Divine Will ruling in and directing the evolution of history logically and inevitably involves the belief that the historical Jesus is the eternal Christ.

To those to whom the belief in a God seems a fallacy of the untrained intellect, which in the educated mind must be refined and melted down into *a something not ourselves that makes for righteousness or a larger power which is friendly to mankind*, our conclusion can only seem fanciful and pitiful.

To us, on the other hand, those attenuated phantoms of ideas can only seem ghosts that delude a mind which has fed upon itself, and neglected to keep itself in harmony with the world around, and thus has become unable to grasp the reality concealed behind the phantom.

## CHAPTER VIII

### EPILOGUE



## CHAPTER VIII.

### EPILOGUE.

**M**EN look at facts from different sides, and often fancy they differ in opinion when they are really trying, and trying vainly, to express the same thought. We all see the figure of Christ before us, but we see it dimly and inadequately, for it is distorted to our gaze in the mist of our own poor individuality. But surely we can all agree in recognising the essential nature of that figure, and the truth for which it stands to us. That truth is the gospel of growth and of striving onward towards an ideal beyond us. Freedom of will, truth, knowledge, goodness, beauty, we cannot attain absolutely unto ; they are above us and outside us ; but just as the man who has knowledge is the man who has struggled a little way forward on the road

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to knowledge, so we make all things ours by believing in them and striving towards them. The good man is he who has tried hard to achieve even a little progress on the way to goodness : he is made good, because he has believed and tried. And the guarantee that all good things are ours lies in that one supreme Truth, the Life of Christ : we are *justified by Faith*.

But what does that saying of Paul's mean? Wherein consists the guarantee?

There is in man the spark of the Divine nature. We know that, because we see it in Jesus. He was a man, who by thought, by work, by self-denial, by superiority to all the temptations that tried Him, grew to perfect consciousness of His Divine nature, His mission and His sonship of God. Human limitations gradually fell away from Him, and in the process of His education "*He increased in favour with God and man*". And that word Education expresses the truth to us under another form. The life of Christ is just the

Education of Christ. His temptations, like ours, came to an end only with His death. In the Garden of Gethsemane occurred His last victory over His last temptation : then and only then His education was completed.

But we cannot of ourselves or through our own power grow into full consciousness of the Divine element within us. The spark of the Divine fire is too feeble in our spirit. *This muddy vesture of decay, which doth grossly close us in*, clings too close and impedes our effort too effectually. No education is enough for us. No man can, by any process of study and meditation and high aims and good works, bring himself into complete sympathy with and understanding of the Divine nature : no man can *by searching find out God*.

Our one and only hope lies in the intensity of our belief that this can be done—in spite of the impossibility—that the Divine element in us can overcome the lower nature, and assert itself in absolute victory, though we cannot ourselves succeed. And we know that

it can be done, because Jesus has done it : because He died to prove this truth, and lives to make this truth strong for every man.

This, then, is the faith in Jesus, which Paul has made clear to us. This *cannot* be done by us, and yet it *can* be done : there is the apparent contradiction. Can we believe that it has been achieved by Christ, and that therefore it is possible for us though we cannot ourselves do it? If we can believe that, with all the force of real belief, we have the power of faith, and we receive our inheritance as the Sons of God in Christ.

“Faith ”—“Justification by Faith”—“Sons of God ”—these and many other terms in the Philosophy, or the Gospel, of Paul are apt to become stereotyped and to lose their meaning for us. There is in them an element of metaphor and parable ; and we often hear that element pressed with remorseless thoroughness into rather fantastic forms, which are only veils enveloping and hiding the Truth, while they make its general shape roughly perceptible

to the ordinary mind. It would be unfortunate that any one should cling to the skirts of the veil and forget the personality that it hides ; and it is unfortunate that children, grown too familiar with those metaphors and wrongly taking them for realities, fail to learn, when growing education gives them a more scientific view and they can no longer be content with the metaphors, that there is a reality behind them.

In this education there is necessarily involved a moment of destruction, when the old idea seems to crumble beneath our feet ; but it does not really crumble, it is merely changing its form. We are remaking it for ourselves by understanding it afresh and understanding it better. Our error lies in ignoring the fundamental fact of evolution. The idea has changed, and yet it is the same : it has died, that it may live. If we would only look aright, we should see that the one figure of Christ still stands before us, the same Christ that our mothers taught us in infancy ;

and yet, though the same, it has, I think, during the progress of our education, grown in nobility and beauty, and *in favour with God and man*. It is the sum and the quintessence of all our knowledge: it is the expression of all that we have comprehended in the universe.

In one of his most remarkable poems—the “Epilogue,” which concludes “*Dramatis Personæ*”—Browning describes the development of the religious idea, under the form that three speakers successively express their religious feeling.

The first speaker, as David, utters the heart-filling satisfaction of a ceremonial religion, in which the real *presence of the Lord* is veiled in the cloud of symbolism and metaphor amidst those marvellous accompaniments, which primitive thought craves.

Then the Temple filled with a cloud,  
 Even the House of the Lord ;  
 Porch bent and pillar bowed :  
 For the presence of the Lord,  
 In the glory of his cloud,  
 Had filled the House of the Lord.

The second speaker, as Renan, stands for the destructive moment. He stands there content and unanticipating, fully satisfied that he has reached the term of perfect knowledge, and that there is nothing to look forward to : he has buried his dead God, and placidly expresses his sentimental regret for the loss of some charming emotions which the dead religion could once evoke. The Face which David saw he can no longer see. There remains no consolation for him except in the consciousness that he has freed himself from mist and cloud and metaphor and miracle, no happiness except in the contemplation of his own hopeless misery, as he stands on the lofty pinnacle of thought to which he has raised himself. He feels an infinite pity for himself, he *looks upon himself and curses his fate*, as he thinks of the awful situation which he is called upon to occupy. Now that the Divine idea in the world has been dethroned, he must himself fill the place, wield the sceptre and wear the crown !

Oh, dread succession to a dizzy post,  
 Sad sway of sceptre whose mere touch appals,  
 Ghastly dethronement, cursed by those the most  
 On whose repugnant brow the crown next falls.

There is always a certain element of comedy in the attitude of the greater critic, who seems to be saying, "I accept the world and its burden"; and Browning has not failed to appreciate that aspect of Renan's position.

The third speaker has no name. I used to fill the gap with the name of Thomas Hill Green, who about the close of my undergraduate days was giving me eyes and understanding to read the poem; and I used to dream that its origin lay in some conversation of the poet with the philosopher, at the college where the latter was resident and the former an occasional visitor. This third speaker has gone through the first and the second stages of thought, but he has not come to a standstill, like the second speaker: he has perceived that the relation of earth to heaven, of man to God, is real and must be thought out: he will not

let you rest until you have found your God  
again, and seen his Face :

Witless alike of will and way divine,  
How heaven's high with earth's low should intertwine !  
Friends, I have seen through your eyes : now use mine.

He has seen the dead come to life, for he has  
*watched when nature by degrees grows alive  
around him.* To him there is nothing dead in  
the world : there is only life and truth. The  
old religion has become real to him again,  
though the ceremonies and symbols no longer  
cling around it, or hide the real person from  
him. And the personality that has emerged  
from behind the veil is the one truth, the one  
reality in the world, Christ :

That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,  
Or decomposes but to recompose,  
Become my universe that feels and knows.





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Sketches in the Religious Antiquities of Asia Minor

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. 18 (1911/1912), pp. 37-79

Published by: [British School at Athens](#)

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# SKETCHES IN THE RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR.<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES I-IV.)

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## I.—THE TWO SANCTUARIES OF MEN.

IT is well known that in pre-Greek time a large part of Asia Minor was portioned out in theocracies, *i.e.* priest-kings representing the god, at great sanctuaries ruled over a considerable district whose population were servants and subjects of the central *hieron*. Such were Pessinus, Comana Pontica, Comana of Cappadocia, Venasa, Tyana, Antioch of Pisidia, the *hieron* of Sabazios in the Milyadic country,<sup>2</sup> etc. It would appear to be a necessary characteristic of such a theocracy that there should be only one centre, one *hieron*, one sanctuary. In the case of Antioch, however, this seems not to have been the case. Strabo, p. 577, indeed describes the *hieron* at Antioch as if it were a single centre ruling a wide tract of country peopled by a large population; but in p. 557 he says that there were two sanctuaries in the Antiochian country, 'the *hieron* of the Askaian (Men), which is beside Antioch-towards-Pisidia,

<sup>1</sup> In this paper I have profited by frequent conversation with Mr. Anderson during the winter. He is treating the cult of the goddess Demeter at Antioch in the *J.R.S.* from his own point of view: his article and mine supplement without contravening each other. I have occasion often to refer to articles of my own on aspects of this subject: (1) *The religion of Asia Minor and Greece* in Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, V. p. 112 ff.: (2) *The permanent attachment of religious veneration to ancient sites in Asia Minor* and (3) *Pagan Revivalism and the later persecutions in Pauline and Other Studies*: (4) *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces* (sometimes quoted as Q): (5) *The Tekmoreian Guest-friends* in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1912 (sometimes quoted simply as *Journal*). Our first impressions regarding the unexcavated *hieron* are described by Mrs. Hasluck in *J.H.S.* 1912, and by myself in the *Contemporary Review*, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> On this *hieron*, whose exact site is unknown, but about which we have learned more than we know about any other of the great *hiera*, see my *Cities and Bish.*, i. ch. ix.

and the *hieron* (of Men) in the region of the Antiochians.' The meaning of 'the region of the Antiochians' as a geographical term I hope shortly to discuss in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, and will only say here that it applies to the entire Phrygian region of the Galatic province, of which Antioch was the metropolis. But why has Antioch apparently two *hiera*? Why has this ancient theocracy two seats of the god?

The answer was given in the excavations conducted by the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in 1912 on the top of a lofty peak overhanging the site of the Colony. Here is the *hieron* of Men Askaïos beside Antioch, marked by hundreds of dedications; but the adjective has the form Askaênos except two cases of Askaïos.<sup>1</sup> We began to excavate, hoping to find the vestiges of a pre-Greek *hieron*; but at first we were disappointed to be unable to find any early remains. Everything was of the Roman period except some scraps of Hellenistic pottery, one inscription, and perhaps the peribolos wall of the main central sanctuary. At last the explanation became clear. The *hieron* beside Antioch was founded along with the city in the third century B.C. The ancient sanctuary was too far away, and the Seleucid city required a sanctuary near at hand. Thereafter there were the two *hiera*, the ancient *hieron* in the region of the Antiochians and the Greek close to the city.

It may be supposed that the new *hieron* would reflect in some degree the character of the city population. It was the sanctuary of the civilized and Hellenized urban people, while the other was rustic and frequented mainly by the old village-dwellers, who spoke the Phrygian tongue and did not share in Greek manners until a comparatively late date, and had no autonomy or self-governing institutions, but were only a small degree removed from the condition of serfs *adscripti glebae*. As in Palestine at the death of Solomon the theocratic kingdom was split into two, the modern and 'progressive' north and the conservative Judah in the south, so the Antiochian theocracy was divided between two sanctuaries presenting a general contrast to each other like that in Palestine. The city sanctuary was by far the most brilliant: it had buildings, and feasts and outward show, whereas the old *hieron* was so humble in appearance that as yet we have been unable to determine its site with certainty.<sup>2</sup> But in ritual the probability is that there was no essential

<sup>1</sup> In both cases 'Ασκαία denotes the land of the god.

<sup>2</sup> It may possibly have been at Saghir: see later in this paper.

difference, nothing but varying degree of magnificence. So far as natural probability goes, we should expect that the new sanctuary beside Antioch was modelled on the old, and even that the general features of the situation were similar, for the new *hieron* was not placed in or quite close to the city, but at some distance, high on the summit of a steep and rough mountain, 1300 ft. above Antioch. The situation was probably chosen because it presented a general similarity to the old *hieron*.

In ritual, also, the intention would doubtless be to reproduce the established features. The gods of the land had taught man how to approach them by acts and words; and these constituted the only way of approach. The gods must either be abandoned, or must be worshipped in their own proper ritual. As we excavated the *hieron* and the hall of initiation beside it, we thought that certain late features appeared; but on closer examination these prove to be parts of the old Phrygian custom. What we have found may be used with confidence as evidence of the primitive forms of the cult.

## II.—THE HALL OF INITIATION AT ANTIOCH (PLATE I.)

It is premature at present to describe the central sanctuary and the numerous hieratic and festal buildings around it. Further excavation is needed first. I restrict myself to a small number of monuments and to certain features in the hall of initiation. These show some striking characteristics; and it is a preparation for further study on the spot to attempt a description and classification of them. The reliefs are valueless as works of art, being rude village work. There was in later time no art on the central plateau. One may suspect that anything artistic even in the first century was imported or was the work of a stranger; but in the later third century it is clear that barbarism in art reigned at Antioch, and that there would have been no wish even to import a work of good art, and no appreciation of it if it had been imported.

None of the sculptures published or referred to in this article have any value for Museum purposes. We had to leave some of them in the possession of the native owners; those which we excavated were not thought by the officials worthy of transport to Constantinople, but were left in the cellar of the government house at Yalowadj.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The best things found were taken to Constantinople: the rest were piled in this local museum: some were buried where found, such as pottery (all valueless), large inscribed stones, etc.

The hall of initiation was probably a closed chamber, roofed and entered by a single door.<sup>1</sup> The Mysteries were celebrated at night, and the light came from one large torch, carried by the Dadouchos priest (Section XIV.). The hall, therefore, was an *ἄντρον* (*Journal*, p. 163, No. 26): the word *ἄντρον* is applicable both to artificial and to natural covered chambers. It was 53 ft. long by 45 ft. broad, as shown in the plan (Fig. 1). Its orientation is that of the central Sanctuary, which was built first and accommodated to the lie of the ground. The level space for the hall was got partly by cutting the sloping rock of the mountain. The wall N.E. nearest the Sanctuary was partly cut out of the rock. Its thickness is unknown, as the excavation has not been finished on that side.<sup>2</sup> On the inside a seat or divan 1 ft. 8 in. broad cut in the rock, extends from end to end.

The two walls N.W. and S.E. are about 4 ft. thick. The wall S.W. is 8 ft. thick: it had to be thicker, because it runs across the slope of the hill, and was liable to be pushed outwards and downwards. The corresponding wall of the central Sanctuary is about 20 ft. thick.<sup>3</sup> These walls are all built of dry stones, laid on without any binding material; and they derive their strength entirely from their weight and mass. They have no foundation, but are laid on the soil, and piled up. Similar walls are built very skilfully by the local masons at the present day: we employed a man to build some, and it was interesting to watch his way of working. The walls of the Sanctuary were faced with squared stones, but were otherwise made, like those of the present time, of unshaped stones chosen by the mason to suit the place where they were to be put. Plate I. gives four views taken in the hall.

<sup>1</sup> In 1913 we found that there was a second narrow door, 3 ft. wide, in the S.E. wall, 1 ft. 8 in. from the corner E. inside. This door was blocked in ancient times very roughly. Its purpose is obscure. A sort of Pronaos was added to the initiation hall, as shown in the plan, at some later time (whether before or after this door was blocked remains as yet uncertain): its floor was paved with large stones, and under these stones we found many bones, probably of sacrificial victims (though some were declared to be human), also some pottery fragments, which seem to imply that the Pronaos was a very late addition. The floor of the initiation hall consists of a layer of small stones close packed (exactly like the flooring of the stadium, except that the stones are smaller). The soil above the floor, both in hall and Pronaos, is full of bones and teeth of animals. Beneath the Pronaos floor and elsewhere teeth of pigs or wild boar were found, showing that the pig was not forbidden at this sanctuary (see *Histor. Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 32).

<sup>2</sup> In 1913 we found it to be nearly 4 ft. broad, like the N.W. and S.E. walls. All measurements in the Sanctuary and surroundings are only approximate.

<sup>3</sup> It is also strengthened by eight buttresses and two projecting gate posts, built contemporaneously with the wall.

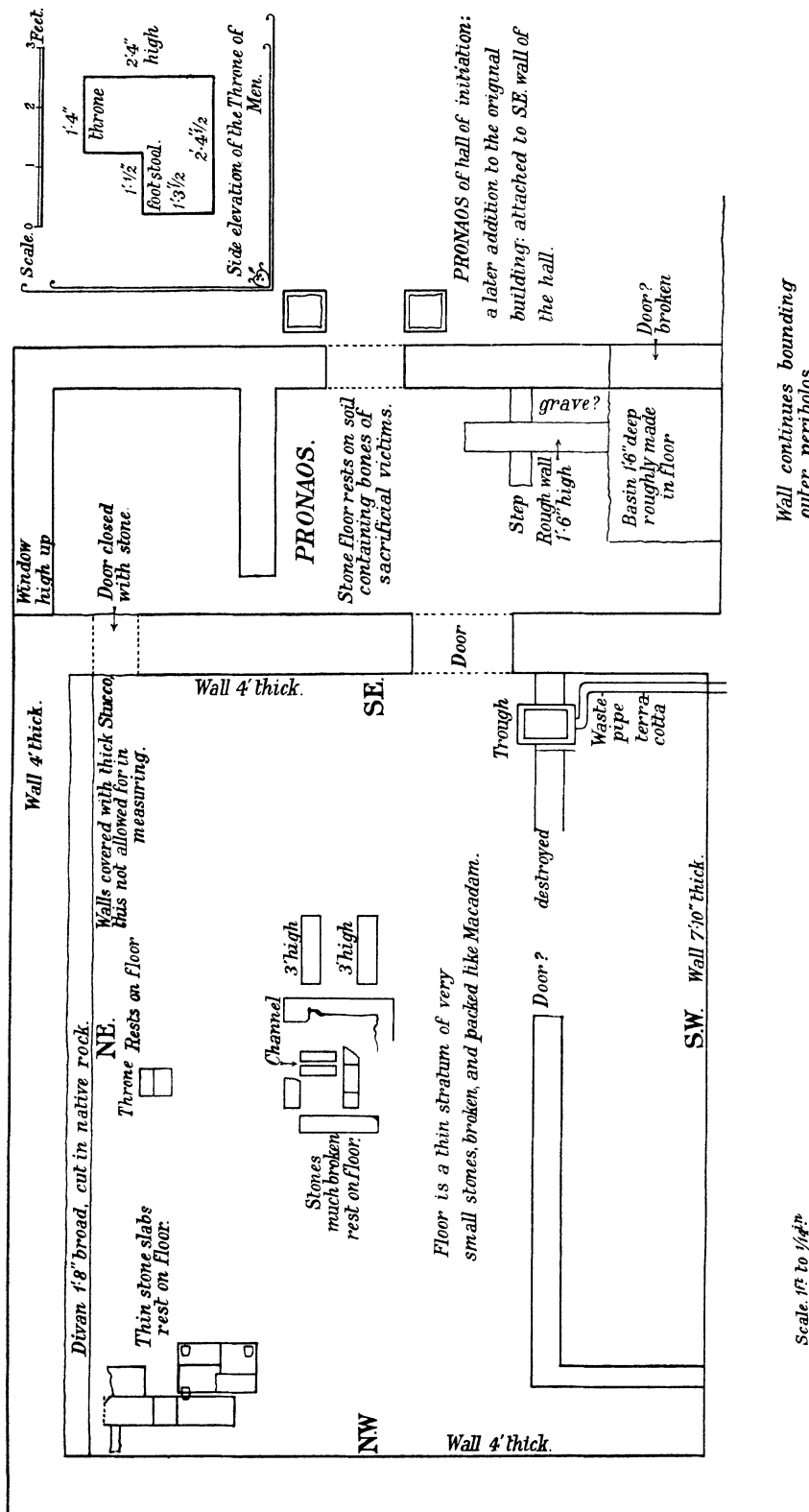


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF HALL OF INITIATION IN THE SANCTUARY OF MEN, EXCAVATED IN 1912, 1913.

While the information which we possess regarding the Phrygian Mysteries is very scanty, and the equipments of the hall are almost completely destroyed, yet the appearance of the chamber and study of the authorities suggest the theory which is stated in the following pages.

The hall of initiation is entered by a door in the S.E. wall, not in the middle, but nearer the S. corner. When the *mystes* entered, he found on his left a high shallow trough, perhaps intended for a preliminary purification; and in the S. corner and along the S.W. wall a series of constructions, now almost totally destroyed, with only faint traces remaining. Between the door and the S. corner, a terracotta waste-pipe carried off the liquid used in the trough, passed under the wall and went out downhill. A partition wall passed from the trough right across to the opposite (N.W.) wall of the initiation hall; but everything here is destroyed almost down to the level of the floor.

Appearances, therefore, point to the view that the part of the hall which lay on the left of the *mystes* as he entered, was separated in a certain degree from the larger part on his right. This separated part constituted a long narrow space or room distinct from the main hall though the separating wall may perhaps not have reached up to the roof, and may in part have consisted only of a colonnade with screens or hangings. The high trough projects 1 ft. beyond the bounding line of the separated chamber.

On Plate I. the view which is numbered 4 is taken from the N.W. wall looking along the dividing wall towards the chamber in the S. corner, and the trough and the door.

My theory is that this separate portion on the left, lying along the S.W. wall, was the scene of what is called *μύησις* in the strict sense. After the *μύησις* the *mystes* proceeded to the next, the higher and perfect stage of initiation, which took place in the centre and right hand part of the hall. The reasons for this view will appear in the sequel: it is stated at this stage only for clearness and to guard against misconception. The reason for separation between the part devoted to *μύησις* and the part devoted to the higher stage was that the former was not in the presence of the god, whereas the latter took place under the eye and before the face of the god. The *mystes*, after his first stage of initiation, was fit to enter the god's presence.

I assume also from the outset that the initiatory rites are those of the

Phrygian Mysteries, and not special Mysteries of the god Men. The grounds of this assumption will appear in detail throughout the article ; and the reasons for it seem conclusive.

The constructions in the hall of initiation are very obscure ; and at first sight we found them almost unintelligible. They have for the most part been destroyed down to the floor ; and the destruction is so complete that, as in the case of the central Sanctuary, it may be presumed to have been intentional. No mere chance destruction by Turkish peasants making use of the building would account for such systematic and complete ruin : the traveller is familiar with the ruin caused by ignorant peasants, but it is always sporadic, accidental, and often comparatively slight. The distance of the modern town, the inferior quality of the stones, and the difficulty of transport down a very steep and rough mountain, prove that the ruin was not caused by spoliation to make the buildings of the present or the old Turkish town : the ruins of the colonia Antiochia were much nearer and supplied better material. The marble, probably, was carried away from these buildings at the Sanctuary, but not the common stone.<sup>1</sup>

The clue to the explanation of the equipments in the initiation hall <sup>2</sup> lies in the observation that the ritual as a whole was Phrygian, and not foreign, and that the initiation rites must be interpreted by what is recorded regarding the Phrygian mystic ritual.

In doing this it is needless to discuss whether the testimony of Clement and other Christian writers refers to the Fleusinian or the Phrygian Mysteries. My view<sup>3</sup> is that in the Roman period the popular Mysteries had been to a large degree assimilated throughout the Eastern provinces. The process was partly by way of contamination, in such a fashion that each absorbed elements from the others ; but part of the cause lay in the original character of the most widely popular Mysteries, which was not essentially different in different places. Therefore the assimilation to a common type was easily produced. While considerable modifications may have taken place in certain Mysteries during the Roman

<sup>1</sup> The limestone blocks of the Sanctuary were taken in part to build the church close by.

<sup>2</sup> About the purpose of this building as a hall of initiation no doubt can exist ; and no doubt was felt by us after the clearing of the building was completed. We began the hall under the impression that it was the residence of the priest of Men. Its situation, outside the Sanctuary and oriented in the same direction, suggested this opinion ; but the progress of the excavation showed clearly the nature of the building.

<sup>3</sup> Of course this view is not special to myself ; I merely define my position.



period, the change was almost always in the way of addition: the original ritual remained as the nucleus of an elaborated ceremonial. Probably the Mysteries which are called Phrygian offer the best means of studying the others. The key to interpret the Antiochian Mysteries was found at Klaros near Colophon.

### III.—THE MYSTERIES AT KLAROS.

The excavations made by Makridi Bey for the Turkish Imperial Museum have thrown light on the Klarian Mysteries. He has published a series of inscriptions<sup>1</sup> from the *hieron*, which record the visits paid by single delegates, or more frequently groups of delegates or visitors, from foreign states to Apollo of Klaros. The delegation frequently was accompanied by a chorus of *hymnodoi*<sup>2</sup> (in one case called *molpoi*), which sang a hymn in honour of the god. Laodiceia on the Lycus sent more than one delegation to consult and do honour to the Klarian Apollo. There was a shrine of the Pythian Apollo at Laodiceia, and the prophet of this shrine was in one case the delegate to Klaros. On coins of Laodiceia Pythian types hardly appear,<sup>3</sup> but the games Pythia are once mentioned:<sup>4</sup> this Pythian Apollo was not the great Laodicean deity, but more probably only the god of the Hellenic colonists who were introduced to strengthen Seleucid authority and civilization; while the native Phrygian population kept their god (Zeus, as he was Hellenized, or once apparently Aseis). The Apollo of Laodiceia spoke to and enquired of the Apollo of Klaros.

In passing we may note that this chorus of singers is an extremely interesting feature, and we should gladly learn something about the music and the hymns that they sang. The chorus sometimes came from a long distance to Klaros: it consisted of youths and maidens, called *κόροι* and

<sup>1</sup> *Oest. Jahreshefte*, 1906 and 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Bodies of *hymnodoi* were common in Phrygia and Asia Minor generally, e.g. at Akmonia and Hypaipa: see *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. pp. 630, 646, 359; Keil-v. Premerstein, *Oest. Jahreshefte*, 1908, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Head has cut this coin out of the new edition of his *Hist. Num.*, evidently regarding the authority as insufficient. Eckhel quotes it from Gori, *Mus. Flor.*; but no good numismatist has verified the coin.

κόραι, or ἡῖθεοι and παρθένοι. In one of the inscriptions it is stated that the chorus came in accordance with an oracle.

Evidence is found in distant inscriptions of similar delegations to the Klarian Apollo. In the Praipenissian territory of North Phrygia an altar was erected to this god, and the oracle which he had given was engraved on it.<sup>1</sup> In Lydia at Troketta, west from Sardis, a dedication was made to Apollo the Saviour in accordance with a Klarian oracle, which is engraved on the basis.<sup>2</sup> The date of all these monuments both at and far from Klaros seems to be generally about 50 to 200 after Christ.

These delegations usually sought an oracle. The leaders of the delegations are called 'enquirers' (θεοπρόποι); but the response of the god is not given in the Klarian texts, which mention only the names of the delegates and chorus, and the religious rites which they performed at the temple.

Some of the enquirers were initiated in the Mysteries. The words recording this rite vary. In one case the enquirer ἐπετέλεσε καὶ μυστήρια 'performed also the mystic ritual (besides consulting the oracle).' This describes the act in the most general, vague, and uninformative terms. More illuminative are two other cases.<sup>3</sup> In one there appear two enquirers, who being initiated performed the act called ἐμβατεύειν (μυηθέντες ἐνεβάτευσαν): here this act is apparently a climax or sequel to the initiation. The other case is even more interesting: the enquirer, 'having received the mystic things and words' from the hierophant, performed the act called ἐμβατεύειν (παραλαβὼν τὰ μυστήρια ἐνεβάτευσεν). The general term used in the other case, 'being initiated,' is here more specifically defined in the words, 'receiving the mysteria' from the hierophant. The correlative expression indicating the act of the hierophant, 'the handing over of the mystic things' (παράδοσις τῶν μυστηρίων), is also technical. Both terms must be understood to indicate the ceremony of initiation as a whole (as M. Ch. Lécirvain says),<sup>4</sup> including the exhibition of the mystic objects, the performance of the mystic acts, and the utterance of the mystic formulae

<sup>1</sup> It is published by Professor A. Petrie in my *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Buresch in his *Klaros*, and more correctly by Keil and v. Premerstein in their *Reise in Lydien* in *Wiener Jahreshefte*, 1910, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Makridi Bey published an earlier article on his excavations in the *Jahreshefte* for 1906. One of the two texts is in that first article.

<sup>4</sup> See art. *Mysteria* in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiquités*, iii, p. 2142 A, note 6.

(*δεικνύμενα, δρώμενα, λεγόμενα*); but the exhibition of the objects is the most important part of the whole and gives origin to the title of the Hierophant (*ἱερά φαίνων*). The 'tradition or reception of the mysteries,' then, includes all that is given or received, words, enlightenment, etc.

The climax of the 'tradition and reception' is the act called *Ἐμβατεύειν*, 'taking stand on.' This is the word that Paul caught up and used as preeminently suitable for his purpose in Colossians, ii. 18, where he is writing against one of the Colossian Christians who was introducing into the teaching of the Church, ideas caught from the Mysteries.<sup>1</sup>

The century following A.D. 140 was apparently the time when the fame of Klaros was most widely spread. The oracle and cult must have exercised real influence in bringing about that revival of pagan religion which played such a marked part in the last struggles against the growing power of Christianity (commonly called the 'persecutions' of Decius, Diocletian, and Maximin). In these, and in the last especially, the Empire allied itself with the old cults to resist the new faith.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV.—THE ACT CALLED *Ἐμβατεύειν* IN THE PHRYGIAN MYSTERIES.

We need not hesitate to assume that the Mysteries celebrated at Klaros were closely allied to the 'Phrygian' Mysteries, and may be used to illustrate them in all important respects. This term, *ἐμβατεύειν*, which was evidently technical at Klaros, was known to Paul, and is understood by him to be familiar to the Colossians (ii. 18). It was, in the Phrygian cities, technical for some important act in the Mystic ceremonial. This act was not part of, but followed after the *μύησις* proper: *μνηθέντες ἐνεβάτευσαν*. What, then, was this act? Can we determine its nature? A hypothesis is forced on us by a careful scrutiny of certain features in the Antiochian hall of initiation: the act seems to have been performed in this hall, not during the *μύησις*, but in the centre of the hall during the higher stage of the Mystic ritual. It was therefore a highly significant ceremony.

The verb *ἐμβατεύειν* means to step into, set foot on, take one's stand on: often it suggests entrance with the purpose of staying. The use in

<sup>1</sup> On this see an article in the *Contemporary Review*, 1913, also a short letter in the *Athenaeum*, Jan. 25, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Some features in these persecutions as revealed by inscriptions are described in a paper on *Pagan Revivalism and the Persecutions* (see the writer's *Pauine and other Studies in the History of Religion*, Art. IV.).

respect of a ship is typical: the voyager sets foot on the ship with the intention of making the voyage in it. This has led the Revisers in Colossians, ii. 18 to render the verb as 'dwelling in,' which is not right, though one sees how the translators were led to use the expression. The marginal 'taking his stand upon' is better: whereas the Authorized Version, 'intruding into,' suggests a quite wrong idea. *Ἐμβατεύειν* is to enter on one's own, to tread the right path, rather than to intrude unlawfully.

Although the word (with derivatives) is never used<sup>1</sup> on coins, yet there is a common coin type, characteristic almost exclusively<sup>2</sup> of Asia Minor, in which this action must be recognized. The type is a hero stepping on to the prow of a vessel: he usually is represented in warlike guise and action, looking back as if he were calling others to follow.<sup>3</sup> The person represented is usually the local hero,<sup>4</sup> and, as the ship occurs on coins in the heart of Asia Minor, hundreds of miles from the sea, the embarkation must be understood as typical of emigration from a foreign transmarine country: the hero leads the migration and cheers on his comrades to follow him. At Erythrae however the hero, who on the coin is named Erythros, steps quietly on to the prow, looking forward, not back. At Amastris, Nicomedeia, etc., the hero is probably starting on the Argonautic Expedition; and this expedition is a mythical expression of the coming of Greek colonization and civilization into those regions. In other cases the hero is landing, stepping from the ship to the shore. At Abydos the scene is local: the tower indicates the coast of the Hellespont, and the hero (named on the coin Lucullus) is landing: probably Lucullus was worshipped as a local hero since the Mithradatic wars, and he steps on to the shore where his cult was to be perpetuated. At Laodiceia on the Lycus, also, the scene is local, for the two rivers appear on each side of the hero, who typifies therefore the colony settled between the rivers Lycus and Kapros: there is no ship in this case, as Laodiceia was an inland

<sup>1</sup> Vaillant has Apollo *Ἐμβαάσιος* on an Ephesian coin; but Mr. Head considers that this (otherwise unknown) coin is misread, and is a bad specimen of the *Ἰκέσιος* coin.

<sup>2</sup> It is found also at Thebes in Thessaly and at Elaious of the Chersonese.

<sup>3</sup> In what follows I do little more than select from what is said by Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, v. pp. 25 ff., vi. 1. He differs from the interpretation suggested by Dr. Regling in *Klio*, viii. pp. 489 ff., and recurs to the usual and accepted interpretation.

<sup>4</sup> Regling takes him as Hector or Aeneas on Phrygian coins, and does not take the other coins into consideration.

city.<sup>1</sup> The idea common to all these coins is the new city life, symbolized by the hero founder stepping on to the land of the colony, or on to the ship that is to bear him to that land across the sea. The entrance on a new life, the settlement in a new home—that is *ἐμβατεύσαι*. The word, it is true, is not engraved on the coins, but it is clearly indicated.

This thought of stepping into a new life, therefore, was familiar in Asia Minor, and it would be in accord with the philosophic thought which underlay the Mysteries (as we shall see) that a similar idea should find some symbolical expression in them. The term, as used in both the inscriptions, evidently indicates the climax or final act in the mystic ceremonial; 'being initiated,' or 'receiving the mystic things and words, they performed the act called *ἐμβατεύειν*,' symbolizing that they had entered on a new life, and intended to continue therein.

#### V.—ENTRANCE TO THE HIGHER STAGE IN THE MYSTERIES.

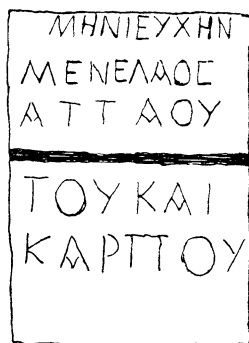
The act called *ἐμβατεύειν* followed upon and was the climax of the *μύησις*: this is clearly indicated by the two expressions *μνηθέντες ἐνεβάτευσαν* and *παραλαβὼν τὰ μυστήρια ἐνεβάτευσεν*; and yet the act is only an entrance and a beginning. The initiation is here conceived as a preparation leading up to a new beginning: the *mystai* received the mystic things and words (from the hierophant): thereafter they 'entered,' or 'set foot on' (the new stage). There is implied in this a ceremonial in two stages, the *Μύησις* and the *Embateusis*, if we may coin a technical term from the verb. The second stage must evidently correspond to the *Epoptika* at Eleusis (where the word *ἐμβατεύειν* does not occur, so far as is known).

The two stages correspond admirably to the arrangements in the hall of initiation at Antioch (Pl. I. and Fig. 1). The *μύησις* took place in the separate part of the hall, along the S.W. wall. Then the *mystes* was led into the centre of the hall (which is on the right hand as one enters by the door already described, probably the only door of the hall). Here there took place a new series of rites, which we can trace in their general

<sup>1</sup> Allied cases are at Dardanos, the hero Dardanos embarking on a voyage: at Thebes of Phthiotis, Protesilaos from Thebes newly landed on the coast of Troy, which was to be his home in death; at Elaius in the Thracian Chersonese Protesilaos, whose grave and shrine were here, stands on a ship's prow looking forward. At Samos, Imhoof thinks that the hero (of the usual type) is Ankaïos starting on the Argonautic expedition.

sequence. The *mystes* was brought to an entrance between two upright slabs of stone not unlike the two famous sculptured slabs in the *Forum Romanum* (supposed by some to have stood on the Rostra), but much simpler.

These two slabs, of roughly hewn limestone, about 3 ft. high and 4 ft. 6 in. long and 1 ft. 6 in. thick, stood parallel to one another, so as to form an entrance 2 ft. 8 in. broad, and 4 ft. 6 in. long. As the *mystes* approached this entrance, he saw that a slightly architectural look was imparted to it by some cutting on the front of the two slabs (on the corresponding back part of the slabs there is no cutting).<sup>1</sup> Outside the entrance, to the left side of the left-hand slab, there stands on the ground a very large shallow bowl of stone (Plate I. 1): whether this was its original position is hard to say. The *mystes* entered this doorway, passed through it, and emerged into the presence of the god himself. The god's throne was placed in front of the N.E. wall of the hall, free in the open space (Plate I. 2, 4). It is marked as his throne by the inscription engraved on it in late letters, about 300 A.D.



Μηνὶ εὐχὴν

Μενέλαος

Ἀττάου

τοῦ καὶ

Κάρπου

As it would be unsafe to suppose an error of the engraver for Ἀττάλου, the name Attaês must be assumed for the father of Menelaos. It has been pointed out in the already quoted paper<sup>2</sup> on the Pagan Revivalism that divine names were much used during the reaction against Christianity: Attaês otherwise called Karpos must be interpreted in this light, like Theoteknos, Athanatos and many others.

<sup>1</sup> The appearance of the tops proves that cut stones or other material must have rested on the slabs which are still standing in the hall. Thus the entrance formerly had an even stronger resemblance to a door than at present. (Pl. I, 4)

<sup>2</sup> Section III, p. 46.

The hypothesis that suggests itself is that the two slabs mark the entrance to the divine presence and the new life. The person who presents himself at this gateway after being initiated in the first stage is permitted to set foot on the threshold and to enter on the higher life (*ἐμβάτευν*). Having entered, he is admitted to the advanced stages and scenes of the Mysteries; and these take place before the throne of the god and in his presence.

Whether the throne was empty during this and the next scene, being reserved for the unseen god, or was occupied by the priest as representing the god on earth, must remain uncertain; but the latter alternative is more probable. The whole ceremonial of the higher grade was the approach of man to god, and its subject was the identification of the *mystes* with the god. The promise was given to the purified 'Happy and blessed, thou shalt be god instead of mortal.' The priest and priestess played the parts of the god and goddess through the scenes of the higher grade. To be identified with the god and goddess is the goal of human life. The goal was attained, as many epitaphs in Phrygia show, at blissful death, when the dead returns to the mother who bore him; and it was attained also as the result of initiation and *Embateuein*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, we know that the active part in the next scene of the ceremonial was performed by a minister; and there seems no place for the priest (who must have been present), except as presiding and occupying the holy chair.

## VI.—THE HIGHER PURIFICATION.

Having passed through the entrance way, the *mystes* found himself close to a quadrangular pool or *lacus*, like the *impluvium* of a Roman *atrium*. This *lacus* is 1 ft. 4 in. from the ends of the entrance slabs (Plate I. 4). It stretched before him, about 9 ft. long, and 7 ft. 6 in. broad. A water channel enters from N.E., but where the water (or other liquid) came from is uncertain.<sup>2</sup> The pool must have been quite shallow, so that no thought of immersion or complete baptism can occur. In the *lacus* and parallel to

<sup>1</sup> The same idea, which in these examples is expressed in an antique religious form that remained throughout the later pagan period, appears also in epitaphs in a philosophic form: all (material) things spring from the earth and return to the earth (*ἐκ γῆς εἰς γῆν τὰ γαθὰ* and other variations): on which see Keil-v. Premerstein, ii. *Reise in Lydien*, p. 46 and the references which they mention.

<sup>2</sup> The channel runs far into the pool, and is bordered by two small slabs of stone, 2 ft. 6 in. long, 6 in. broad. It is at the bottom of the pool. The sides of the pool were never cemented, so that it could never have held water, except in very small quantity.



its S.W. border is a line of two or more stones, which stand in the space between the end of the channel and the opposite (S.W.) border.

Presumably some kind of purificatory ceremony was performed at this pool. The stones look as if the *mystes* and the officiating priest both stood in the *lacus*, the priest on the stones, the *mystes* beside him (probably cowering down on his heels at first).

A rite of similar type formed part of the Phrygian Mysteries. Demosthenes describes it,<sup>1</sup> in his invective against Aeschines, whose mother was a strolling priestess—one of those that carried the religion of Phrygian Cybele about Attica in the fourth century B.C.—and who had acted as her assistant minister. ‘When you grew to man’s estate,’ says the orator, ‘you assisted your mother as she performed the ritual: you read from the books the words of the formulae and helped her in the rest of the foolery. By night you used to put the fawnskin on and pour water from the krater over, and perform the rite of cleansing for those whom she was initiating, and you used to scrub them with mud and bran, and make them stand up<sup>2</sup> after the purification, and bid them say: “I have escaped the evil: I have found the better” (*ἔφυγον κακόν· εὖρον ἄμεινον*).’

This was the rite, probably, that was performed at the *lacus*, before the throne of the god.

I have never been able to doubt that words like this formula had a moral sense, and implied that in the Mysteries some suggestion of progress in social life was set forth before the *Mystai*. There was in the Mysteries no formal dogmatic teaching; but by means of actions, verbal formulae, and things that were shown to the initiated, certain ideas and lessons about human nature and its relations to the divine power were suggested.

#### VII.—THE HOLY MARRIAGE.

From the purificatory scene, the *Mystes* moved on—perhaps through several intermediate scenes—to the perfect scene of human life, the representation of the foundation on which society rests. This was the mystic marriage of the god and the goddess, as symbolic of earthly marriage. The divine life is the model of human life. The gods have taught what men should do, both in their relation to one another and in their relation to god. Many reliefs represent the deity as teaching

<sup>1</sup> *De Corona*, 259 f.

<sup>2</sup> They had been cowering before.



man by doing in person what man should do in approaching god. The gods themselves reveal to men the right way of living. As an example a relief of Koloe in Lydia may be quoted: a drawing of it is published in my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 63, and another in Roscher's *Lexicon*, iv, 244, by Keil and v. Premerstein.<sup>1</sup> The relief is in two zones: in the upper the god performs the same act of libation on an altar which the priest is performing in the lower zone. There is a heavenly counterpart and model for everything on earth.

Much might be said about the Holy Marriage in the Mysteries. My view is that the early marriage ceremony of the Anatolian and pre-Hellenic Greek religion was the performance by the human pair of the mystic rite. The gods have taught what should be done, and men must do the same. According to a scholiast, the married pair celebrate the sacred marriage in honour of Zeus and Hera. Usener, *Ital. Mythen* in *Rh. Mus.* xxx. p. 227, quotes this from *Lex. Rhetor.* p. 670 (Porson), p. 345 (Nauck), and unhesitatingly refers it to the Athenian rite. The rites of early Anatolian Marriage were adopted by the Gauls of Galatia long before the Christian era, as is proved in my *Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, pp. 88–91. A survival of the same rite is alluded to in the legend of St. Abercius.

In the Attic marriage rite the formula, ἔφυγον κακόν· εὖρον ἄμεινον, was pronounced. The Attic rite, therefore, goes back to a model in the earliest form of the Mysteries, a form common to Anatolia and Attica. This marriage rite was a performance of the sacred marriage as shown in the Mysteries, with the bride and bridegroom playing the parts of the goddess and the god, while the priestess of Demeter taught them. In the Mysteries the priest and priestess represented the divine pair; and, as ancient authorities from different points of view mention, the rite of the divine marriage was enacted by the priest and the priestess within the *Pastos*, the holy nuptial chamber. Considering the character of several scenes which are mentioned as occurring in the Mysteries, and considering the duty of service at these Anatolian sanctuaries, mentioned by Strabo as being in his time still imposed on women, we must infer that the holy marriage was exhibited as the newer and higher law. The Mysteries present human life as a progress from savagery: the life of the

<sup>1</sup> Less accurate representation in Wagener's art. in *Mémoires Couronnés par l'Acad. de Belgique*, xxx. The relief has often been described.

god and goddess was played as a drama of progress in moralisation. The servants of the goddess in their human life passed as a matter of ritual through the same stages of knowledge and life as the goddess herself; and the service as *παλλακίς* was required from devotees as a preliminary to the higher life of marriage in the Lydian city of Tralleis as late as the end of the second century after Christ.<sup>1</sup> In no other way can the testimony of Cicero and other good authorities as to the purifying and elevating influence of the mystic ceremonial be interpreted.

Dieterich thinks that the marriage in the Mysteries was of the god and the *mystes* (conceived always as female). That this was so seems not probable. The Mysteries are originally the cult of Cybele, in whose life the god is a by-figure and an episode. The goddess was originally the embodiment of the divine idea, as the mother, nurturer, teacher, and guardian of her people. Dieterich's idea could only be true in a late development of the Anatolian religion, when the god had become the principal figure. Yet we may accept his view in this form, that the *mystae* identify themselves in sympathy with the life and the action of the divine pair.

Now at the N. corner of the hall at Antioch are what I take to be traces of the *Pastos*, viz. the supporting stones on which probably the *Pastos* rested, and in it the marks of three of the feet of the holy bed for the marriage ceremony. To this *Pastos* belongs the scene alluded to in the formula quoted by Clemens: 'I have eaten from the tympanon: I have drunk from the cymbal: I have carried the kernos: I have gone into the Pastos:' *ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν*. It is probable that all these four acts were parts of the same final scene. Eating from the same bowl and drinking from the same cup (in each case divine utensils being employed) were naturally parts of the marriage rite;<sup>2</sup> but the words are not certain, as Firmicus gives them differently: *ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα· ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα· γέγονα μύστης Ἀττεως*. Similar words may have been used at two separate parts of the holy drama. The words quoted by Firmicus imply, perhaps, that the eating and drinking which he has in mind took place in the *μύησις*; and that these acts are quoted in the *Embateusis*

<sup>1</sup> See the inscription which I published in *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 276, and which has frequently been reprinted and commented on.

<sup>2</sup> On the meaning and nature of the rite see my article on *Anatolian Religion* in *Hastings' Dic. Bib.* V. p. 127 A.

as justification for the *Mystes* presenting himself for the higher stage. He had become initiated and he enters on the higher grade: *μυηθεὶς ἐνεβάτευσεν*, according to the Klarian inscription.

It may be regarded as highly probable that the verb *ἐμβατεύειν*, while strictly denoting the first step in the higher initiation, implies also the succeeding steps; and that *ἐνεβάτευσεν* in the Klarian inscriptions means that the person after being initiated in the (lower grade of the) Mysteries, *i.e.* *γεγονὸς μύστης Ἀττεως*, performed the whole higher grade: in other words, *Embateusis* implied the entire *Epoptika*, following on the actual entrance.

#### VIII.—THE GOD OF ANTIOCH.

The ritual, as far as we can trace it, is purely Phrygian. The god Men, if he was in origin foreign and non-Phrygian (as to which I express no positive opinion), was taken into the divine family of the Anatolian cult, and identified with a figure of that cult. This figure was Attis, Atis, Attes, or Atys.<sup>1</sup> On this supposition the assumed immigrant Men, the god of a foreign incoming race, was identified with the Phrygian Atis, just as in Attica the immigrant Poseidon was identified with the Erechtheus of the Athenaia cult, and the double name Poseidon-Erechtheus remained in official use (though popular tradition and custom in Attica preserved the memory of the two distinct figures and kept the names separate, as in Phrygia).

Men continued to be the predominant figure of the Antiochian cult. The main Sanctuary belongs to him. Every one of the hundreds of dedications is to him (where any name is mentioned).<sup>2</sup> Yet the title of his priest was *ἱερεὺς Μηνὸς καὶ Δημητρός*, and in the process of clearing the Sanctuary we found a small 'chapel' in the S. corner, which was evidently sacred to a goddess of the Demeter or Cybele type, as all the objects found in it were of that cult. It may be assumed that in the title of the priest (towards 300 A.D.) Demeter is a Hellenization of the Phrygian Cybele. When the priest was made into an Archiereus, the name of

<sup>1</sup> The spelling varies, and the second vowel: Atis occurs in an official Pessinuntine inscription of the second century B.C., Atyochorion in the Hyrgalean plain near Dionysopolis, Attiourke at Orkistos, and Attoudda on the Phrygo-Carian frontier.

<sup>2</sup> Zeus of Heliopolis is once mentioned as consecrated in the sanctuary.

the goddess was dropped, and only ἀρχιερεὺς πατρίου θεοῦ Μηνὸς Ἀσκαηνοῦ remained.<sup>1</sup>

This would, even standing alone, be a sufficient and complete proof that, in Antioch, either Men was adopted into the ritual of a Demeter-Cybele goddess, or *vice versa*; and in Phrygia the latter alternative may be mentioned only to be dismissed as impossible. The importance of the goddess is confirmed by the fact that she had also a separate temple at a little distance from the great Sanctuary. This temple is in a very ruinous condition, but there were found in it only objects of the Cybele or Artemis ritual.<sup>2</sup> There were no inscriptions with the name of the deity; but the objects showed clearly that the goddess was regarded both as Artemis and as Cybele. The same double identification is characteristic of the whole Antiochian region: the name used is generally Artemis, but the features are those of Cybele or of the Ephesian goddess, and the priest is an *Archigallos* (who is peculiar to the Cybele worship).<sup>3</sup>

If Men Askaênos was a foreign god introduced into the Phrygian cult, he would certainly have to be regarded as coming from the East, for his presence in Pontus and among the Albanoi favours that view. On the other hand there is no evidence to disprove the opinion expressed in my *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. p. 169: 'Men and Attis are deities of similar character, probably derived ultimately from the same cultus, but differentiated by development in different surroundings: in the fact that the city where Men Karou is worshipped bears the name Attoudda "City of Attis," we may fairly see a proof of the ultimate identity of these two deities.'

Yet it must be remembered that from the inscriptions alone we could find no evidence to differentiate Anaitis of Lydia and Maconia as foreign from the native Anatolian Artemis. In the cult, as it appears in inscriptions,

<sup>1</sup> On the whole process see Anderson in *J.R.S.* 1913: he states the evidence and proves the inferences fully.

<sup>2</sup> This temple is too ruinous to give positive evidence; but probably it is older than the central Sanctuary. It stands on the highest peak of the mountain, close under the summit, and is perhaps pre-Hellenic, representing the original sanctity of this spot as an isolated lofty mountain (clearly divided from Sultan Dag by a deep chasm) among the old Phrygian and pre-Phrygian natives. In my article in the *Contemp. Rev.* 1912, stress was laid on the spring near the top of the mountain, close to the church, as being probably an element in causing the sanctity: this is corroborated by a dedication to the Nymphs (*Nyphai*) found in the wall of the church in 1913. The surface of the mountain top is strewn with scraps of haematite iron ore; but we saw no sign that the ore was smelted.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson, *l.c.*

the foreign and Persian Artemis was quite merged in the native goddess. It is however certain both that Anaitis was an immigrant goddess, brought by the foreigners whom the Persian kings planted in Lydia, and that there were features in her cult (as Pausanias mentions) which betrayed her difference in character from the purely Lydian goddess. It may be the same with Men. The case is not yet decided.

As Men is paired at Antioch with Demeter, so in the Lydian Katakekaumene (*i.e.* Maeonia) he is paired with Anaitis or Meter Artemis or Meter Atimis: see Keil-v.Premmerstein, *Reise in Lydien*, 1908, p. 29; Drexler in Roscher's *Lex. art. Men*, ii. 2703 f.; S. Reinach, *Chron. d'Orient*, i. 159; Perdrizet, *B.C.H.* xx. 1896, pp. 99 f.; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 67.

#### IX.—THE GODDESS AT ANTIOCH.

The goddess to whom the chapel in the Sanctuary of Men was dedicated, was indicated as Demeter, not merely in the official title, but also by a marble statue of small size, perhaps about 3 ft. high. This stood in the chapel which was appropriated to the goddess in the corner of the sanctuary of Men. In the wreck of the sanctuary the statue was broken in pieces, and we found nothing of it except the head, which is figured in an article by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson in a forthcoming number of the *Journal of Roman Studies*. This head is one of a Janiform pair, two complete heads joined at the back, with a single high *kalathos* rising between them. Either we have here a duplication of the goddess, perhaps in two different aspects as Demeter and Artemis, or Demeter and Selene (compare the triplication described in the following Section X.), or the statue presents conjoined heads of Men and Demeter. On one side of the *kalathos* is a crescent, and on each of the two fronts of the *kalathos* is a star. Thus each head has its own star, while the crescent belongs to the two heads in common. A simple duplication of Demeter might be compared with the two Nemeseis of Smyrna.

That the goddess Demeter, who is paired with Men at Antioch in the official title on inscriptions, must be simply a Hellenized form of Cybele, seems to me to be beyond doubt. The cult, so far as we can trace it in the archaeological evidence, is the Phrygian ritual. Demeter has no footing in Phrygia, except through the tendency, which grew strong in late Roman times, to identify the divine conceptions of different regions, and to empha-

size the similarity of the Mysteries at Eleusis with Mysteries in general. On coins of Antioch Cybele occurs, and Artemis, both of the type Pergaia and of the Hellenic type ; but not Demeter.

My view has been and is, that in a large number of cases the names of Hellenic gods in Asia Minor were applied in Greek inscriptions to the native gods. Dr. Drexler on Men, p. 2757, thinks I have carried this principle too far, but acknowledges that it is true to a certain extent.<sup>1</sup> I do not count it as invariably applicable: *e.g.* at Laodiceia (as above mentioned) I think that Apollo was a true Greek god, but Zeus was a Hellenic name used of a Phrygian god (and so also Asklepios in the same city). Opinions will be different as to the limits of application of this principle. But in the case of Demeter at Antioch I am sure that Dr. Drexler will recognize Cybele under a Greek name, quite as confidently as I do.

An example of the late tendency to introduce into Anatolia Eleusinian forms appears in an inscription of Almasun in Lycaonia (near the site of Derbe), published by Sterrett, W. E. No. 40, and recopied by me in 1901.<sup>2</sup>

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Οὔετρα(νός?) πατήρ καὶ Ἀτιλία Ἰνγένονα μήτηρ  
ἐκόσμησαν Ἀτιλίαν | Μαρτίαν θυγατέρα | ἐτῶν ιε'. | wreath | παρθέναν  
ἀπὸ Δα[ε]ίρας τιμῆς χάριν.

The last two lines, separated by a wreath, express a title of honour which belonged to the lost girl. Mr. Calder pointed out to me that Daeira is an old Attic or Eleusinian heroine or goddess, wife of Eumolpos the hero-ancestor of the Eumolpidae priests. Her nature has been much discussed,<sup>3</sup> and the question need not here be treated ; but the fact that she appears in native Attic ritual inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. shows that she is ancient in Attica, and therefore cannot be regarded as a true Lycaonian figure. She belongs to the extension of Hellenic names and forms over Asia Minor.

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay's an verschiedenen Stellen ausgesprochene Ansicht, dass die beiden grossen einheimischen Gottheiten Kleinasiens, die er sich zu einander im Verhältniss von Mutter und Sohn stehend denkt, unter den mannigfachsten Namen, je nach den verschiedenen Seiten ihres Wesens, uns entgegentreten, verdient ja gewiss Beachtung. Aber . . . then he assigns a larger share than I think right, to the Greek element in the population of inner Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> I made the following corrections on Sterrett's copy, comparing it with the stone : 3, for THN read THP (as St. corrects in transcription), 8, for IAC read PAC. A and C are difficult to distinguish from A and E.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iii. pp. 138 f., 338 and the ancient authorities and modern scholars quoted by him on Daeira.

What the exact sense of *παρθέναν ἀπὸ Δαείρας* may be is doubtful. The words cannot mean 'descended from Daeira,' for in that case *τῶν ἀπὸ Δαείρας* would be the proper form, compare Ἄρδης τῶν ἀπ' Ἄρδης Ἡρακλειδῶν at Klaros. Perhaps it means 'maiden of the course or service of Daeira': Atilia was a *parthenos* in a chorus of the ritual. Of this kind of chorus of *Hymnodoi* examples are mentioned in the earlier part of this paper. Possibly the ἡῖθεοι of the chorus were called ἀπὸ Εὐμόλπου, and the *παρθένοι* were ἀπὸ Δαείρας: Mr. Calder compares *aedituus a Diana*.

On *παρθέναν* for *παρθενόν* see Hatzidakis in *Einleitung in die neuogr. Grammatik*, p. 24. It is possible that *οὔετρα* may be an abbreviation of *οὔετρανός*, and that Ti. Claudius was a retired soldier; but this abbreviation is rare in Anatolian epigraphy<sup>1</sup>; and we should perhaps regard it as a cognomen, treating *Vetera Οὔετρα* as accusative used for nominative. The name Ti. Claudius requires some cognomen (like Vetus).

The hieratic use of *παρθένος* may be illustrated from another Lycanian inscription (found between Lystra, Korna?, Nova Isaura, and Isaura, at the village of Appa)<sup>2</sup>: *Μᾶ, Παππᾶ θυγάτηρ, παρθένος κὲ κατὰ γένος ἰέρεια τῆς θεοῦ κὲ | τῶν ἁγίων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέλαβεν κὲ | ἐκεράμωσεν τὸν ναόν*. From this text it can be confidently gathered that Ma belonged to a priestly family: she bears the name of the goddess whose priestess she is, and her father bears the name of his god (though *Παπᾶς* is a more usual spelling than *Παππᾶς*). Doubtless in her youth she had acted as one of the *παρθένοι* in a chorus of *Hymnodoi* (such as are described in Section III.). Hieratic duty in the late pagan revival seems to have lain to some considerable extent in certain old priestly families, for several inscriptions lay stress on the hereditary nature of the duty. The family of the Epitynchanoi played an important part in the movement from the time of Decius to that of Maximin.<sup>3</sup> Aurelia Aemilia, the pallakis (already mentioned in Section VII, p. 53 note), mentions that she was sprung ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπτοπόδων.

<sup>1</sup> I know no other example.

<sup>2</sup> In *B.C.H.* xi, 1887, p. 63 the text (which I have vainly sought in repeated visits) is published by MM. Radet and Paris: their copy seems almost perfectly correct, but not their transcription. The copy needs only one correction: **K** three times should have a short horizontal stroke in the angle, making it a *lettre liée* of **κ** and **ε**. This ligature is very common, but is not often observed by copyists.

<sup>3</sup> Various examples of this class of inscriptions of the pagan reaction are given in a paper on *Pagan Revivalism and the Persecutions of the Early Church*, in my *Pauline and Other Studies*, pp. 103 ff. (where, as I observed too late, the inscription of Ma is quoted and restored).



## X.—THE GODDESS OF ANTIOCH AS HEKATE. (Plate II.)

A small marble statuette, 6 inches high, found in the temple of Artemis Cybele, presents a remarkable (and so far as my knowledge extends, unique) conception of the goddess. It has a certain resemblance to the Greek Hekate Trimorphos, showing a triple-bodied, and triple-headed female figure, united in a single half-columnar form; but whereas the triple Hekate is a completely rounded columnar form, whose three heads look in widely divergent directions (inclined at an angle of 120° to each other), this triple Cybele seems to have stood against a flat background, so that her three heads all look forwards (one at right angles to the background, and the other two right and left of the central body). Probably, however, the difference from the Hekate-Trimorphos type is only artistic and sculptural: the idea in the cult is the same, but this form is adapted to exhibition in a temple with a wall as background.

Each of the six hands of the triple Artemis-Cybele holds and presses to her side a bird, a good deal mutilated in most cases, but all clearly of the same form. The preservation is so bad, that only one of the six objects held in the six hands is evidently a bird; but the look of this one leaves no doubt what the others are. Mr. Hogarth identified the birds, and pointed out the striking analogy to a small figure found in the lowest stratum of the excavations at the Ephesian temple of Artemis. This figure (*Excavations at Ephesus*, p. 157, 2, and Pl. XXIV. 8) is a single goddess-form, holding two birds pressed to her two sides<sup>1</sup>; and the shape of the head, combined with the analogy of many other cases (on which, see Mr. Hogarth in the same volume, p. 336) shows that the birds are hawks. The goddess is conceived as the patron of the wild, *πότνια θηρῶν*. The analogy is convincing: the Antiochian figure has hawks in her hands. Here, again, we have an ancient ritual conception, lasting practically unchanged from a very early stage in the cult down to the late Roman period. The ritual of this Helleno-Roman shrine of Men and Demeter preserves the exact forms of the old Anatolian cult.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Cecil Smith's description p. 157 is as follows: 'modelling somewhat rough: feet not indicated: part in columnar form, but from feet up more carefully treated. She holds in each hand at her waist, a hawk. The dress is the usual girl Ionic chiton. The hair is arranged like that of No. 1 without the tectix, and the surface of the head itself is carved in a series of ridges concentric with the crown.'



That the goddess herself, and not a priestess, is intended in this figure seems beyond doubt. The hawk-bearing figure from Ephesus would be doubtful, if it stood alone ; but the analogy of the Antiochian Hekate-Cybele now makes its character certain also. The hawk-bearer is the goddess herself.

The triplication of the goddess-body implies, then, no real alteration of the conception. Whether with two hands, or with six, she grasps her own fosterlings, as their protector. As to the origin of the triple form, I see no reason to shrink from maintaining the suggestion, which I put forward many years ago in an article on *the Religion of Asia Minor and the pre-Hellenic Religion of Greece*,<sup>1</sup> and which may be summarized thus :

The goddess was not merely mother and nurse of her people : she was also their teacher, and their guide in the ways of civilization, social progress, agriculture, apiculture, etc. Where human power was unable to secure respect for institutions required in the common interest of the social body, the divine power was invoked to ensure respect and inviolability. The cleanliness of streets and public places was guarded by hermai or pillars which represented Apollo Agnieos. The boundary stones between properties were made inviolate as abodes of divine power. The public advantage was the concern of the god, who punished all infraction of the respect due to him, for all wrong-doing or uncleanness or violence in presence of his image or abiding-place was a crime against him. Thus roads and communication from town to town were placed under divine protection by upright god-stones (which often had information or numbers engraved on them and thus became 'mile-stones') : such a stone is a 'Beth-El' or 'home of god.' These road-stones frequently developed into road-shrines, similar in general character to the shrines of the Virgin in Catholic countries on roads. A meeting or crossing of roads or streets (*compitum*), being specially important, was placed under divine guard.<sup>2</sup> As the anthropomorphic tendency grew, the guardian of the three meeting roads became the triple form of the goddess, looking along the three roads. In Italy the guardian of the archway and door was a Janus looking with two faces in opposite directions. Before anthropomorphism grew strong the divine presence was perhaps indicated by the *Triskeles*, whose three legs

<sup>1</sup> In Vol. V. of Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* pp. 109 ff. : published 1904, but written two years earlier.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* V. p. 111.

diverging from a centre typified the three lines of intercourse meeting at the *compitum*. The religious ritual of the *compitalia* in Italy had, doubtless, an Anatolian counterpart, which was connected with the triple-formed *τρίκάρανος* goddess and also with the *Triskeles*. Similarly the goddess of crossing streets was *τετρακάρανος*, *τετραπρόσωπος*, *τετραοδίτις*; and Hekate is so called in a late hymn, and at the same time *τρίκτυπε*, *τρίφθογγε*, *τρίκάρανε*.<sup>1</sup>

#### XI.—THE MONUMENTS AT SAGHIR IN THE REGION OF ANTIOCH.

At Saghir, 6 hrs. N.N.E. from Antioch, high on the slope of the Sultan Dagħ, many of the Tekmoreian monuments and lists have been found;<sup>2</sup> and there can be little doubt that here was the chief Tekmoreian religious (but not social) centre. It is marked as an old sacred place by Mohammedan belief. There are in the village two Turbes, the upper and the lower. The upper Turbe is a small rude building, into which we were not admitted: the 'Dede' who is buried there is called Saghir-Ishik: there is beside it a Tekke of Cutchuk Ali (Little Ali). The lower Turbe is a rude enclosure of stones surrounding a grave open to the sky, said to be the resting place of Selmani Pak. A Turbe with its habitant Dede is a regular feature on all ancient sites in Asia Minor, as is pointed out in my article on *The permanent attachment of religious awe to special sites in Asia Minor*.<sup>3</sup>

The whole series of the known epigraphic monuments of Saghir were published in two articles on 'The Tekmoreian Guest-Friends,' one in my *Studies in the Art and History of the Eastern Roman Provinces*,<sup>4</sup> pp. 305-377, the other correcting and completing it, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1912, pp. 151 ff.<sup>5</sup> At present I add a new fragmentary inscription with a date; also an account of some religious reliefs found in the village. There is a possibility that 'the *Hieron* of Men in the region of Antiochians' (see Section I.) was at or near Saghir; but hitherto all

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes*, iv. p. 64: Ramsay, *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> The opinion of Professor Sterrett (who in many ways did much service in the discovery and correct copying of these monuments) and Dr. Ziebarth (*Gr. Vereinswesen*, p. 67) and Dr. Judeich (*Alt. von Hierapolis*, p. 120), that Tekmorion was a place, is now antiquated.

<sup>3</sup> *Pauline and Other Studies*, pp. 163 ff.

<sup>4</sup> It is quoted henceforth as Q.

<sup>5</sup> It is quoted henceforth as *Journal*.

the monuments found there belong to the late second or the third century after Christ, and mostly to the third. One alone is clearly of the first century.<sup>1</sup> If that *hieron* was at Saghir, its exact position has yet to be found; and until really ancient remains have been discovered, there can be no assurance about the identification. See below, Section XII.

The *hieron* of Zeus Ourydamênos or Eurydamênos, who is mentioned in four inscriptions, may have been situated either at Saghir or at Kundanli (Gondane, where several Tekmoreian monuments have been found), or further west. On the Phrygian and non-Hellenic character of this deity, see Q, pp. 359 f.; as he had a chorus of flute-players he must be regarded as a Phrygian god.

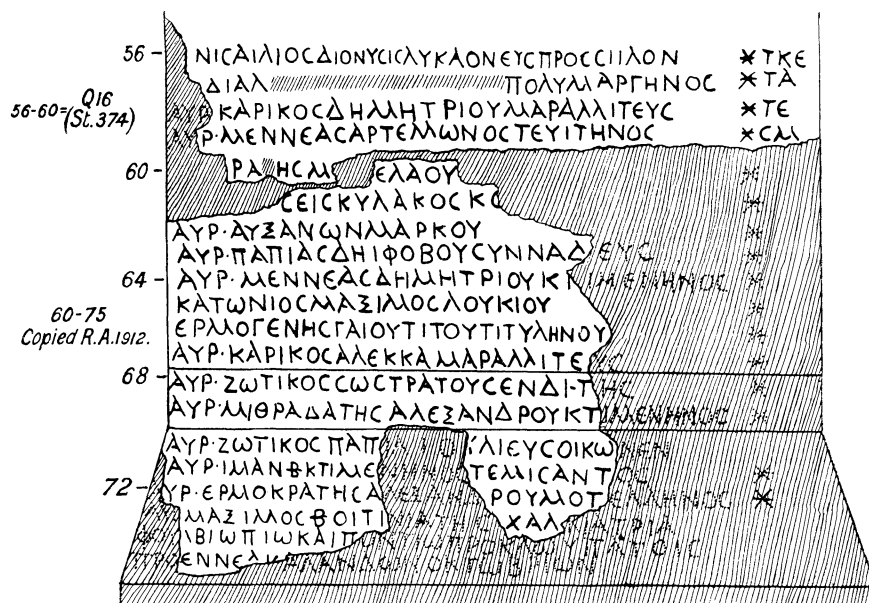
One of these inscriptions was found at Apollonia, but was probably carried, as it is built into the wall of a modern building. Another was found in the valley between Apollonia and the lake Limnai (Hoiran-Göl). A third belongs to Genj-Ali on the lake, at the west end, where the Apollonia valley and the road from Apollonia to Antioch touch the lake. The fourth reference to the god occurs incidentally in a Tekmoreian list at Saghir.

These are all enumerated in Q, pp. 359 f.; and I have only to add that the first text was recopied by Mr. Anderson and myself in 1912. The localities would point rather to a western site for the sanctuary of Ourydamenos than to Saghir or even Kundanli; but that he is a form of Men, hellenized in an unintelligent fashion by ignorant popular etymology, still seems to me very probable (as in Q, p. 360).

## XII.—DATE OF THE TEKMOREIAN LISTS.

These lists belong to the third century, as has been recognized since 1883, when the first was published in *J.H.S.*, with the solitary exception of Q 9 (see *Journal*, p. 158), which is earlier than A.D. 212, and probably of late second century. No exact date, however, occurred, until in 1912 Mr. Anderson and I copied a fragment at Saghir. It contains the last lines of an inscription, which may perhaps be the conclusion of Q 16 (St. 374).

<sup>1</sup> Q No. 24 p. 345 and *Journal*, p. 162.



Conjecturally I restore this fragment, which begins in the middle of line 60, on the supposition that it is the conclusion of Q 16 (St. 374). Aur. Karikos son of Alekkas in 67 is the same person who is named in Q 15,

60. The present fragment, therefore, is nearly of the same time as Q 15, but cannot be a part of the same stone. Now Q 16 is of that description, and the M of Q 16, 60 is probably the beginning of the name, whose last five letters are preserved in the first line of this fragment. In general arrangement the two parts suit each other; but there cannot be any certainty until they have been placed against one another, which is not possible. In the text of lines 56–59 and the first half of 60, I follow Professor Sterrett's copy as published. In 1886 I revised his copy on the stone, but restricted my revision to the local names, which I recopied with considerable alteration in 56, and some other slight changes, but I did not interest myself in the personal names, being hurried.

In l. 60 the first name may be [Μενε]κράτης or similar name, or [Αὐρ] Κράτης. In Q 15, 60 Ἀλεκκᾶς is an error of the engraver for Ἀλεκκᾶ. Now Q 15 and Q 16 contain a very large proportion of identical names, and the order is approximately similar in the two lists, so that beyond doubt they were engraved in successive years, or with no long interval of time between them. Yet the differences in names and in sums contributed prove that the two lists are not duplicates. This parallelism does not facilitate the further restoration of the present fragment, so far as I can see.

In l. 65 Catonius Maximus has not the pseudo-praenomen Aur. He belongs to a family which had acquired the *civitas* before A.D. 212.<sup>1</sup> This corresponds to the inference which can be drawn from Q. 2, 17, where C. Catonius M.F. Mordianus belongs to a Roman family.

In l. 66 Γάιος should probably be read, and also Τιτυληνός (unless further change is needed in this name, *e.g.* Βιτυληνός). The engraver has evidently got mixed up in his letters and cases. Another example of such confusion is Q 4 (R. iii.) 42–43.

Line 71 presents a serious difficulty. Ἀρ]τεμις<sup>2</sup> Ἀντ[ήνορος] seems an easy restoration; but there is not room for Αρ after Κτιμε[νηνός].<sup>3</sup> Moreover, this inscription has invariably one name in each line, and τεμις cannot safely be taken as part of the name of a second contributor. I conjecture that τ is for θ; and that the archaic and poetic word θεμίζω was revived (like δάος *etc.*)<sup>4</sup> in this artificial Greek, and that there is false concord as so often the case with δοντός (used in these lists where δούς

<sup>1</sup> On this see Miss Hardie (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck) in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> ι for ει: the name Ἀρτέμις is common.

<sup>3</sup> Κτιμενηνός fills the gap, and τεμι (=θεμι?) must be the beginning of a word.

<sup>4</sup> See *Journal*, pp. 153, 163.

is required). *θεμίζειν* was, as I conjecture, a duty in the Tekmoreian Association.

In 72 *Μοτ[ελληνός]* is a tempting restoration. Motella was closely connected with an ancient *Hieron* of the Hyrgalean country and Imperial estate, on which see *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 141.

*Σενδήτ[ης]* must be a native of Sinda, either a village on the estates near Antioch, or Sinda in Pisidia, *Cities and Bish.* i, 267, 317.

In 73 *Οἶτι[μιάθης]*, probably an error of engraving for *Οἶτινιάθης*, occurs in Q. 2, 119 (R. I.). In both cases it is preceded by *β' = δὲς*, and Professor Sterrett reads *Βοιτινιάθης* in Q 2 ; but the cross-mark on B is clear.

This small fragment is of the highest value. (1) It gives a date,—the first known among the Tekmoreian lists—by the Consuls of A.D. 238. (2) It shows that the Imperial Asian Calendar introduced into the province Asia by Imperial decree shortly before Christ (arranged according to the birthday of Augustus A.D. ix. Kal. Oct., so that every month began on a day called Sebaste on the ninth before the Kalends), was employed also on the Estates, where the Tekmoreian Religious Society existed. (3) It proves that some one of the days Sebaste was selected for the festival and contribution commemorated in the list, of which this fragment is a part : therefore the Tekmoreian Association connected its ritual with the Imperial cult, as arranged by Augustus. (4) If we could trust the above restoration of the name of the month, we should have the first day of the Imperial year and birthday of Augustus as the great day of the Tekmoreian cult. This would prove that, as I supposed (see Q), the religious organization of the population on the estates originated from Augustus.

These inferences, which except (4) are all obvious and certain, confirm the main conclusions stated in my two articles. The Tekmoreian Association was the organization of the cultivators of the great Imperial estates, originally the property of Men (in association with Artemis-Cybele) near Antioch, as described by Strabo, pp. 557, 577. These estates came into the possession of Augustus as a part of the kingdom of Galatia, which he inherited from Amyntas in 25 B.C. Augustus governed the population of the estates through his procurator, who *ex officio* was priest of the local religion of Artemis-Cybele and Men. The Emperor thus succeeded to the position of the god as Lord, master, father, and guardian of the people ; and the great holiday and festival of the year in

F

the religious association of the coloni on the estates was the birthday of Augustus.

All these inferences, though rather bold, had already been accepted by Professor M. Rostovtzev in his *Studien zur Geschichte des röm. Kolonats (passim)*; but the confirmation is welcome. The further opinion advanced in my two papers that this Association became connected with and a centre of the anti-Christian movement is neither disproved nor confirmed by the dating: it stands as before, quite possible and suited to the date, but still only a hypothesis. Mr. Anderson's forthcoming paper in the *Journal of Roman Studies* offers some indirect corroboration of it.

In my two papers, especially Q pp. 355 f., it is pointed out that the lists of names fall into two groups: one mainly consists of Q 2 (*i.e.* R I), p. 319, the longest of the series and almost complete (except parts of a few lines):<sup>1</sup> we may call this series B. The other contains Q 15 and Q 16 (St. 373,374), and probably also Q 17 and Q 4 (St. 375 and R IV.): it is Series A. As is there shown, Series B is nearly a generation later than Series A. Several sons of persons in A appear in B; but in one case the same person appears in A and in B. 'The interval must therefore be less than fifty years, and probably not more than 25 or 30 years.' It seemed then necessary to keep the inference wide; but now we may say that Series A is less than one generation (30 years) earlier than B.

Further, as a positive date, both Series are later than A.D. 212, as the *pseudo-praenomen* Aur. is regular in both. Yet series B is not very late: 'there is a total absence of names marking the period towards A.D. 300.' The conclusion is there stated: 'a fair mean for the two groups would be (Series A) about A.D. 215-225 . . . (Series B) about 245-255. This explains the number of entries in (Q 2), (R I); it belongs to the pagan revival under Decius, and its probable date is A.D. 250-251.'

We now find that Series A is dated A.D. 238; and it remains uncertain whether B should be left in 250-251, or should be carried down a few years. In *Journal*, p. 158, the name Οὐαλελιανός is found in Q 2 (R I), l. 86. This might be derived from the Emperor Valerian; but that is a mere vague possibility,<sup>2</sup> as Valerianus was not an Emperor whose

<sup>1</sup> To it belong also Q 18 (St. 376), which is very much dilapidated and of small use, and perhaps Q 20 as enlarged in *Journal*, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> A person named after Valerian at birth would imply a date 280-300, which seems too late. Valerianus was used without reference to the Emperor, as was Maximianus at Antioch (see Anderson, *l.c.*).



name was likely to be popular in the East; and the already suggested date 251 remains possible, and on the whole 250–270 may be regarded, for the present and provisionally, as obligatory.

### XIII.—THE EPHESIAN ARTEMIS AT SAGHIR NEAR ANTIOCH.

A relief of great interest, but in shockingly bad preservation, is shown in a photograph by Mr. Anderson on Plate III. and Fig. 2. It is on the edge of a large thin slab of marble, buried perpendicularly in the ground



FIG. 2.—RELIEF *in situ*.

in a narrow lane at Saghir. We tried to take it out, but after some digging, found that it could not be extracted without demolishing the walls on both sides of the lane. This would have required the consent of all the owners, and much time would have been lost in negotiation. Mr. Anderson, therefore, balanced a pole across the walls, and, sitting on this, photographed the relief from above. (Fig. 2.)

The relief must have been about 6 inches in height, and the large slab must have been part of a building, of which it was probably the frieze. Doubtless this building was the temple of the goddess and of the god associated with her. In the courtyard of a house a few yards up the lane

F 2



were found the sculptured altar shown in Section XIV. (Plate IV.) and also a slender hexagonal pillar on which is engraved the inscription mentioning an Archigallos, also a fragment of a Tekmoreian list. The temple therefore probably stood close to the lane; and it would be well worth while to buy and pull down all the houses on the lane in search of fragments.

The central scene of the fragment shows the goddess after the Ephesian type, standing between two stags (whose small size suggests the gigantic scale on which her form has to be imagined). All the details of the Ephesian type are suggested, the shapeless body tapering downwards, the five double scenes of ornament on the robe (or framework), the supports for her hands, the *mammæ* (as they are usually interpreted), the strange projections at each side of the head. The semblance of human feet can be seen protruding underneath the sort of garment which envelopes the lower part of the divine figure. The goddess stands between two columns: perhaps, if the upper part of the frieze were entire, it would be found that these rested on the two capitals, a rounded top completing the niche in which she abides. (See note on p. 79.)

Right of the niche is an altar, and a priest (or priestess) stands on the right side of the altar, pouring a libation, or laying an object, on the altar with the right hand. The figure is dressed in a voluminous garment and the only criterion of sex is the form of this garment. It has some appearance of being a sort of spreading petticoat, marked with slanting folds or bars; and this garment taken by itself would prove the figure to be a priestess. On the other hand there is no indication of dress on the body above the waist, and if the body be understood as nude, it would be that of a man. The art, however, is extremely rude; and, I think the intention may be to show a priestess with tight-fitting bodice and bulging petticoat, after an archaic fashion. The figure, so interpreted, recalls the priestesses at Frahtin and Eyuk: see Ramsay-Hogarth, *Pre-Hellenic Monum. of Cappadocia* in Maspero's *Recueil de Travaux*, xiv. Pl. V. 1 and Fig. 5, also a very rude priestess on a sarcophagus at Bin-Bir-Kilisse (see Fig. 377 in the *Thousand and one Churches* by Miss Bell and the present writer).

On this interpretation the figure in this late relief, of the third (or possibly the second) century after Christ, takes us back to primitive Anatolian religious art, and shows an almost stationary unchanging ritual

and symbolism. Such is the impression that all these religious monuments of the Antiochian Region make on the spectator: the old Phrygian cult remained practically almost the same in its fundamental features for a thousand years or more; and instead of calling it Phrygian we may move a step further and employ the name 'Hittite.'<sup>1</sup> The Phrygians, a conquering tribe from Macedonia (or Illyria) adopted the religion of the conquered country, though doubtless they in some degree affected its character in their part of Asia Minor.

I should add that in my hurried notes written before the stone I indicate no doubt as to the sex, and apply to it the term priest.

On each side of the central scene is a conventional ornament, a large heavy garland supported by two Amores; who are probably winged. Above the middle of the garland is a head of Medusa. Ornament of this kind is common in late Roman work in Asia Minor, sometimes in even ruder form than here. Examples from Isauria are published by Miss Ramsay in the first paper in *Studies in the Art and History of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 10 and 11, but the figures were so rude that none of us recognised them as Amores at the time.

On the left the frieze breaks off here: on the right is a second scene: probably the frieze showed only two scenes, one the worship of the goddess, the other the worship of the god; and these two scenes were separated and bounded by garland-bearing figures.

To the right of the middle garland is an altar, beside which sits on the right a god, who pours a libation (or lays an object) with his right hand on the altar. This sitting deity wears an upper garment which rests on his knees, leaving the body and the legs from knee downwards bare.

Right of the god is a scene marked off by two shapeless upright boundaries. Between these boundaries is a sacred tree on the left, and an altar with a priest on the right pouring a libation from a patera (or laying a round object) on the altar.

Outside the bounds of this scene is a figure, broken in half longitudinally. Evidently this was an Amor, and the garland which he and his lost companion bore terminated the frieze on the right.

Here the frieze is broken; but the two scenes form a miniature picture of the cult.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Hittites, in their turn, may have been conquerors; and the best term to use is 'Anatolian.'

The priest of the god bears a long sceptre or lance, or (as I prefer to think) the same long flaming torch which is carried by a priest on the altar shown in Plate IV. (Section XIV.). This Dadouchos will be described there.

That the deity to whom the Tekmoreian ritual was specially dedicated was Artemis is shown by several of the inscriptions. She was also regarded as Cybele, as is proved by the fact that her priest was Archigallos, and by the statuette, which I shall now describe.

As we were leaving Saghir a small marble statuette was brought to us, and we purchased it, intending to leave it in the 'Museum' which had been commenced in the cellar of the Government House at Yalowadj. We carried it with us for five or six days; but on the day that we reached Yalowadj, it was either lost or stolen. It was valueless in respect of artistic quality; and, in the way of evidence, the following description affords quite as much basis for inference as the actual figure. We saw several of the same type at Saghir, all more or less broken, and all quite rude. The type is common also on coins of Phrygia. I have seen examples at Ephesus and throughout Lydia and Phrygia, including the sanctuary at Antioch. Cybele sits on her chair. In her right hand she holds a patera, in her left a broken object (probably a tympanon). She wears a long tunic reaching to the feet and girt high above the waist; and a mantle is loosely wrapped round the lower part of her body and rests on her knees, hanging down nearly to the feet. On each side of the chair there is a lion, sitting on its haunches.

#### XIV.—A DEDICATION TO SELENE.

In the courtyard of a house at the top of the short narrow lane (in which the frieze described in Section XIII. is embedded) there is an altar or basis, very much dilapidated, which presents features of great interest.<sup>1</sup> (Plate IV.) It should probably be called a basis shaped like an altar, on which stood some dedicatory object. On the top is a small shallow circular depression, in the centre of which is a quite small deep hole. The dedicated object fitted into this hole by a small projection on its underside.

This square basis, about 4 ft. high, bears no inscription, but has reliefs

<sup>1</sup> In the same house, the inscription of the Archigallos Q 22 is built into the wall, and inside is the fragment of a Tekmoreian inscription.

on all four sides. The principal side is marked as such by the figure of the goddess resting on a double support. The other three reliefs rest each on a single support.

The goddess stands on a car, probably looking back, (though the head is lost), with her left arm above the front rail of the car, holding the reins, doubtless. The attitude of the horses implies a galloping motion, and the goddess's cloak like a chlamys flies behind her as if she were borne rapidly forward; but otherwise her attitude does not imply that she is moving, but is more like a person at rest. She is evidently to be understood as the charioteer in a rapidly moving car. The art, of course, is rude; but less rude than in other cases. The goddess seems to wear a girt tunic. The wheel of the car apparently has seven spokes.

There are perhaps three horse's heads, in which case we should have to understand a quadriga; but the photograph leaves this doubtful. The appearance that suggests a third head is perhaps illusory, due to the bad preservation of the surface; and I am disposed to think that there are only two heads, and that the sculptor intended to show a biga. If he had meant a quadriga, he would have been careful to show four by some detail. The legs do not suggest a quadriga.

The goddess, then, is Selene riding, as commonly, in a car drawn by two horses or mules. This recalls the words of Strabo, p. 557, regarding the worship of Men in Asia Minor. Speaking of the *hieron* of Men Pharnakou at Ameria in Pontus, he adds ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Σελήνης τὸ ἱερόν, καθάπερ τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ. Formerly I took this to mean that the god Men was the moon-god; but Mr. Anderson pointed out to me Strabo's true meaning, *viz.*, that along with Men the *hieron* was dedicated to a goddess Selene; and he quoted *C.I.L.* III. 6829, *diebus festis Lunae*,<sup>1</sup> as a proof that this goddess was worshipped also in Antioch along with Men. I am now inclined to agree with his interpretation, and to regard the altar which is here published as dedicated to the goddess Selene. In that case, however, we should have to regard her as an intrusion into the Cybele-Artemis worship in Phrygia, in which case there would result a distinct probability that Men also, is an intrusion from the East. The question which is put in Section VIII. is thus answered by this relief, which I had not comprehended while writing that Section.

<sup>1</sup> Previously I took Luna here as Men. The inscription was copied by Sterrett in 1885, and by me in 1886 and by Calder and me in 1911, 1912. Quodannis is certain.

Another difficulty would be solved at the same time. On this interpretation we should have to suppose that, together with Selene, Men also came into the Saghir pantheon; and, as Saghir was indubitably the seat of a rather important *hieron* and the religious centre of the Association in which the people of the Imperial Estates (originally the estates of the god called Men by Strabo, p. 557) were united, it would follow that the hieron of Saghir was Strabo's 'hieron (of Men) in the region of the Antiochians'; see Section I. The temple which stood close to the lane (already described) in Saghir was the ancient sanctuary of this district of Phrygia. Here we should look for old Phrygian traces of the pre-Hellenic period; but to do this it would be necessary to buy and demolish two dozen modern houses.

The arguments against this identification are two:—

(1) No archaic remains or pottery have been found at Saghir. The situation amid the crowded houses of a village furnishes the explanation. The surface is entirely covered with mediaeval and modern accumulation; and not much of the earth's surface can be seen on account of blocks of stone, walls and coarse pavement. Too much stress is sometimes laid on the need for proof of an archaic site by finding archaic remains inside a village or town: this proof need not be expected. For example, some American scholars who have explored in Asia Minor, have refused to believe that Konia is the site of the pre-Hellenic Iconium, because they found hardly a scrap of archaic pottery on the hill of Ala-ed-din. I have excavated in the hill, and found that a large part of it is an accumulation of soil over the foundations and basement of the Seljuk palace. When I first saw the hill in 1882 there were still considerable ruins of the palace, but almost all are now destroyed. In a surface like this, a great part of which is more recent than 1882, it is not reasonable to expect that pre-Hellenic pottery should be found. So at Saghir.

There is, however, in Saghir at least one inscription in the Phrygian language of Roman time, which Mr. Calder and I copied in 1911: it had escaped the careful search made by Professor Sterrett in 1885, by me in 1886, and by Professor Callander in 1905. Even one inscription (which is different in character from all others) proves that Phrygian was spoken here as late as the second or third century after Christ. If the ground were bought and excavations made,

then archaic remains would be found, or the identification would have to be abandoned.

(2) No dedications to the god Men have been found at Saghir. This is answered by what has been stated in Section I, as to the archaic and pre-Hellenic character of this Hieron compared with the 'progressive' character of the Hellenistic and Roman Hieron beside Antioch. The goddess remained here the principal figure, as in the old Anatolian religion.

The relief on the right side shows a figure perhaps of the Attis type. He stands facing, wearing a short tunic, with his left arm bent at the elbow and the fore-arm turned towards the body. The right arm is broken below the elbow. There may have been a dog or other animal (or perhaps a low altar) beside him under his right hand. He was represented stretching his right hand towards the animal (or pouring a libation on the altar). Some object protrudes downwards on his left side, and the same or another object upwards above his left shoulder.

On the back of the altar the figure represented is probably the Dadouchos priest, holding a very long flaming torch (which cannot possibly be explained as a thyrsos or a lance or a sceptre). The slanting projection at the top may best be explained as flames.

The dress of the Dadouchos cannot be determined with certainty: part of it hangs over his left arm: whether this is a chlamys, which leaves the body nude, is doubtful: perhaps it is the end of a more voluminous garment which draped the body; but my notes made before the stone speak of the Dadouchos as nearly nude, with a heavy garment hanging from his left arm.

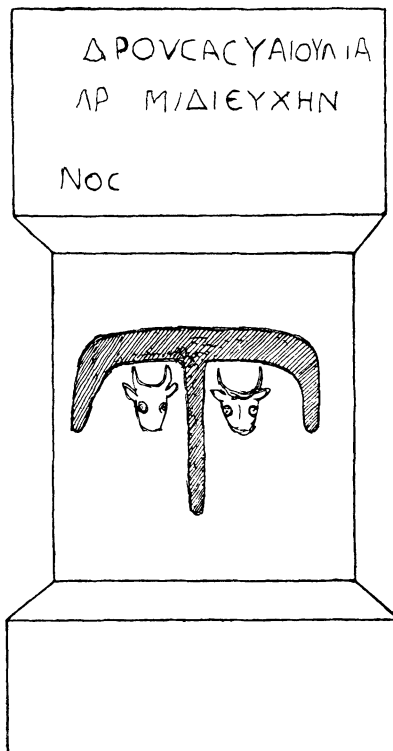
That 'the torch' was a very important part of the equipment of the initiation chamber (*antron*?) is proved by the inscription published in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 163 (the reading of which has been confirmed by Mr. Anderson and me in 1912). If there was a torch, there must have been a Dadouchos. Evidently the illumination which is mentioned as a striking feature in the Mysteries, was given in Phrygia by one huge torch, which was lit amid the darkness of the celebration. The Dadouchos occurs also in the relief described in Section XIII.

The left side shows two figures, presumably male, in short tunics, standing side by side, both looking straight forward. The figure on the right has the left hand on the breast grasping an object like an

axe or baton, which protrudes above the left shoulder. He is girt with a narrow girdle, like a rope. Over the left shoulder and upper-arm hangs part of a robe, perhaps a small cloak. The other figure, on the left, holds some object in his depressed right hand. I refrain from stating any conjecture as to this pair.

#### XV.—AN ALTAR OF THE MYSTIC RITUAL.

In the mosque at Kirkbash, a village two hours west from Saghir, not far from the direct road to Kundanli, there is a very rude monument having the form of an altar or of a basis to support a dedication, in the most helpless style of village workmanship. This altar, however, is extraordinarily interesting in respect of religious ritual, if my interpretation be correct. The principal side is inscribed with a dedication to Artemis in letters of the rudest form, which are perhaps to be read



ΔΡΟΥΣΑΣ ΥΑΙΟΥΛΙΑ

ΑΡ ΜΙΔΙΕΥΧΗΝ

ΝΟΣ

1. Δρουσὰς κα(ι) Ἰουλι-

2. Ἀρτέμιδι εὐχήν

3. νός



Δροῦσ[ο]ς is perhaps to be understood as the first name (either misspelt or badly engraved); but it seems much more probable that the feminine form Δρουσάς is intended. No example of this form occurs to me (as I write at Eski-Sheher without books), but it can be quite well supported by analogies from the nomenclature of Phrygia. That the woman's name should come first can also be defended by similar examples in this region; it would suit the old matriarchal style of pre-Phrygian Anatolia, of which traces may be observed here and there. This matriarchal custom is sometimes called Phrygian; but it should be considered old Anatolian. The Phryges, a conquering race, inevitably went against this custom. The dominant men took wives of the women of the subject people; probably they had not sufficient women of their own stock; but they would not adopt the matriarchal rule, nor would they maintain it even if they had known it in Europe. The matriarchate goes with peace, and tends to perish among a conquering caste and in a state of war.

The last letter of the name Drousas or Drousos is followed by Υ, probably a rude form of Κ. The final letter of καὶ is omitted by the engraver on account of the following Ι. The name Ἰουλιανός seemed to us certain, though the last three letters are out of place. Under this inscription, on the shaft of the altar, are two bull's heads beneath a sort of canopy (which is simply in relief without marking or ornament). This may be a helpless attempt to indicate some part of the temple or its equipment. I should conjecture that the intention is to indicate the front of a village temple, or the *antron* (natural or artificial) in which the Mysteries were celebrated (Sections II., XIV.): compare the interpretation suggested for the Isaurian monuments in Miss Ramsay's paper on Isaurian Art (*Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, No. 1) and in the concluding article of my *Luke the Physician and other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 380.

On the left side of the altar is a very rude representation of a tree and serpent, a common religious device.

On the right side is a large ornament, nearly (but not quite) in the centre of the surface, coarsely and roughly cut (Fig. 3). It probably represents rudely a brooch or other object which formed part of the dress of a priest or priestess of the goddess. In the centre are eight bosses arranged in a circle round a central boss. Two of these have a cross on them, and probably the others had the same ornaments, but the



surface is too much worn to show the original marking. The cross is familiar in old Phrygian work (as on the Midas tomb); and the whole character of this ornament suggests that it is a rude copy of some archaic priestly object.

On the back of the altar are two vines, on the right and on the left, growing out of two vases. Between them is an object, which is apparently a pot of simple form, out of which grows a large ear of corn. As the other sides of the altar are adorned with hieratic representations, the same must be the case here; and this pot with the ear of corn must probably be interpreted as a reminiscence of a scene in the Mysteries described

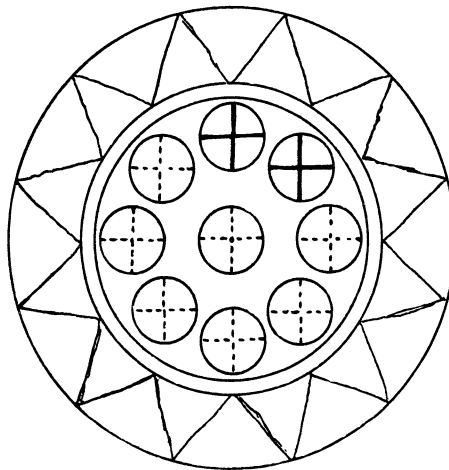


FIG. 3.—ORNAMENT ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE ALTAR.

in the *Philosophumena* (Miller, p. 117, Cruice, p. 171), 'the great and wonderful and most perfect mystery placed before those who were initiated in the higher order [at Eleusis] was a stalk of corn harvested in silence.' On the effect and intention of this scene I have said something elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

There is no authority for attributing this supreme mystic revelation to the Phrygian Mysteries; but the general similarity of the Mystic ritual on both sides of the Aegean seems to be a sufficient proof<sup>2</sup> that this act was performed in Phrygia as Eleusis; and we recognise the

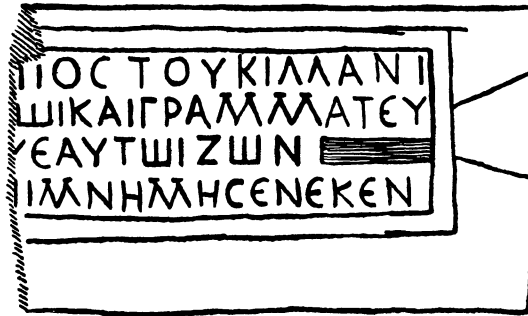
<sup>1</sup> *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> See *Religion of Anatolia* in Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* V. 126; and above, p. 43.

preparations for the scene in the representation on this altar (where the ornament are doubtless all hieratic). From this rude altar we gather that the stalk of corn was brought into the hall of the Mysteries growing in a pot. The vine-plants on each side are merely ornamental, like the garland and Amores in the relief described above, Section VIII. Such ornamental pairs of vines are very commonly introduced on grave-stones of the Roman period in Phrygia: an example is shown in *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, p. 84 in an article by Miss Ramsay.

#### XVI.—THE *Arca Sanctuarii*.

(R. and C. 1911.) Tcharyk Serai. Published by Professor Sterrett from his own copy, *E. J.* No. 176: his epigraphic copy is accurate, except that the corner of Υ at the beginning of l. 3 is taken by him for part of C.



This fragment is of the highest importance, if the following restoration be correct. The stone is of a common form, viz. a tablet. In my experience such tablets are frequently broken straight down the middle, so as to form two pieces almost exactly corresponding. This fragment is broken straight down; and a considerable, but not extremely long part of the inscription was engraved on the lost portion. Moreover, such tablets are never very long and narrow. Therefore the size of the lost part may be taken as fairly certain; and the following restoration assumes that the size of the lost piece is approximately the same as that which is preserved. Consideration of the possible restoration, also, points to the same opinion.

The preserved part of l. 1 almost certainly begins with a broken Π :

the distance between I and I suits: the readings NI, MI, are excluded. A personal name and a title ending in -πος (obviously ἐπίτροπος) are wanted here. At the beginning of l. 2 the restoration -ου πεδίου is certain. At the beginning of l. 4 καὶ with a personal name and συμβίωι<sup>1</sup> are needed. These conditions govern the restoration.

In l. 1 before [ἐπίτρο]πος a personal name is required. Probably there was only a single name without the father's name (although two very short names might find room in the space that remains open). The ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Κιλλανίου πεδίου must have been connected with the Imperial estates there: on which see Chapter IX. of my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I.: he was therefore, of course, a member of the Imperial household, and therefore *nullo patre*. A name like Eirenaios or Hymenaios would suit the conditions well; and I insert the former *exempli gratia*.

In l. 4 the restoration is fairly certain, except the length of the wife's name; but this is sufficient to show that some defining expression was added after πεδίου in l. 2. When I submitted the restoration of the other three lines to Mr. Calder, with the gap in l. 2, he suggested ἐπὶ τῷ σίτωι (the ending ωι being certain on the stone). This has some advantages (as we shall see) and the construction is justifiable, though this exact title is not known, for the genitive is usual.

Thereafter Eirenaios (?) was promoted to be γραμματεὺς .....υ and in this office he resided near Antioch, apparently on the Imperial estates south of the Colony. Now this part of the estates seems to have been charged with the income needed for maintaining the Sanctuary of Men; and the modern village name Gemen, south of Antioch, seems to be Γῆ Μηνός (as Mr. Calder first suggested). The old priesthood was suppressed, as Strabo says; but the ritual and buildings were maintained, and the fund for the maintenance was called the *arca sanctuarii*. There was a curator of this *arca*, who seems to have been a citizen of the *colonia*; but, as the money must ultimately have come from the estates, originally the property of the god and then of Augustus and his successors, there must also have been an Imperial manager of the revenue, whom I conjecture to be γραμματεὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θησαυροῦ. What the Latin form of the title may have been is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> γυναικί is inadmissible: the preceding letter was not Κ, but might be Ω.

The full restoration would then be as follows :—

Εἰρηναῖος ? ἐπίτρο]πος τοῦ Κιλλανί-  
ου πεδίου ἐπὶ τῷ σίτ]ωι καὶ γραμματεὺς  
τοῦ ἱεροῦ θησανρο]ῦ ἐαντῶι ζῶν erasure  
καὶ Νείκηι ? συμβίωι μνήμης ἔνεκα

As Eirenaïos was promoted from the Killanian estates to manage the *arca*, his office on the former cannot have been that of the supreme procurator of the estates, who was certainly a person of considerable importance ; but, if he was only [ἐπίτρο]πος [ἐπὶ τῷ σίτ]ωι, we may understand that the duty at Gemen was higher. Here he prepared the grave for himself and his wife, probably on the death of the latter. This inscription has been carried with several others to build the mosque at Tcharyk Serai, which seemed to us to be certainly not an ancient site, as the cemetery contained no ancient stones.<sup>1</sup>

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Sterrett considered the village an ancient site ; but he mentions no proof except the stones of the mosque, which furnish no evidence : mosques are usually built by a contractor who brings stones. The cemetery does not suggest a site.

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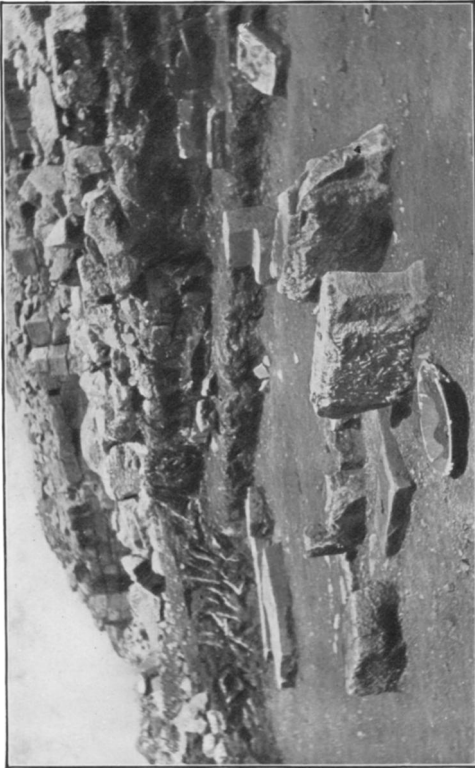
NOTE TO P. 68, L. 12 : The theory of the nature of Artemis Ephesia, stated in my article on *Anatolian Religion* (Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* V. pp. 116 f.), dominates the expression here and elsewhere.

W. M. R.

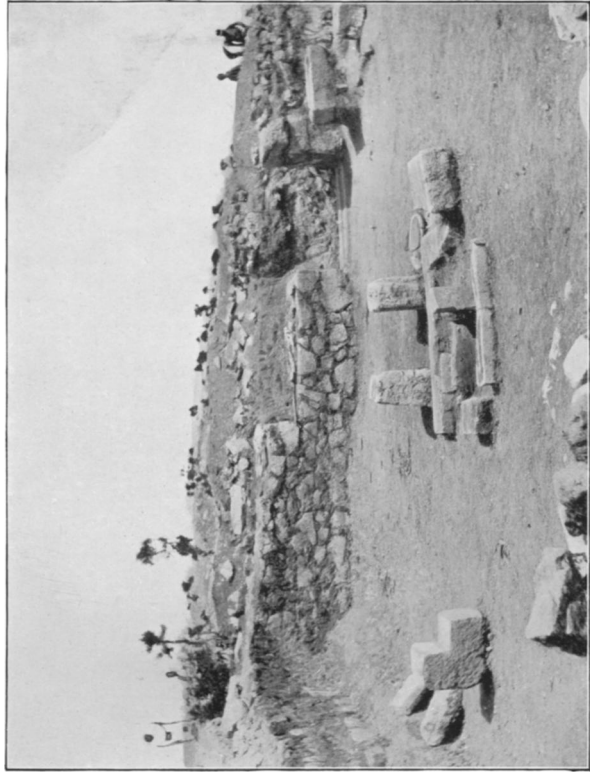
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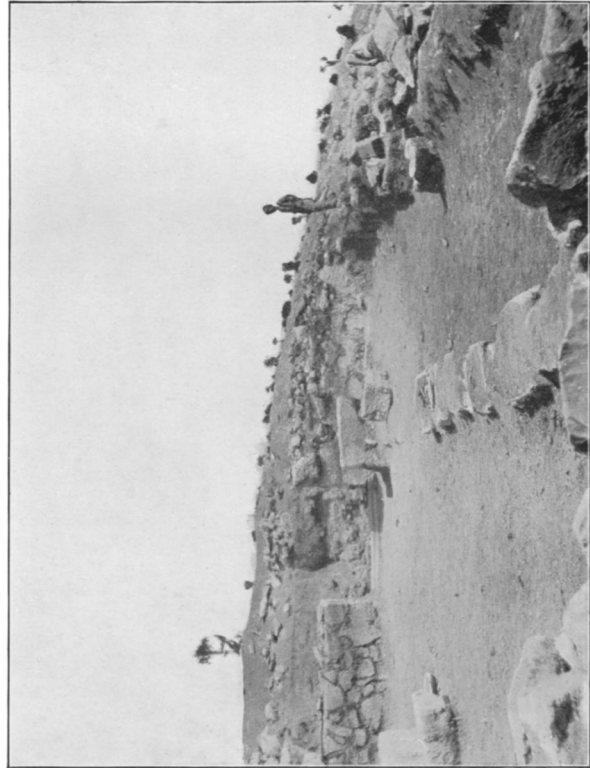
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4



3



FOUR VIEWS OF THE HALL OF INITIATION IN THE SANCTUARY OF MEN ASKAENOS AT ANTIOCH.





THE RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR: THE GODDESS OF ANTIOCH AS HEKATE.



THE RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR : THE EPHESIAN ARTEMIS ON A RELIEF AT SAGHIR NEAR ANTIOCH.



THE RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR: A SCULPTURED BASIS WITH A DEDICATION TO SELENE.



The Tekmoreian Guest-Friends

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 32 (1912), pp. 151-170

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## THE TEKMOREIAN GUEST-FRIENDS.

IN a former article on the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends<sup>1</sup> many difficult problems were stated relating to (1) the organization of the Imperial estates which originally were the property of the God Mên at Antioch-towards-Pisidia, and (2) the constitution and character of the Association of Tekmoreioi; and a partial solution of them was proposed. That Saghir was likely to be the best point for excavation and discovery of additional documents was pointed out on p. 350. In 1911 we camped at Kökuler for three nights, as this was the nearest point to Saghir to which waggons could reach.<sup>2</sup> We spent the two intervening days in visits to Saghir; but, as nearly three hours were needed in going and two hours in returning on each day, the actual time in Saghir was very inadequate. On the third day we visited Gondane, and went on towards Oinan-Ova across the mountains. In Saghir we found a score of inscriptions, mostly small fragments, and revised one or two of those already published: this was certainly the chief centre of the Tekmoreian Association. In Gondane we found one new inscription. The need for longer study is as great as ever. That Gondane should be a sort of secondary centre for the Association is probably due to the fact that it lay on the great road from Apollonia and the west to Antioch and the east, whereas Saghir was remote and high on the slopes of Sultan-Dagh.

(1) As to the organization of the Imperial Estates we have no new information. This is of less consequence, as the suggestions already made in that paper have been approved by Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des Kolonates*, 1910, pp. 298 ff. (especially 301).

In this department only the reading of the small inscription of Karbokome (*Studies*, p. 309) has been improved. This was copied by me first in 1905, revised by Mr. Calder and myself in 1907, and again by us all in 1911. As already stated the letters are in several places worn and difficult; and the difficulty is complicated by the ungrammatical character of the composition. The inference already drawn that the *procurator* and *actor* of the Emperor acted in ordinary regular course as priests of the local cult, ruling the native population on the Estates under the old religious form,

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<sup>1</sup> *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 305 to 378. The inscriptions in that article are quoted as Q 1 etc. (Q = Quatercentenary Publication, Aberdeen).  
<sup>2</sup> Waggons can go to Saghir empty, but not with any load.

is only confirmed by the improved text. The inscription does not mention that the *actor* was slave of Caesar, nor does it state that the eponymous official was *procurator* of the Emperor; but the circumstances leave no doubt on this point (which was also the case on the Ormelian Estates), and my theory has been accepted by Rostowzew, *loc. cit.* p. 301.

It is an extremely important point, never previously observed on any Anatolian Imperial Estates, that the administration was conducted under this form. It implies that the old relation of the tenants to the God was maintained in Imperial times to the Lord Emperor.<sup>3</sup> These tenants were his property, not actually as slaves, but in a status which naturally developed



FIG. 1.

ἐπὶ Μάρκου Φιλείνο[υ  
ιερέος κτίστου Καρβο-  
κωμήτου καὶ κτίσαν-  
τ]α καὶ Νειᾶδος (?) πρα-  
γματεντοῦ ιερέος καὶ  
δῆμος Καρβοκωμη[τ-  
ῶν

into the later Colonate; and the general situation was as described in my previous paper. The Estates were divided among *kōmai*. Each *kōmē* had its lot of lands, and its resident *plebs* (λαοί or ὄχλος), who cultivated it and probably paid rent to the Lord Emperor through his *procurator* and *actor* priests. The allusions to *μισθωταί* (which were restored conjecturally) now disappear from the texts. Perhaps the non-existence of any revenue-

<sup>3</sup> [Κυρί]ου Σεβ[αστοῦ], Κυρίων Αυτοκρατόρων, Δεὶ Κυρίῳ. The Ormelian priests were of native

families (ἐκ γένους), succeeding by some unknown rule.

farmers,<sup>4</sup> owing to direct relation of the tenants to the official priests, furnishes the simplest explanation of the failure of *μισθωταί* here, whereas they are so often mentioned on the Ormelian Estates, and the presence of one is the sole evidence that Imperial Estates existed in Oinan-Ova (*Studies*, p. 311).

The text is worth repetition with an epigraphic copy. The wearing of the stone has broadened the lines of the letters so that they are hard to trace with certainty. Λ, Δ, and Α can hardly be distinguished from one another.

There is no difference between the three epigraphic copies except in l. 4.<sup>5</sup> After ΚΑ all mark an iota very slightly and doubtfully. After ΝΕΙ 1905 has Λ and Δ (incomplete in the lowest line): the others have ΑΔ or ΛΔ. At the end 1905 places Γ, which belongs to l. 5. In 5 all agree in ΤΟC as most probable;<sup>6</sup> but 1911 gives ΤΟΥ as possible. The text still remains uncertain and unsatisfactory: probably the engraver blundered, and the composer knew little Greek.

The name *Κανειᾶδος* is unendurable: perhaps read *καὶ Νει(κ)ᾶδος*, assuming that the engraver has dropped a letter Κ, and that ι after ΚΑ was intentional. The suggested *Νέλλος* and [γ]ερός in Q 1 are impossible.

(2) As to the character of the Tekmoreioi the new inscriptions make a distinct step forwards, and permit some improvement in the published texts. The Association was clearly a religious one, as soothsayers (*χρησμοδοταί*) are mentioned in one of the new texts; and in Miss Hardie's article above it is conclusively proved that the act called *τεκμορεῖν* (an incorrectly formed, and therefore artificial verb) had an expiatory character. Apart from the *βραβευταί*, whose Anatolian village character was discussed in *Studies*, p. 312, and the *ἀναγραφείς*, who was also probably a village official,<sup>7</sup> the chief or president of the Association was called *πρωτανακλῆτης*. The name is now restored with certainty in Q 1 and Q 17 and occurs frequently in the new texts. It seems to mean 'he who reclines first at table.' The ordinary classical terms for 'taking one's place at table' are *κατα-*, *παρα-*, *συγκατακλίνεσθαι*. I find no example of *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* used in this sense, except in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>8</sup> We must of course understand that *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* was used in the Gospels as being the common term in Palestinian Greek-speaking society:<sup>9</sup> are we then to understand that the same term was

<sup>4</sup> These *publicani* under the Empire were of totally different character from those of Republican times; and all comparisons between them ought to disappear from commentaries and works on New Testament times: their true character has been shown by Rostowzew, *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Staatspacht* and after him by Ramsay in *Hastings' Dict. Bib.* v. p. 394 b.

<sup>5</sup> In *Studies*, p. 309, I say that ΚΤΙCΑΝ in 3 is uncertain. These letters are quite clear, yet give a hopeless reading: Calder notes that all six letters are certain.

<sup>6</sup> 1905 corrects ΤΗC to ΤΟC: as the

letters became blurred and broad, C was evolved out of Y.

<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 67, regards Anagrapheus and Bra-beutai as officers of the Association.

<sup>8</sup> Luke uses also *κατακλίνεσθαι*. All four Gospels and Septuagint use also *ἀναπίπτειν*. *ἀνά* has the distributive sense in these compounds.

<sup>9</sup> I put this in a rough fashion, implying no definite opinion as to local usage. The term *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* has not yet been found in Egyptian papyri; but perhaps the idea does not occur.

employed also in the Greek spoken in the Antiochian region? Whether or not that be so, the following hypothesis, in accordance with my previously stated views on the character of the Association, may be here advanced.

The title given to the leader implies that a common meal was a prominent feature in the ritual of the Association. Such a meal, however, was a feature of many (probably of all) such religious societies in the ancient Greek world: the meal followed a sacrifice to the deity in whose worship the society met. The occurrence of an official cook<sup>10</sup> in some societies perhaps shows an appreciation of the material enjoyment of the meal; but in origin, doubtless, the Mageiros had a religious significance; and it may be doubted whether his duties were more than ritualistic. Similarly the Protanaklites must have been, in the Tekmoreian ritual, a figure of outstanding importance. The head of the Association was so called, because some impressive ritual duty was connected with his taking the first place at the sacred meal. The analogy with the Christian Eucharist is striking, and it has already been pointed out that in the pagan reaction and revival the imitation of Christian words and terms and rites was a typical feature.<sup>11</sup> I venture then to conjecture that the leader of the Tekmoreian Association (which I have already supposed to be anti-Christian), as his most characteristic duty, had to preside at a ritual meal which to some extent rivalled the Eucharist.<sup>12</sup>

2=Q 2. The superscription stating the object to which the money subscribed was devoted was printed correctly: the conjecture Σεβ was confirmed: for the conjectural τοῦ Κυρίου perhaps the name of the deity should be read, as Miss Hardie suggests.

The opening lines of the main inscription, which have been in great part lost by fracture of the stone, can now be improved. The first line (numbered 4) ended ΕΙΤΩΔΙΠΥ. This excludes my first restoration on p. 319, but leaves a wide field for conjecture, and the direction indicated on p. 349<sup>13</sup> is most probable.

ἐτεκμόρευσαν? σ]είτω διπύ-  
ρῳ ἐπὶ ἀναγραφ[έως Αὐρ-  
ηλίου Δημητρίου? Ὁνη]σίμου  
Κτιμ[εν]ην]οῦ, ἐπὶ [πρω]τα-  
νακλ[ί]του Αὐρ. Παπᾶς<sup>14</sup> Μεννέου τῷ? [κὲ?  
Φρονίμου Καρμηνοῦ δόντ[ος] δην. . . .  
κ(ἐ) ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν two in number.

<sup>10</sup> Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, pp. 41, 65.

<sup>11</sup> Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* viii, ix. 3-9; Lactantius, *M.P.* 36, 37. Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies*, Art. iv., quotes many illustrations from inscriptions: see also *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. p. 567.

<sup>12</sup> Sacraments, at any rate baptism, were Mithraic.

<sup>13</sup> This view that the rite was performed with twice-fired bread, διπύρῳ, has been pro-

posed by Mr. A. J. Reinach (not observing my suggestion of it as possible on p. 349, though neither of us has made a restoration in accordance with this idea). His excellent paper is used in the sequel.

<sup>14</sup> Παπᾶς either bad grammar (like δόντος with nominative nouns, and other solecisms), or due to remembrance of a Phrygian genitive. Τυ[ιτηνοῦ καί] with a second name is too long. Yet τῷ for τοῦ is a unique misspelling.

The restoration of the exordium of the main inscription, if it could be assured, would go far to resolve the difficulty as to the Tekmoreian Association. [σ]είτω διπύ[ρῳ] seems certain, since the additional letters read in 1911 have antiquated my former guess [έν] τῷ διπύ[λῳ]. There seems to be no other possible word. The convincing paper by Monsieur A. J. Reinach on *Pain Galate* and the discoveries of 1911 remove the difficulty that I expressed in *Studies*, p. 349:<sup>15</sup> 'the twice-fired bread,' about which I there hesitated, now stands almost complete in the text. The Protanaklites, probably, gave the bread to *mystai* at the ritual meal.

A verb is needed before [σ]είτω. The restoration which I retain follows the form of which examples are quoted in *Studies* p. 346. Perhaps one should prefer a verb which along with σείτω διπύρῳ would be equivalent to ἐτεκμόρευσαν, but the ritual term is not out of place at the opening. I omit οἷδε (which analogy, p. 346, calls for), and suppose that the following names serve as nominatives to the verb at the beginning: the line seems to have been short (though the arrangement is irregular in this inscription). The conjectural restoration of Demetrius in l. 9 becomes now less convincing, as being too short; and I have therefore written Ἀὐρηλίου in full.

Monsieur A. J. Reinach has illustrated the importance of the bread in ritual; and his conclusion as regards the Tekmoreioi seems now established: *la communion par le dipyron paraît donc comme l'acte essentiel par lequel on devient Tekmoreios: le tekmor ne serait pas autre chose qu'une formule d'initiation* (p. 231). He quotes the case of the Montanist sect Artotyritae, who celebrated the Eucharist with bread and cheese, without wine (which was symbolical of blood).

The ritual meal was, as we have seen, the central ceremony, according to wide-spread custom, of a pagan Society; and at this meal evidently the Protanaklites played his part, in which probably the giving of the *dipyros* (instead of ordinary bread) to the new *mystes* was included. Whether all the *mystai* who took part in the ritual meal also partook of the *dipyros*, or only the new initiate, cannot yet be determined; but analogy points to the view that the eating of this special kind of bread was characteristic of the cult and common to all the *mystai*. That was the old pagan ritual. The transformation of this ceremony into a test and an initiation (perhaps by the addition of a confession or oath or some other accompaniment) probably belongs to the late reorganization of the society in the third century. Q. 9 is the only list which seems to be older than A.D. 212; and in it there is no Protanaklites, and the ritual element is not prominent, because the pagan revival had not yet begun when the list was engraved. The

<sup>15</sup> Reinach in *Revue Celtique*, 1907, pp. 225 f. The thought of διπύ[ρῳ] occurred to me too late for the text p. 319, when that sheet was already on the machine; I could only add the reference in the note to p. 349, where I have mentioned this possibility, quoting some evidence that

ordinary bread was avoided in the Phrygian ritual, but confessing inability 'to see how the sign could be exhibited by means of the twice-fired bread.' It is, however, now easy to see how well this adapts itself to the newly discovered Protanaklites.



religious Society existed throughout the Roman period, as the basis of the organization of the Estates.

Monsieur A. J. Reinach is sceptical about these lists having any connexion with Imperial Estates. Apparently he has not studied the history of the Anatolian Estates; and does not recognize them. Rostowzew, who knows those Estates, recognizes at a glance the character of the documents.

Monsieur Reinach is probably right that the use of *pain Galate* in the Tekmoreian ritual was due to the Gaulish custom of using bread twice-fired, which after being lightly cooked was reduced by trituration to a kind of flour, and then a second time prepared and baked (pp. 230 f.). This custom confirmed and agreed with the Phrygian ritual usage, which forbade leavened bread as part of the food of priests: such is the probable meaning of the prohibition, as M. Reinach proves at some length (p. 226), and as I have assumed without argument (*Studies*, p. 349).<sup>16</sup> The extension of Gaulish custom is a proof of the reality of Galatian influence in South Galatia, in the district called in Acts xvi. 6 ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα. If, now, we had reason to think that opposition to the native and the Jewish, and perhaps the Montanist, custom caused the orthodox Christians to prefer leavened bread in the Eucharist, the insistence on unleavened bread in the Tekmoreian ritual feast would have constituted in itself a test of orthodox Christian constancy.

That the 'Orthodox' Church at that time disapproved of the celebration of the Eucharist with unleavened bread is highly probable, and almost certain. On this matter I am deeply indebted to Mr. Brightman. All the Eastern Churches except the Armenian use leavened, and abhor unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The Western Church uses unleavened bread, but this is probably an innovation of much later date than the Tekmoreian inscriptions. Our theory would furnish a good cause in history for the abhorrence felt in the East. According to the view stated by the present writer in a series of articles in the *Expository Times*, 1910, the Eucharistic rite might originally accompany any meal, if other conditions were suitable, and in that case either kind of bread would serve equally well, but leavened bread would be in practice much commoner. A preference might thus arise, which was strengthened by another cause. The Ebionites celebrated their annual Eucharist with unleavened bread (Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXX. 16)—no doubt as a Christian substitute for the Passover—and two inscriptions of Hierapolis in Phrygia (if my belief that they are Jewish-Christian is correct, *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* II. p. 545 f.) show that in Phrygia during the third century Jewish Christians celebrated the annual Easter Eucharist with unleavened bread; but in Humann-Judeich *Hierapolis*, p. 142, those inscriptions are regarded as Jewish. My hypothesis is that the Ebionite usage goes back to the first century, and that the non-Jewish Churches developed in opposition a preference for leavened bread, which was intensified as time passed.

<sup>16</sup> The Christian authorities say that the priests ate no bread.

An objection to the view that *τεκμορεύειν* had some connexion with the Imperial religion (stated in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 297, in a detailed and suggestive review of the *Studies*) leads to a clearer conception of the act and its nature. The reviewer, R. Laqueur, agrees with me that *τεκμορεύειν* denotes *eine Kultus-handlung irgend welcher Art*; but denies any Imperial significance, *weil viele dann die Tatsache, dass nur ein einziger in einer grossen Namenreihe doppelt 'bezeugt' hätte* (δὲς τεκμορεύσας) *nicht erklären lässt*.<sup>17</sup> That causes quite as great difficulty, if the act had a ritual significance only in the old Phrygian cultus. I take it that there are only the two alternatives open to the reviewer and to me, who accept the theory of ritual significance: (1) the act belongs to the old religion, (2) it has a certain relation to the *Kaisererkultus*. But the reviewer seems, if I rightly understand him, to assume that (2) excludes (1). This is not so. The old religion and the Imperial cult were combined. The Estates had been administered by the Imperial Procurator as priest maintaining the old form of rule. Thus the Estates were managed without any violent change, and the cultivators continued to be organized under the form of a religious society (as has been already indicated) similar to their former system. The immense power and influence of the Anatolian *hierai* are illustrated by the great inscription which the Americans found on the wall of the temple at Sardis relating to this matter of landed estates; and it is probable that the *καίσαριασταί* known from a remarkable inscription published by Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, pp. 6 f., and commented on by M. Reinach *loc. cit.*, were a society of cultivators of a Sardian temple-property which had passed into Imperial possession. The Emperors seldom interfered with the temple-system, but adapted it to their own purposes, for the Imperial god was generally identified with the god of the district. The old ritual forms were well suited to be used in the last struggle of the Empire and paganism combined against the new faith. The old custom of the twice-fired bread was used as a Tekmor or test of religion and loyalty: only the testing purpose was new, while the form was old. That the test was usually applied only once (in two cases twice) presents no difficulty. A single test was ordinarily sufficient: all who passed it showed themselves good pagans and acquired merit, whether suspected of Christianity or not.

That there may have been a kind of Tekmoreian sacrament is probably a sign of Mithraism (note 12). The influence of Mithras-worship in Asia Minor is little known. The baptism of this ritual seemed to rival the Christian sacrament; and, though Mithraism is not recorded to have played a part in the pagan revival under Maximin, the Tekmoreian rites, as described here and below, perhaps show that the Mithraic ritual was mixed up at Antioch with the anti-Christian movement. A monument of Mithraic initiation from a military station on the west Cappadocian frontier is published in my *Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey*, pp. 214-222.

I add some remarks on the text, derived from a revision of some points.

<sup>17</sup> A second case is now known: Miss Hardie's paper, No. 2.



In 33 note confirmed. 38, ΔΑΡΗΝΟΥC of all copies confirmed: P is confirmed by No. 26 below. 48, there is room for Απολ in the gap. 52, CEIH perhaps rightly, but H and N are sometimes indistinguishable. 65, MEIN: probably ligature of I and N has been omitted by engraver's slip. 72, ΟΙΤΩΝ probable. 86, ΟΥΛΛΕ certain, *i.e.* Ούαλελιανός, an interesting local pronunciation: the name was liable to alteration in East Phrygia and Lycaonia, where Ούαρελιανός occurs often. 82, Αύρ. Αύξάνων Ζωτικού. 104, Θ now blurred. On 57 see No. 20.

4 = Q 4, 28. On 'Ανδινός see note on 21 below.

7 = Q 7 (R. 1886, 1911). 3, ]ηνός. 6, for II read N: restore 'Ηλ]ιανείτης as in No. 26, 9. 9, a line is omitted: read [P]οκηνός: then l. 10 is [Ιο]υλιεύς (9 in *Studies*), and so on. This is perhaps part of one side of the large *bomos* described as No. 27.

8 = Q 8. In l. 6 read [έν] 'Ορκοις, as proved by a fragment found in 1911. In l. 7 read [χα]λκείτης: see note on 17 below.

9 = Q 9 (R. 1886, R. and C. 1911). The new copy added a line, ΤΟΥΞΛΕ at the top of column B, and gave in B 5 (formerly B 4) ΠΑΠΑΣ ΜΑ,<sup>18</sup> in B 6 ΜΟΥΚΑΡ. In A 9 the reading is ΑΠΟΥ . . . ΟΥ (possibly ΑΜΟΥ): in A 10 ΚΥΑ or ΚΡΑ, and the gap is larger.

The stone is on the inside of a garden-wall on the right as one enters the village from south. It is turned upside down, and the lettering is rude and sometimes uncertain. The inscription is in two columns, A and B, separated by two bull's heads, from whose horns a wreath is suspended between them. Column B only completes A, and is not independent. T occurs both at end of A 1 and in B 1. Hence the text results.

A 1 and B 1-4 ἐπὶ ἀναγραφῆως Ζ]ωτ[ι]κού 'Αρτέμωνος Βοαλιανοῦ  
(τ)τοῦ 'Αλ[ε]ξάνδρου β' Δασκωμήτου.

A 2 Μενεκλῆς Μειλάτμεος confirmed.

A 10 Perhaps Κναδρηνός rather than Κραδρηνός.

After A 12 add B 5-6 Παπᾶς Μαξίμου Καρ[μ]ηνός.

12 = Q 12 (St. 1885, R. 1886, R. and H. 1911). We had the stone taken out of a garden-wall, and thus uncovered a number of lines, which were hitherto concealed and uncopied. Miss Hardie and I worked at lines 8 ff. in a hot afternoon under a blazing sun, after a fatiguing forenoon's work. We had little mental energy left for the task; the stone was in an awkward position, and the letters are so worn, that we at last abandoned the task in despair. It was only on the following day that the word *πρωτανακλίτης* was discovered, which clears up A 8. The stone ought to be tried once more before it is completely published; but we have made it intelligible.

<sup>18</sup> Sterrett prints in his epigraphic copy ΠΑΠΑΜΑ. My notebook of 1886 gives the text correctly (as in 1911); but presumably

I accidentally omitted the C in the copy which I sent him; and thus Παπᾶ appears in his text and hence in Q 9.

The inscription is in the usual form. It first states the object of the dedication by the Xenoï Tekmoreioi. Then it states the date by naming the Secretary 5-6, the Protanaktites 8, and the Brabeutai 11.

A	B
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Κυρίων τύχης καὶ [ν- εί]κης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς ἰ ἀνα- καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου γρα]φέ- σωτηρίας ἀνέστησαν Ξένου ως Αὐ[ρ].	
5 Τεκμορεῖοι Τύχην χάλκεον ἐπ[ι] οπτ- ἀναγραφῆος Αὐρ. Παπᾶ δις Ἀστ[ or Λε[τ] δ]οῦς ἐπίδοσιν δην. γφά μο[ν ἐ]πὶ [πρω]τανα<ν>κλίτ[ου] Μεννεᾶδ[ ος ]σ[ ]ο[ν]ος Κεν[ν]άτου [δην? ν]ους	
10 Αὐρ. Ἴμαν Ζωτικῶν Διοφάνους Πτα[γ δ]όντος ἐπίδοσιν. ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Α]ῦ. Ἀλεξάνδρ[ο]ν Αἰπ[ολο?]νιάτ[ου δην.. ε- καὶ Αὐρ. Μαξιμιανοῦ Ναξιου(?) Ταλ[ι- με]τηνοῦ καὶ Μάρκου [Ἴ]μενος Πε- δην.	
15 σκε]νιάτου, Αὐρ. Δάμας Τιμοθέου Αὐρ. Ἀ]λέξανδρος Καρικοῦ<ς> Ἀρασιζεύς	

On B, an adjoining face of the stone, only a few letters are engraved. In A there remain a good many lines which might probably be read with time and patience, if the stone were put in a good position. Part of the dating in A seems to be corrected in B by the addition of a second ἀναγραφῆος (perhaps Ὀπτίμου Διογένους). In B lower down ὦν seems to complete βραβευτ in A. Similarly in the following lines.

15 = Q 15, 1. Probably read ἐν Μ]άνδρῳ: there is not room for Ὀλιμαναρῶ. See also Q 11 and Q 21 (below).

17 = Q 17. The first line may perhaps be part of a statement of the use to which the subscribed money was applied.

[Τεκμορεῖοι ἐποίησαν . . . χ]ακ[ώ]ματα  
ἐπὶ] ἀναγραφῆως Αὐ[ρ].  
Μην]οδώρου Λουκεί[ο]ν βουλευτοῦ  
Ἀντ]ιοχέως δόντο[ς δην. [  
5 ἐπὶ] πρωτανακλίτου Ἑρμ[  
Ζ]ωτικῶν τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Γλ[κων]ος Συναδεύ[ς]<sup>19</sup>

Then follow names in nom. with sums of denarii.

14 ἐ]πὶ βραβευτῶν Αὐ. Ἀλκίμου Ἀλκίμου Παπαγοῦ δην. υκ'  
καὶ Ἀππᾶ Γαίου Λαπιστρηνοῦ δην. σβ'.

<sup>19</sup> The inflexion of nouns in -εύς troubled the composer seriously: he uses -έος and -έως in nom., -εύς in gen.

Then follow other names in nom. with sums of denarii.

χακώματα, i.e. χαλκώματα (compare Q 2, 3). Perhaps καχείτης for καλχ., i.e. χαλκείτης, should be read in 21, 5, below, a trade name equivalent to χαλκεύς, though not elsewhere found. In Q 13 χάλχωμα occurs. In Q 8, 7 [χα]λκείτη[ς] seems certain: in 27 A, 16 it is written in full. [This spelling seems to point to a suppressing of the *l* sound as in Eng. pronunciation of *chalk*. G. F. H.]

19 = Q 19, 1. Perhaps ἄγα]λμ[α, part of a statement of objects made.

20. The fragment Q 20 (St. 1885, R. 1886) should be placed on the right of this fragment copied by me in 1911, leaving only a gap of a few letters between them.

A	B (Q 20)
ΕΥΤΩΝ/	ΙΑΛΟΥΧΑΡ Ο
ΛΙΟΥΣΥΝΝΑΔ	ΟΙΚΩΝΕΝΤΙ/
ΖΩΝΑ·ΚΑΙΑΥ	ΛΟΓΕΝΟΥΕΡ/
ΜΙΔΟΣΚΑΡΒΟΙ	ΗΤΟΥΔΟΝΤ/
Ρ·ΚΑΡΙΚΟΣΔΕΞΙΑΔ	ΚΙΝΝΑΒΟΡΕΥ
Ρ·ΘΕΜΙΣΩΝΧΑΡΙΤΙ	ΝΟCΟΥΡΒΙΑΝ
ΥΡ·CΩΚΡΑΤΗΣΖΩ	ΙΚΟΥΒΑΤΤΕ
ΥΡ·ΑΠΠΑΣΚΟΙΝΤΟΥ	ΙΑΡCΙΑΝΟC
ΑΥΡΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΑΝΤΗ	ΟCΚΙΝΝΑΒΟ
ΥΡ·ΑΠΠΑΣC·CΥΝΝΑΔΕΥC	ΕΥC·ΧΩΑ
ΑΥΡ·ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟCΖΩC	ΝΑΛΓΙΖ
ΑΥΡ·ΠΑΠΑΣC·CΥΝΝΑΔC	ΟΙC·ΧΩΑ
ΥΡ·ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕ	ΛΙΑΝΟC·ΧΥΝΑ
Ρ·ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟC·Β·CΥΙ	ΝΟC·ΧΥΝΑ
ΥΡ·ΕΡΜΗΣΚΑΡΙΚΟΥΙΟΥ/	
ΥΡ·ΔΕΞΙΑΔΗCΑΓΑΘ	
ΥΡ·ΖΩΤΙΚΟCΑΝΤ	
ΥΡ·ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟCCOY	
CΩΚΡΑΤΗΣΜΑΞΙ	
Α·ΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ	
" Λ	

FIG. 2.

- ἐπὶ βραβ]ευτῶν [Αὐρ. Ἀττ]άλου Χαρ[ίτων]ο[ς  
 Κορνῆ?]λίου Συνναδ[εὺς] οἰκῶν ἐν Πι[λιγ]άν[ω]  
 δούς \*]ωνά καὶ Αὐ[ρ. Ἑρμ]ογένου Ἑρμέως Δ-  
 ιοθέ[?]μιδος Καρβο[κωμ]ήτου δόντος \* ψοέ  
 5 Αὐ[ρ. Καρικὸς Δεξιὰδ[ου] Κινναβορεὺς \* ωκ'  
 Αὐ[ρ. Θεμίσων Χαρίτ[ω]νος Σουρβιανὸς \* ωα'  
 Αὐ[ρ. Σωκράτης Ζω[τι]κοῦ Βαττεανὸς \* ωα'  
 Αὐ[ρ. Ἀππᾶς Κοῖντο[υ Μ]αρσιανὸς \* ωκέ'  
 Αὐ[ρ. Ἀρτέμων Ἀντή[νο]ρος Κινναβορεὺς \* ωα'  
 10 Αὐ[ρ. Ἀππᾶς β' Συνναδ[εὺς] ἐν Ἀλγμζ[έ]ιους \* ωα'  
 Αὐ[ρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Ζωσ[ίμου] Ἀ[ν]ανὸς \* ψνα  
 Αὐ[ρ. Παπᾶς β' Συνναδ[εὺς] ἐν Νόσφ \* ψνα  
 Αὐ[ρ. Διογένης Ἀλεξάνδρ[ου]  
 Αὐ[ρ. Μηνόδωρος β' Σ[υν]ναδεὺς

- 15 A]ύρ. Ἑρμῆς Καρικοῦ Ἴου[λιεύς  
 A]ύρ. Δεξιιάδης Ἀγάθ[ωνος ?  
 A]ύρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἀντ[ιόχου  
 A]ύρ. Ἀντ[ιόχος Σού[σου ?  
 A]ύρ.] Σωκράτης Μαξι[μου  
 A]ύρ.] Α[σκ]ληπιάδης

In 3-4, Δ[ ]μῖδος cannot be a long word: Δ[ιοθέ]μῖδος would suit in length, if it were known elsewhere.

As to comparative date, the following may be noted: 5, Karikos is brother of Antenor, son of Dexiades (Kinnaborion), Q 16, 15; Q 15, 17. 9, Artemon, son of Antenor, is grandson of Dexiades (Kinnaborion), Q 16, 15, and Q 15, 17. 15, Hermes, son of Karikos, is perhaps brother of Julius (Iulia), Q 15, 22, and Q 16, 21. 7, Zotikos, father of Sokrates here, is son of Orestes in No. 27 (Battea).

Accordingly this list is later by a (short) generation than Q 15 and Q 16 (which were proved in *Studies*, p. 300, to be early), and it is later by a generation than the fragmentary No. 27. So far as shape and arrangement go, this present list seemed to be possibly a part of No. 27; yet the chronological evidence is against this, and 27 goes with 15 and 16. The only possible way of fitting 27 to those two is to suppose that 27, 1 completes 16, 60, a very slender thread of union.

L. 11. Λιανός (read by Sterrett in 1885, but broken before I saw the stone in 1886) is probably the same name as ΛΙΑΗΝΟC in Q 2, 57. In 1882 I noted in margin that this was the probable reading: in 1911 Calder and I agreed that ΛΙΑΗΝΟC was probable (initial not certain). In 1886 I thought that λ was *liée* with the following Α, and hence printed Ἀμαηνός in Q 2. The true text seems to be either Λιαηνός or Αἰαηνός, probably the latter. There is no room for [Βαρουκ]λιανός.

L. 12. There is not room in the gap for οἰκῶν ἐν, but e.g. ἐν Κνόςφ or Ἀνόςφ, involving loss of one letter, is possible.

L. 21 = Q 21 (St. 1885, R. and C., separately, 1911). The older copy is far from complete in ll. 1, 2. The stone is top part of the basis of a statue, perhaps.

- A]ύρ. Ἀρτέμων Καρικοῦ Ἡμεραί(ου) Ὀλμ[ι]αν[ός] δην. ν[ ]  
 A]ύρ. Γάϊος Μενάνδρου Ἀνδρηνός δην. [ ]  
 A]ύρ. Εἰρηνέος Ἀλεξάνδρου Δουδανδηνός χάλκι[α δύο ?  
 A]ύρ. Καρικός Ἀλεξάνδρου καχείτης Μαληνός.

L. 1. Ὀλμιανός. Calder reads part of μ and of α with gap sufficient for ι. From Sterrett's defective copy I caught [ό κ]αἰ Ὀλ[μιανός] and restored wrongly a personage elsewhere mentioned. Presumably ΟΥ was omitted before ΟΛ by the engraver. I revised Calder's copy, but could make no addition to a very faint text.

L. 2. Calder read ΔΡΟΜΑΝΔΡ ? In revision I preferred ΔΡΟΥΑΝΑΡ or ΑΝΔΡ. Calder then re-read, and admitted these as possible. The text is not quite certain.

L. 3. Δουδαδηνός (Sterrett): We read as above. The local name is evidently connected with the personal name Doudas or Dodes, through suffix *ανδα* or *αδα*: see for similar examples *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor* p. 368. On *καχείτης* see 17, above. As to the form Ἀνδρηνός, in Q 4, 28 I read at first Ἀνδρηνός and then noted that only IH was certain, but PH was possible. In Q 15, 32 and 16, 33 ἐν Ἀνδ[ι]αίς is restored. Miss Hardie quotes Pliny's city Andria of Phrygia (*Nat. Hist.* v. 145: *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia* i. p. 209).

23 = Q 23, 10 μισθωτοῦ unjustifiably restored here.

24 = Q 24 (Callander 1906, R. and C. 1911). 3 ΙΙCENIONΙ followed by a doubtful letter or emblem.

L. 8 ποιήση, κατάρα αὐτῷ γένοιτο for ποιησηλιαρα (1906): the text is in parts much worn.

25 = Q 25 (a small part copied by R. 1886, when the rest of the stone was covered up: Callander's copy 1906 is entirely confirmed by R. and C. 1911; 2 We read ἔτι. 6 We read N on another edge of the stone, so that the object dedicated was a βέννος. 7 ΚΑΛΑ complete.

26 (R. C. and H. 1911). On two sides of a stone excavated at Saghir. The upper part occurs only on side B, while the corresponding part of side A is blank. On this upper part the superscription describing the purpose to which money subscribed (no sums mentioned in the text) was applied: the arrangement is as in Q 2. Sides C and D seem not to have been engraved, yet B is evidently incomplete. The stone is much worn, and the engraving was very rude and inaccurate. Misspellings and omissions are numerous. Though a line can be quite certainly restored above l. 1, containing the nominative plural before the verb, yet not a trace of it could be detected.

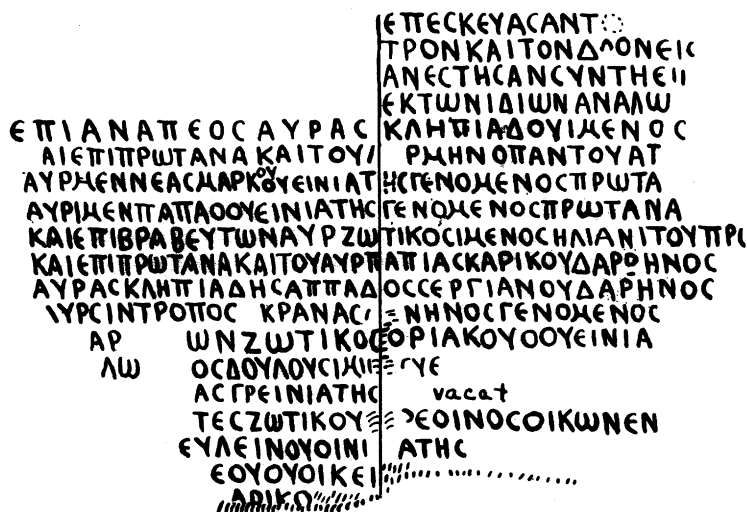


FIG. 3.

- [Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖοι]  
ἐπεσκεύασαν το [ἄν]-  
-τρον καὶ τὸν δάον εἰς-  
ἀνέστησαν σὺν τῇ εἰκόνι  
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλω[μάτων].
- 5 ἐπὶ ἀνα(γρα)πέος Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἴμενος  
κ]αὶ ἐπὶ πρωτανακ[λ]ίτου [Αὐρ. Μηνοπάντου Ἀτ[τάλου ?  
Αὐρ. Μεννέας Μάρκου Οὐεινιάτ[η]ς γενόμενος πρωτα[νακλίτης  
Αὐρ. Ἴμεν Παπᾶ Ὀουεινιάτης γενόμενος πρωτανακλίτης  
καὶ ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς (sic) Ἴμενος Ἡλιανίτου πρ[ωτανακλίτου  
10 καὶ ἐπὶ πρωτανακ[λ]ίτου Αὐρ. Παπίας Καρικοῦ Δαρ[ρ]ηνός  
Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀππᾶδ[ο]ς Σεργίανου Δαρηνός  
Αὐρ. Σύντροπος [ ] Κρανασ[α]νὸς γενόμενος [πρωτανακλίτης  
Αὐρ.] Ἀρ[τέμ]ων Ζωτικο[ῦ] Ὀριακοῦ Ὀουεινιά[της  
Αὐρ. Ἀπο[λῶ]ν[ι]ος Δούλου Σιμικκ[εύ]ς  
15 Αὐρ. ? Παπ[?]ᾶς Γρεινιάτης  
Αὐρ. ]τέος<sup>20</sup> Ζωτικοῦ [. . .]ρεῖνος οἰκῶν ἐν . . .  
Αὐρ. ? Μαρκ[?]ε[λ]λείνου Οἰνιάτης  
Μενν[έ]ου<ΟΥ> Οἰκε[η]νός  
Κ]αρικο[ῦ]

If the restoration [ἄν]τρον could be trusted, it would suggest some interesting speculations. Evidently the lost word denoted some place already existing, which had to be equipped: the three verbs ἐποίησαν, ἀνέστησαν, and ἐπεσκεύασαν, are carefully distinguished in these statements (Q 2, Q 12, Q 13, Q 22). A cave, such as was used in the Mithraic ritual, or a place like the stable at Bethlehem used in this imitation of Christian ritual, would quite fulfil the conditions. The restoration εἰκόνι is very probable, as the 1 of Κ could be traced. δάος seems to be a revival of an old epic word,<sup>21</sup> meaning 'torch' in Homer, similar to the archaic, Homeric, τέκμων from which the Association derived its name. Whether the Christian analogy can be maintained or not, at any rate the equipment of the cave with a (large) torch and an image would be very suitable for a scene in the Mysteries, Phrygian or other.

The comparative date of this inscription may be determined from l. 12. Syntrophos of Kranasaga<sup>22</sup> was the father of Iman, a member of the Association, mentioned in Q 2, 88. Here in l. 12 there is abundant room for a letter after the name; and the only single letter possible would be Β (i.e. δῖς). If this restoration is right, Syntrophos son of Syntrophos here would be brother of Iman, and the document would be nearly contemporary with Q 2, which has been assigned conjecturally to the period of Decius about A.D. 250 (*Studies*, p. 355). If, however, there was simply a gap on the stone, this document would be a generation older than Q 2, and would belong to the earlier group of Tekmoreian lists.

<sup>20</sup> For nouns in -εύς see note 19.

<sup>21</sup> As Miss Hardie suggested.

<sup>22</sup> Misspelt Kranasana here.

In B 9 the reading 'Ηλιανίτου seemed certain, although possibly Δ should be substituted for Λ, giving a form equivalent to Αἰζανίτου: on the equivalence of Δ and Ζ in Anatolian words under Greek conditions of spelling and pronunciation see *Studies*, p. 366, *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 370. In B 10 Δαρρηνός and Δαρβηνός were both possible; but the following line decides in favour of a bad ρ. In l. 13 both Ζωτικός and Ζωτικοῦ are possible; and there may be a letter lost after it, the initial of -οριακοῦ. In l. 14 the lacuna is too short to allow two λ in the personal name. In l. 16 ΡΕΘΗΝΟΣ is perhaps possible, *i.e.* [Ῥεθ]ηνός: compare the Abrettenoi in North Phrygia. In l. 17 the copy gives Υ very doubtfully between ε and λ. In l. 18 ΟΥΟΙΚ may be a thick pronunciation of ΟΙΚ, or a mere fault of the engraver.

27 (R. 1911). Saghir. (Lower end of two sides of a large bomos.) Two parts, A containing the beginnings and ends of the lines, B the middle: the latter is a corner of the bomos.

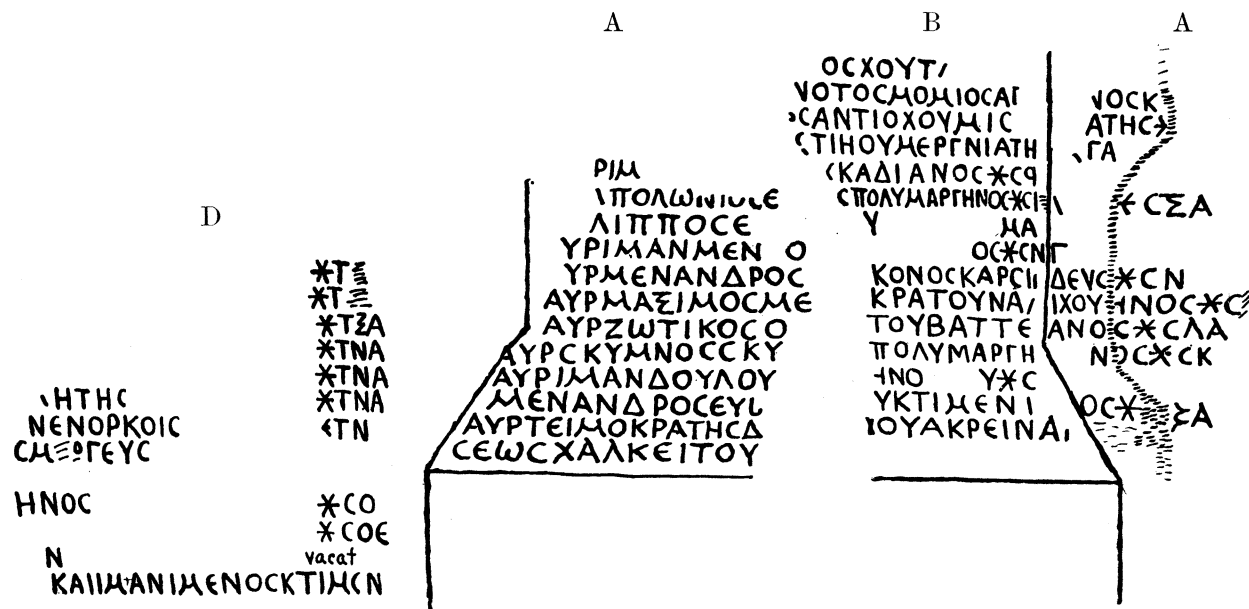


FIG. 4.

- Μ]όσχου Τα[λιμετεύς ?  
 ]νοτος Μόμιος Ἀτ[ταλη ?]νός Κ  
 ος Ἀντιόχου Μισ[υλι]άτης δην. [  
 ς Τύου Μεργνιάτη[ς δην. τα'  
 5 Αὐ]ρ. Ἰμ[αν ο]ν Καδιανός δην. σϛ  
 Αὐρ.] Ἀπολώνιος ς Πολυμαργηνός (δην. σ[π]α' ?) δην. σξά'  
 Φίλιππος Ε[ ]ν [ δην. σ]μα



- A]ὕρ. Ἰμαν Μέν[τ]ο[ρος] [            ην]ός δην. σνγ'  
 Αὕρ. Μένανδρος [Γλύ]κονος Καρσινδεύς δην. σν[α']  
 10 Αὕρ. Μάξιμος Με[νε]κράτου Ναλιχουηνός δην. σ[να']  
 Αὕρ. Ζωτικὸς Ὁ[ρέσ]του Βαττεανός δην. σνα'  
 Αὕρ. Σκύμνος Σκύ[μνου] Πολυμαργηνός δην. σκ  
 Αὕρ. Ἰμαν Δούλου [       ]ηνο[       ]υ δην. σ'  
 Μένανδρος Εὐω[νύμο]υ Κτιμενηνός δην. [ρ]ξά'  
 15 Αὕρ. Τειμοκράτης Δι[ονυσ]ίου Ἀκρεινά[της]  
 σεως χαλκείτου finis

I copied these fragments at different places, and noted at the time the probability that they might suit each other, as they are parts of the lower end of a large *bomos*; but there was no opportunity of trying to fit them together. The inscriptions suit well: in 10, *Ναλιχουηνός* is like *Σαγουηνός*, *Ἀραγουηνός*, *Σοηνός* (*Ἔσουα*, *Ἰσβα*), *Λαγουηνός*, *Καλουηνός*: on l. 15 see below on D. *CEWC* is the end of a name in gen., such as [Τολουρά]σεως, which has come over from side D. The *bomos* was engraved on all four sides; and considerable pieces probably remain: the traces make *Ἀκρεινάτης* almost certain. Compare *Studies*, p. 359.

L. 2. *Μόμος*, probably genitive of a native name, and not related to *Mummius*.

L. 4. *Τιείου* or *Τιήου*: noted first as an indeclinable native name in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 60. The form *Τιήου* occurs in several unpublished inscriptions of *Laodiceia Lycaoniae*.

In 11 and in Q 20, 7 the reading *β' Ἀττεανός* cannot be justified: *Attaia* therefore disappears from the list in *Studies*, p. 364, and *Battea* must be added there and on p. 371. *Sterrett* was right in this.

D. The other sides of this *bomos* were also engraved; and the following was perhaps a fragment of the lowest part of the fourth side. The names began on the third side, and are completed here.

- |    |                               |        |
|----|-------------------------------|--------|
|    |                               | × τ[   |
|    |                               | × τ[   |
|    |                               | × τξά' |
|    |                               | × τνα' |
| 5  |                               | × τνα' |
|    | -κωμ]ήτης                     | × τνα' |
|    | οἰκῶ]ν ἐν Ὀρκοῖς              | × τν   |
|    | ς Μ[ε?]ργεως                  |        |
|    |                               | [×] σ[ |
| 10 | -ηνός                         | × σο[  |
|    |                               | × σοέ' |
|    | η            [blank space]    |        |
|    | καὶ Ἰμαν Ἰμενος Κτιμεν[ηνός]. |        |



Line 8 here, from the shape of the basis, seems to correspond to A 16; and in this case apparently the name extended round beyond D on to A, so that the whole should run after this fashion [Αὐρ. — — — ο]ς Μ[ε]ργεύς [Τουλουρά]σεως χαλκείτου.<sup>23</sup> Names like Toulourasis are common in the district of Anaboura, six hours south-east of Antioch. I take Μεργεύς for Μεργνεύς, a variant of Μεργνιάτης. The lowest part of the basis was not engraved on sides A, B, but was engraved on side D in five lines.


Another possibility in restoring A B 15, 16, is 'Ακρεινά[του Μινα]σέως χαλκείτου, making Dionysius a citizen of Minassos, who had settled in the village Akreina, on the Imperial Estates, after the fashion described in *Studies*, pp. 357 f.; but there seems to be hardly room for Μινα-, for this would extend to A (which here is blank). The restoration 'Ακρεινά[της] or [του] seemed practically certain, as we copied the stone.

28. (C. 1911) Saghir. The epithet of the goddess was assured by traces of broken letters (Calder).

'Αρτέμω ?]ν 'Αρτέμιδι ε[πηκό]φ εὐχήν.

For the present I refrain from publishing a number of small fragments of Tekmoreian lists, which were copied at Saghir in 1911, because it is probable that some of these may yet be united to one another or to other published fragments. In one case we put four together, as they were in our hands for some time; but, unless one can handle them, it is not possible to fit such small parts together. It is useless to measure the letters, for these vary much in size in the same stone, and the spacing and the distances between the lines are very irregular. As knowledge grows, the task of uniting the fragments might become easier. A week at Saghir seems even more urgently needed than when, in 1906, I suggested that it would be profitable. In one of the Turbe-s there are probably other fragments, besides those which have been seen and copied; but religious awe will probably prevent them from being uncovered. Time, however, is necessary. People will not do for the visitor of a day what they will readily do for one who has lived for a week among them.

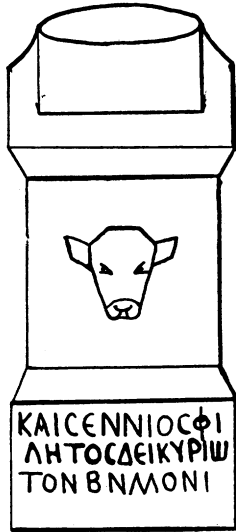
29. (R. and C. and H., 1911.) Kundanli or Gondane, on a *bomos* of peculiar shape. The stone is a square *bomos* with a round *cippus* on the top,<sup>24</sup> but the *cippus* is properly cut only on the inscribed side, showing that the monument was intended to stand against a wall and to be seen only from one side.

On the front of the *bomos* is the head of a hornless ox. On the two sides are defaced ornaments: Miss Hardie thought both were bull's heads: I thought that on the left side was the common ornament  and on

<sup>23</sup> Ethnic before father's name, as in Q 15, 11; Q 2, 29.

<sup>24</sup> On the flat top of the *cippus* are three small circular bosses.

the right perhaps a bunch of grapes. Miss Hardie notes that in Lebas, Pl. 136, a relief from the Lydian Katakekaumene, Men stands with his left foot on the head of a hornless ox [perhaps a calf is meant]. On coins of Antioch Men often stands with left foot on *bucranium*.



Καισέννιος Φι-  
λητος Δεὶ Κυρίῳ  
τὸν β[ω]μόν<ι>

FIG. 5.

N is a mere slip for *w*: whether the final *l* was also a slip, or had some force in local pronunciation, I do not venture to determine.

On these estates the reigning emperors were the Kyrioi (Q 12, 13). Hence, though Kyrios is a well recognized title of the god in Anatolia, yet here probably Zeus Kyrios is an identification of the reigning Emperor with the local Zeus, as *e.g.* in Athens Hadrian was Zeus Olympios. On the form Δεῖ see Q 25 and note.

Caesennius Philetos can hardly be separated from Caesennius Philetos, who made a dedication to Men Askaênos (see p. 123) along with his brother, when both had performed the action called *τεκμορεύειν*. If we could suppose that these brothers were freedmen of Caesennius, governor of Galatia, A.D. 80, it would follow that the act of Tekmoreusis was practised from at least A.D. 80, and therefore was a rite in an old Phrygian religious society; and much that I have suggested about the Association would be disproved. But that is not the situation. Caesennius Philetos was a resident in the country, belonging to one of the Hellenic families which had acquired the Roman *civitas* and taken the name of the governor in A.D. 80. This dedication to Zeus Kyrios clearly belongs to a much later date; and we must suppose that, as would be natural, the *nomen* persisted in the family for 150 or 200 years. The religious Association was ancient.

30 (R. 1886). On a grave-stone at Yalowadj.



FIG. 6.

Καισενία  
Ἑρμιό-  
νη  
Αὐξάνο-  
ντι τέκν-  
ω μνέας  
χάριν.

This epitaph certainly is not earlier than the late second century: it belongs to the period of degeneration. Hermione probably belonged to the same family as Philetos and Onesimos, a family of Hellenic *incolae*, rewarded with the *civitas* about A.D. 80–2, and retaining the Roman *nomen* permanently. A family like this was Hellenic only in virtue of education and language. As Isocrates says ‘Athens has brought it to pass that the name of Hellene should no longer be thought a matter of race, but a matter of intelligence, and should be given to the participators in our culture rather than to the sharers in our common origin’ (*Paneg.*, trans. Jebb). The Hellenes of the great Graeco-Asiatic cities were rarely Greeks in blood: only certain cities which call themselves Dorian, Achæan, etc., probably received a colony from some part of Greece to further the gradual Hellenization of Asia, at which the Seleucid and other kings aimed. The Seleucid Antioch was colonized from the Lydian city Magnesia on the Maeander, where Hellenism was of ancient standing; and hence Antioch was more strongly Hellenic than most cities of Phrygia (such, *e.g.* as Iconium: *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 259, 334).

At Antioch *incolae civitate donati*, and families in other cities of Galatia, which gained *civitas*, often bear the names of governors (or other high officials) in the province, as *e.g.* the family Caesennius here, or Neratius in Miss Hardie’s article No. 1. So Calpurnius, *ibid.* 48 (cp. *C.I.L.* iii. 6831) and Asprenas, *ibid.* 70, take names connected with (Nonius) Calpurnius Asprenas, who governed Galatia A.D. 69 and had two *nomina* (one coming from the female side). So Bassos, *ibid.* 67: compare Pomponius Bassus, governor A.D. 95–102: dedication 17 should be re-examined to determine if Πουμπούμλιος stands for Pomponius rather than Pompilius (as we at first thought): the difference between N in ligature and Λ is very slight in those badly engraved dedications. Lollius perhaps occurs, *ibid.* 30: the governor in 25 B.C. was Lollius Paullinus. The names Nonius and Nonia Paullina occur at Antioch, *C.I.L.* iii. 6856, Paullina also 6842, Paullinus 6850. All these governors belong to the first century, during which many *incolae* were being raised to the *civitas*. On the Estates the name Valerianus (governor

197 A.D.) occurs Q 2, 86 (as corrected above); but there *civitas* was not acquired so early as in the *colonia*. In the cities of Galatia names like Annius, Afrinus, Servaeus (at Savatra), Collega, occur often. Valerius Italus governed Galatia in some unknown year (cp. dedications 50, 60). The subject needs investigation and collection of details. Names derived from Emperors are not so numerous in a *colonia* as in cities.

31. Copied by Miss Gertrude Bell in a house in Kundanli in 1907. The inscription is engraved above a relief representing three horsemen armed with spears.

ΜΟΑΟΡΗC Μαμᾶ ἱερ[ε]ῦς  
θ[ε]οῖς ἐ[π]ηκόοις εὐχῆν.

This embodiment of the Theoi Epêkooi is unknown to me: one horseman god is common in Anatolia, as are two horsemen with the goddess between them. The priest's name is perhaps Μολόρης or Μοδόρης or Μοάθρης. Here, as in Q 4, 12, is a priest, who is not a Roman official: there were many such priests in this region.

The following village names may be added. Κατιηνείτης is perhaps a man of the tribe Katenneis. The aspirates caused much trouble in Greek writing, and the opinion is stated in *Histor. Geogr.*, p. 418, that Katenna or Kotena and Hetenna, two distinct bishoprics, are only two sections of the old tribe Ἐτεννείς, i.e. Khetenneis, whose name is derived from the old Khatti or Hittites.<sup>25</sup> The opinion there expressed is modified from that of Waddington, who took Etenna or Hetenna and Katenna as two spellings of the name of one single place (which G. Hirschfeld in his *Vorläuf. Bericht. ueber e. Reise* accepted). There are two places or towns, Katenneis and Hetenneis, probably divisions of the same original tribe. Yet the view taken in *Studies*, p. 365, is more probable.

Khoma Sakenon at Mallos was a great dam, or causeway, across a marsh. The modern village name Homa, several times found in Asia Minor, is a survival of the Greek word. I have only now observed this point; and the solitary Homa whose situation I remember at present fulfils the condition, I mean the Homa between Apameia and Eumeneia (see *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. pp. 220–228), which has replaced the ancient Siblia-Soublaion. The road to the east is carried over the vast marshes of the Maeander in the valley of Siblia by a long causeway. The existence of this great dam seems in late time to have diverted communication and traffic (if any traffic still

<sup>25</sup> Keller in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1896, p. 118 and Lewy *Semit. Fremdwörter in Griech.* (Berlin 1895) holds that Semitic *ch* has been dropped in various Greek words, *ἄβρα* = Chabrā (Keller, *Volksetymol.* p. 196), *Εὔα*, Eve = Chawwa (*Vulg.* Heva), *ἄριος* = Charis, *ἀπήνη* and *καπήνη* = Chāpap or Chābā, *εὐνοῦχος* = Chānūk (approved on trial), *ἄβαλαι* (i.e. *φεῦ*) = Chabāl. De Cara takes *ῥδη* = *Κόδη*,

and quotes *Muséon*, Apr. 1891 on *ὁ = κυ* in Carian, Lydian, etc. city-names. Lightfoot, *Philip.* p. 51 explains the name Gangites or Angites at Philippi (Appian, iv. p. 106, Herod. vii. 113), modern Anghita, on the theory that the initial was 'a guttural sound like Semitic ayin, sometimes omitted, sometimes represented by γ'—[as in Gaza and Aza, alternative renderings of *גַּזָּא*. G.F.H.]

existed) from the route by Apameia to this track: the change is attested by Nicetas (*Cities and Bish.* i. p. 224). Apameia had fallen entirely into the possession of the Nomad Turkmen, who nearly captured Manuel there (*ibid.* ii. p. 447) at the beginning of his reign; and the Khoma furnished a path nearer the Byzantine territory, more easily held by the Imperial troops, and commanded by the lofty fortress above the high-lying modern village of Homa. This castle was the military centre of the new Theme Khoma, which was a frontier garrison sometimes occupied, sometimes abandoned, in the Comnenian period (*Cities and Bish.* i. pp. 18 f., 226). This great dam and road was called *Χῶμα Σούβλαιον*, the dam of Siblia: hence the change from Siblia to Soublaion between the earlier and the later lists of Bishoprics. The dam still exists, but is in a half ruinous condition; and in 1888, when Lady Ramsay and I crossed it, the passage was made with some trouble.

In contrast to this *Χῶμα Σούβλαιον* there was another *Χῶμα Σακηρόν*, familiar at the Tekmoreian centre; and the town of Mallos, mentioned in the lists, is distinguished from the Cilician city, as being *πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηρόν*. How this new condition suits Male-Kalessi or Malek-Kalessi (where the bishopric and city of Mallos in Pisidia has been placed, *Annual of Brit. School Athens* 1902-3 p. 259), I am not aware. A causeway across a marsh is often found in that district. Khomata for irrigation purposes were well known in Egypt; and *Chomatium logografi* and *χωματεπιμεληταί* are known officials.<sup>26</sup>

Akreina and Greinia were perhaps the same.

Nosos or [·]nosos perhaps implies a form [·]nossos, such as Gnossos or Anossos.<sup>27</sup>

Kuadra: as Calder suggests, *Κυαδρηνός* is perhaps shortened from *Κοναδαττηνός* (Iconium) from *Praedia Quadrata* mentioned in an inscription of Ladik, Imperial quarries of *lapides quadrati* (marble?).

Doudanda, see p. 162.

Naxos? Hassa-Keui in Cappadocia is called by its Greek inhabitants Axo or Naxo.

NOTE.—In 1, lines 3 f. Calder suggests *κτισάν(των) Τᾷ καὶ Νειᾶδος*, but an ordinary native like *Τας* would not precede *Neias* Imperial *actor* and *riest*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>26</sup> Zulueta in *Oxford Studies*, i. 2, p. 60; *od. Theod.* xi. 24, 6, 7; *B.G.U.* 12, 10-11.

<sup>27</sup> The epigraphic copies of 26, 27 B, D, and

20 A, are by Miss Hardie, who intended to do the present paper, but had to leave for Athens too soon.

THE ROMANES LECTURE

1913

*The Imperial Peace*

*An Ideal in European  
History*

BY

SIR W. M. RAMSAY, M.A., HON. D.C.L.

DELIVERED

IN THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE

MAY 8, 1913

UNIV. OF  
CALIFORNIA

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1913

JC 361  
-R3

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK  
TORONTO MELBOURNE BOMBAY  
HUMPHREY MILFORD M.A.  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

TO THE  
LIBRARY OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF  
TORONTO

## THE IMPERIAL PEACE

THE Romanes lecturer, as I am informed, is free to expatiate in almost every field except politics and religion. It is not hard to resign oneself to exclusion from the field of politics, which presents hardly any temptation to a scholar except the allurements which a forbidden garden offers to weak human nature. I have guarded against that temptation by choosing a subject which is so obviously ideal and so inconsistent with actual conditions of political life in this country and in Europe generally, that he who speaks about it is necessarily shut off from the realm of political facts.

But to Scottish temperament like that of the present speaker, it is hard to be debarred from the field of religion. The mind of the Scotsman has been formed by generations of amateur theologians and of constant listeners to the stern and long sermons in which the national temperament used to find pleasure and sustenance. The Scot may have lost the art of listening to sermons; perhaps with the national caution he is unwilling to admit the theological competence of the preacher; but he cannot divest himself of inherited tendencies; his thought naturally runs into theological or religious forms; and his reading sooner or later turns towards theological or anti-theological literature.

You may perhaps allow a Scot to have a text; and I propose to take my text from a writer of the pre-Renaissance time—that period in history when the European world is generally understood to have been stagnant and absolutely unprogressive, its few thinkers



being almost wholly occupied with the most barren and useless problems, deducing unpractical and unreal inferences from fantastic and unreal principles by a capricious and purely subjective method of reasoning. It is true that the mediaeval thought in Europe worked itself out without care for the facts of science, or even for the apparent facts of the world around it. It lived and moved on a plane by itself: it evolved itself according to the laws of its own being: it did not work with an eye on the world of sense, or endeavour to keep step with the facts of common experience. Yet on that account its reasoning is perfectly free, untrammelled by what you may call 'common sense'; and therein lies its interest, its charm to a few, and the secret of its power and its truth.

Why should it accommodate itself to the alien world around? Why should it pay any heed to the wars, the cruelty, the horrors, the ignorance, that reigned in politics, in international relations, and in the administration of the law? It recognized that there was nothing true, nothing just, nothing real, in contemporary society, and it turned away from its surroundings to gaze on such truth and reality as it could make for itself.

In the unfolding of this mediaeval thought, the steps are—(1) this ought to be, for such is the will of God; (2) this must be; (3) this is. What ought to be is, such is the simple rule. The rest is sham, false, unworthy of the thinking man's attention, except as the delusive and misleading falsehood from which the thinker should try to emancipate himself and others. Only on one side, as a teacher and a preacher, did the thinker of the mediaeval time touch the world around him. Otherwise he lived apart.

Yet, after all, he was engaged on the same problems,

not merely of abstract philosophy, but also of sociology, as well as of religion, which touch us at the present day ; and his answers to those problems, though usually expressed in terms that are uncongenial to us, as being too abstract and too remote from the practical world, need only to be translated into modern terms in order to be intelligible and indeed convincing. They wrote and spoke for their own time. Words have changed their meaning since then, but the truth remains the same.

The poet of the Middle Ages, who interpreted with the insight of a prophet the heart of the Mediaeval world, has laid down, as the first principle from which reasoning about the welfare of human society must start, that universal peace is the end for which all our action is and should be ordered. When I approach this poet, I go to him as the seer who could look on the divine truth with the undazzled eye of the prophet ; and I quote only from one of his prose works, the Latin treatise on Monarchy. 'Of all things', says Dante, 'that are ordered to secure blessings to men, peace is the best : by quiet the individual man grows perfect in wisdom ; and society as a whole is best fitted in the tranquillity of peace for its proper work, which may be called divine.'

Such is the truth as declared by a great thinker, who lived in the midst of a turbulent world, split up into many small rival states, all as a rule either on the verge of war or actually engaged in war with one another. The international life of Europe, that small part of Europe which came within the circle of a common intercourse, moved amid the jealousies, the ambitions, the mutual cheating, and the frequent wars of these petty princes and kinglets.

Has Europe really much improved since then in the fundamental facts of international relationship ? It is

now divided into a smaller number of larger states. The area of common intercourse is wider, and is nearly co-extensive with the European continent, besides embracing a number of extra-European states ; but is Europe freer from mutual jealousies and ambitions of rival states than it was ? For my own part I venture to believe that it is freer, and that it has made distinct progress towards the goal of human endeavour. It is, indeed, true that Europe is now divided, so to say, into a small number of fortified camps and armies ready for war, or nearly ready. It is true that war is now waged with the entire strength and the whole manhood and the collected resources of a nation, whereas in Dante's time war was waged with tiny armies, while the mass of the people looked on and applauded the winner. To imitate the words of the Roman satirist, nations staked of old their pocket-money on the chances of the game, whereas now they stake their entire fortune. Yet we have moved onwards towards that goal of justice and freedom which Dante describes as the end of human effort.

The remedy for the unrest and disorder of his time, as Dante dreamed, lay in the universal Empire. Before his eyes there unfolded itself a bright vision, in which the supreme monarch, high above the smaller states and their rulers, exercised a system of law and justice and order to which all the petty kings and governments must submit.

This monarch has no selfish aims, for he has nothing to desire : his monarchy is world-wide, bounded only by the circumambient ocean ; and there is nothing left for him to conquer or to gain or to covet. There is none with whom he can quarrel : there is no rival of whom he can be jealous : there is no opponent for him to fight against. He stands alone ; and for him happiness must lie in

exercising the powers of his being in the duties of his position. He must be, and therefore he is, the perfect man, putting in operation the true nature of man, and living for the good of the world.

He must be considered, as Dante says, to be the servant of all, because magistrates and kings exist for the good of the nation, and not the nation for the good of its kings or its magistrates. The end is marked out for the monarch. He is there because he ought to wish, because he must wish, and therefore does wish, that men be good and do good and enjoy liberty.

Of all things in the social body, says our prophet, peace is the best. It is necessary to guard against a misapprehension of what is meant here by the word 'peace'. Dante thinks of peace, not as a negative but as a positive idea. Peace is not the mere absence of war : it is the power that maintains order and makes moral law effective. It is the administrative force of Justice, and it is the necessary condition of freedom.

Now Justice implies power : a man cannot act justly to others unless he has the power of giving to all their due. Justice is not the getting of one's due from others : that is a base and unworthy and wholly false conception of the divine power that we call Justice. Justice is the paying of their due to others. It is not a demand for one's own rights ; it is the giving to others of their rights. This is a profoundly significant idea ; it springs from the insight of a prophet, who has looked deep into the heart of the world. 'Justice', says Dante, 'is a virtue regulating our conduct towards others,' and it cannot be turned into a rule which we can invoke to regulate the conduct of others to us, and to enforce the demands which we make on others.

Peace, then, is the condition on which man may work

out his true nature, and give free scope to the excellences which belong to his character. Peace is the power which enforces justice in society, which enables every man to behave fairly and justly to others, and which strengthens the tendency in each to be just to others. 'Where a monarch is, there justice is (or may be) strongest.' 'The monarch will most love the good of men.' Such is the true nature of man; and the monarch is free from the temptation to go outside of his real character. He has nothing to gain from doing so, and therefore he does not do so.

In the second place, the end of human society involves freedom, as well as justice. In freedom each man can develop his own nature; he can exist for himself and not at the caprice of others. This is possible only in the peace of the universal Empire, governed by the monarch for the good of all. Each man obeys the monarch; but the monarch orders each man to be free, to live for his own development, and to attain the true end of human existence.

The monarch, according to Dante, is to be the source of international law, and to govern in those matters which are common to all men in all the separate nations with a view to their peace. The cities and nations of the single Empire shall each be ruled by its own separate government or king, because each of these has its own special character and each requires laws adapted to its own conditions. He would not merge the separate states in a uniform and homogeneous Monarchy or Empire. These must retain, and ought to retain their own idiosyncracies: such is the law of nature and the character of man.

Dante's monarchy, therefore, is a balance of two different forces: on the one hand the individual character of the states, on the other hand the monarchically

imposed unity of the all-pervading and compelling Imperial order and peace. Only in this way can the individual man and the individual group of men work out their own being. Each man has his special character, and his expansive and growing nature supplies the force needed for his development: without this force he is stunted and narrowed. But this growth cannot find nourishment and scope for itself except in the peace of the Empire: without that peace it is wasted in long contention with others around. The Imperial peace dictates the law of growth.

It is an ideal monarch whom Dante describes. We see how untrammelled he is by historical fact. His mind was nurtured on the history and the greatness of Rome, and he could turn from contemplating the lives and acts of the Caesars to paint this picture of the monarch and to set it before his readers, not as an impossible ideal, but as the truth of things. How extraordinarily and fantastically absurd it appears to most readers; and they turn from it as a pretty but idle fancy. It is an ideal; but the ideal is the power in history. If the ideal could be reproduced in the common man, it ceases to be an ideal and a power. It must remain above us and in front of us; and therein lies its influence on mankind.

That this ideal has had a powerful influence on modern history is, I think, undeniable. The monarch in Dante's mind is supreme over all mere kings and princes, universal and absolute lord of all, while mere kings are exposed to temptation to violate the peace with their neighbours, to overstep their own bounds, and to covet their neighbour's property. Yet who can look dispassionately at modern facts without recognizing that an ideal such as Dante paints has been and is a strong power in the breast of many modern kings and rulers, tending to

ennoble their nature and raise them to a higher level of purpose and action? High sense of duty and the warmest, sometimes almost passionate, desire for the good of the state and people have been increasingly powerful influences on very many modern rulers. It is, however, true that the zeal has not always been with knowledge; and the cynical observer must sometimes feel, in this as in every experience of life, that there is in the world an astonishing amount of good will, good intention, and good feeling among men, but an equally astonishing lack of good sense and sound knowledge and the scientific spirit: how much of our lives is spent in scarifying and crucifying those who after all are trying in their own way to say the same thing and compass the same results that we are saying and intending.

Further, the monarch for Dante exists as the best and only means to compass the true end of society. He exists to introduce peace and order—a peace that is and that compels order—amid the smaller states governed by their princes and kings. He is as it were the embodiment in human personality of a supreme and absolute international law. He represents the compelling force of right, which makes justice and freedom reign in each separate state of the universal Empire, and enforces equity and order in the mutual relations of these smaller states.

I shall attempt, in the first place, to describe very briefly the origin of Dante's conception, and, secondly, to express it in the terms of modern conditions and thought. We understand better what he means by the Imperial peace, which is the gift of the supreme monarch to mankind, if we observe how his conception took origin and shape.

Dante indicates the source of his idea. His inspiration comes from the Roman literature, and especially from

'our poet', as he lovingly and proudly calls Virgil; and the monarch whom he portrays is the Roman Emperor. The idea had its literary birth in 40 B.C., when Virgil, in the Fourth Eclogue, told Rome, 'Your happiness is now being wrought out in Italy.' Forethought, science, and orderly government were inaugurating once more the Golden Age there. The alliance of good government with scientific knowledge was beginning to remake Italy and the Roman world; and would soon destroy all noxious plants and animals, produce all useful things in abundance from the earth, tame all that was wild, improve the nature of the soil and its products so that the thorn-tree should laugh and bloom into flower. This improvement is the work of the new Empire. Before that Empire was born, Virgil, in a sense, prophesied its birth. He wrote under the Triumvirate. He did not speak, nor think, of a monarch; and the one member of the Triumvirate whom he indicates quite as plainly as if he named him is Antony. At the time when Antony was embarking on an Eastern war, Virgil says that a new Achilles was sailing for another Troy, the West was giving order to Asia, and new argonauts were about to bring the distant Orient under the Roman peace. The thought of a single monarch was at that time not merely anachronistic: it was rank treason; the newly established rule was a rule of two Romans in the East and the West.

Yet, though less clearly indicated as a person, the ruler of the West and his wise administration of Italy was the subject of the poem. This incited and heated the poet's enthusiasm. Italy was the object of his love and the subject of his verse: the Romans have all that they need in Italy, the loveliest and best land in the world, when it is used rightly; but scientific agriculture is needed to



make this land what it should be. Dante and Virgil stood on common ground.

The reference to the ruler of Italy, Octavian, though more diffused than the allusion to the Eastern member of the governing pair, suggests and animates the poem; and no one at the time or later could fail to seize it. But there is a divine or a Roman idea, which is far more important than the reference to Octavian. The child, the new and young Roman, was already born out of the long sufferings of his goddess-mother in the Civil Wars: he was about to begin his education, the education that befitted a Roman, in war and in public office.

History gave a meaning to the idea. The young Rome was the Imperial Rome; and, as it turned out, the Emperor was the incarnate god on earth, and the bearer of the majesty of Rome. Of this development Virgil, as he wrote, was unconscious. There is no dynastic idea in this poem, though it easily adapted itself to the Imperial idea, as that idea was formed. Virgil was too true a prophet to dream merely of external forms in the future. He saw the young and new Rome, not the child of any individual Roman. He foresaw dimly the glory of a regenerated and ordered world, not the continuation of a dynastic succession.

The Empire, as it was gradually formed by Augustus from 27 B.C. onwards, corresponded in a real though very imperfect way to Dante's ideal. Augustus and his successors governed as guardians of the people, and dated their reign by their tribunician authority as champions of the commons. The Emperor was always in theory, and very often in fact, on the outlook for opportunities to do good to the Roman people and their subject provincials. It was one of the best purposes of the Imperial policy to educate the subject provincials to be worthy

of Roman duties and life, and then to place them on the plane of Roman citizenship. Rome expanded by gradual steps, individual after individual, region after region, till it was coextensive with the Empire, and there were no longer any subjects, but all were Romans, lords of the world. Unfortunately, another process was in progress whereby the Romans became all mere subjects ; and the provincials, while nominally elevated to be Romans, found that they with the Romans were sinking to the level of slaves.

Yet the ideal of the Empire continued long to be a power. Even under the tyranny of Domitian Statius caught a glimpse of it. Trajan felt it deeply through the discipline of a soldier, and Marcus through the training of a philosopher. It was the spirit which kept the Imperial law growing and ever young.

The Roman law lived on, and with it lived the Roman Imperial idea. In the University where Mr. Bryce's essay was produced, it would be unbecoming for the ordinary man to speak, or even to quote from him a sentence here and there, about the persistence of the Imperial idea in the mediaeval world, and the dominance of the Roman law in the mediaeval schools. The northern barbarian had found his pleasure and his business in war : the only honourable death for the Norseman was in battle or in the sea. It was from the Roman Imperial law that he learned to make war for the sake of peace.

I may, however, quote the words in which Professor Kleinclausz, of the University of Dijon, sums up the spirit that animated one of the greatest and most humane of conquering monarchs, Charlemagne. He states in a few words what I need an hour to say.

'Charlemagne set before himself an ideal, and he believed in that ideal. His aim was to make his Empire

✓ a moral community, one vast Christian city. This it was which completed his glory. That glory springs indeed from his power, for men always admire those who have given orders to multitudes of men; but his power is embellished by the grandeur of the Carolingian ideal, the moral union of humanity in the *Imperium Christianum*.

✓ The ideal which a great man of action set before himself as the goal of his endeavour is the ideal which our poet nearly five centuries later cherished and championed and described. Yet people talk of the Middle Ages as dark and benighted and barbarous. The ideals and the dreams of that period were often glowing with light. We have not yet realized them; but we have progressed so far that the dreams of a few are now the ideals for which many, both men and women, work and pray and suffer. The dreamers of the Middle Ages were the heralds of the educated peoples of our time.

✓ Modern society, while passing into a new stage of growth, acknowledges and accepts as fundamental all the essential part of Dante's doctrine. An ordered peace, a peace that enforces progress through justice and freedom, is to us, as to Dante, the end and aim of mankind. We are faced by the same problem. How shall there be constructed a supreme order able to enforce that universal freedom and justice combined which constitute the active power of peace?

✓ In modern times, as in Dante's time, the rivalries of the various nations and states are the cause of war. That some higher power, able to enforce compliance with its decisions, and able to give just and fair decisions in every case, should exist, is the condition on which the peace of Europe has always seemed to depend. Dante's dream was that the supreme monarch was a power equal to the requirements. What shall we say about the future in Europe?

Nationality in the sense of a racial, or in the East a religious, type and ideal has become in modern times an extremely strong force, much more powerful than it was formerly, a force which has often enabled a weaker nation to stand against an apparently stronger state, and decided the victory in more than one great battle. This force sometimes becomes a grave danger in international crises, and threatens or actually causes war. In the future the want of sympathy between Slav and Teuton appears as probably the most serious difficulty in the path of European progress.

Is this development of national individuality a good or an evil? That it constitutes a danger is undeniable: that it is the expression of a feeling which may easily be pushed to exaggerated and mischievous form is also plainly evident. If with Dante we assume peace to be the condition most favourable to and most to be desired by mankind, and if we differ from him (as many do) in regarding peace as a passive state, the mere absence of war, then we should have to condemn the modern growth of national feeling as entirely evil, because it is in present conditions a constant danger to peace. In 1876 it compelled the Czar to declare war on Turkey, against his own wish and judgement. In March 1913 it threatened for some days to force another Czar into an Austrian war. Examples are numberless: the danger is always present and often acute.

For my own part, I should refuse to regard as evil a power which has been steadily growing through modern history. It is a great power, which may be turned (like every vast power) to evil or to good purposes; but to condemn it as evil is to declare that the tide of European development has been for a long time setting steadily towards evil. To pronounce such a condemnation no

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one is obliged, who remembers that the peace which is really good is a positive power, the force of order, and not a mere negative condition. It is the orderly balance of active and powerful forces.

It is not my purpose to discuss this as a question of philosophic reasoning. I leave this loftier path to greater intellects. For me it is too hard ; and I propose to take an example from history, one with which I have some small opportunity of becoming familiar, because it has entered into and made my character from infancy.

I mean the union of the two warring parts of Scotland with each other, and the union of England and Scotland in one country : two processes which may be taken together, and which are, perhaps, not always rightly understood.

There were no insuperable difficulties to be overcome in this union, as events have shown ; and yet there were considerable difficulties. There were very diverse elements to be fused in one nation, the Gaelic, the Briton, the Saxon, and the Norse, which presented at least two very diverse types—types which remain as diverse to the present day as they ever were.

Circumstances in the thirteenth century were bringing about the union of England and Lowland Scotland gradually and naturally. The process was slow, but inevitable. It was merely accidental that Lowland Scotland was severed from England : there is on the whole probably less natural racial diversity between Lowland Scotland and North England than there is between North and South England, and certainly far less diversity than exists between the Gaelic Highlands and the mixed Lowland population of Scotland. The mutual hatred and antipathy between Highlands and Lowlands was exceedingly strong, and persisted to a comparatively

recent time. A friend of my own, a scholar and thinker and author, only a few years older than myself, who was born on a Scottish farm not far from the ' Highland Line ', the old limit between the races, told me he remembered in childhood how an alarm arose of a cateran raid, and panic reigned in the quiet country-side. The alarm was, of course, groundless ; but that such a raid could still be thought within the bounds of possibility as late as 1845 to 1850 is suggestive of the lasting terror that those raids inspired and the antipathy that they engendered.

In the thirteenth century it seemed likely that Lowland Scotland would go with England, and that Oxford would continue in increasing degree to be the University of the Scots. But a great king, one of the greatest in many respects that ever sat on the English throne, saw clearly the process which was going on, and took steps to accelerate it by diplomacy, by dynastic arrangements, and finally by war. The result was that the union was postponed for centuries. Real national union cannot be won by war and compulsion ; the few apparent exceptions are only apparent, and serve to define more clearly the real nature of the process, about which a bare negative conveys no knowledge.

Yet the First Edward was, in a sense and to a certain degree, right. I do not mean that he would have defined his position and his motives in the same way as we might—but, in the wider view of history, what he was attempting was to weld the diverse peoples into a strong united nation. The attempt was premature. The tough intractable nature of the northern races was not ready for the process of union. They could not accept the same ideals and the same sentiments that ruled in the south. Those who successfully opposed the English king were

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struggling to preserve a nationality, which the ' Hammer of the Scots ' would have probably annihilated, rather than developed ; and the nation would have been united only at the sacrifice of one stubborn and therefore useful element. The separatists and ' patriots ' who resisted him and overcame his son were narrower in their aims, while he had the Imperial outlook. Yet, after all, a true instinct recognizes in their policy the creation of the Scottish nationality, and reverences them as having contributed to the making of a greater Britain.

In 1603 the process was nominally completed ; but the unity that resulted was more dynastic than real : there was no common feeling or patriotism. The process was made possible by religious causes : the forces of Protestantism were strong enough to compel a union of the two kingdoms, and the English hatred felt for the Catholic countries carried wide support even among the English Catholics. But religion has never had such a hold on men of Western Europe as to make men into a nation and to dominate their hearts and overbear the other causes that work on them. The two peoples remained in heart and ideals almost as diverse as before. Nor did the closer union through the amalgamation of the Parliaments in 1707 produce a real unity. It was a political device ; but it did not remould the hearts of men.

The career of the energetic and hungry young Scots. still lay outside the British Empire. Their own country was too poor, and too little used for the good of man, to give an outlet or offer a reward for their energies. In earlier time they had flocked in thousands to the service of France, and in the seventeenth century they sought a career, the Catholic families in the Catholic countries, the Protestant families with the Protestant leaders, of Central and Western Europe and in Sweden ; in the

eighteenth century they went further afield into Eastern Europe. East Prussia knew many Scottish pedlars, Russia and even Turkey gave a career to many Scottish soldiers. The English service attracted only a smaller number; until in the latter part of the century the experiment was successfully tried of forming the Highland regiments, and using the predatory habits of the Gaelic clans in the service of the Empire.

I venture to think that the unity of England and Scotland is the work of Walter Scott primarily, and of the whole common literature of the two countries. It was Scott who touched the heart of both countries, and made each appreciate the excellences of the other. The real union is a matter of idea, of thought, of common mental inheritance and occupation, of mutual appreciation and respect. That Scott was only the climax of a literary development I would be the last to deny. Johnson, dearly as he loved to make fun of the hungry Scotsmen, to whose eye the one beautiful view in his own barren land was the road that led to England—even Johnson was induced to travel in the roughest parts of Scotland and to appreciate in some degree the admiration which after all the Scots could feel for literary excellence.

And as Scott united England and Scotland, so even more completely did he unify Scotland. The 'Highland Line' became only an interesting archaeological memory. The exploits and the dare-devilry of the Highland cateran are as interesting a memory to the Lowland Scot as those of the Border reiver who preyed on the English and drove the cattle of Northumberland and Cumberland. The Macpherson who played a tune and danced a reel under the gallows-tree will never fade from the admiring memory of Scotsmen who would gladly have hanged him when he was living.



The point at which I am aiming is to answer the question, whether national idiosyncrasy and national pride are necessarily hostile to the union of two or more distinct races. Speaking for my own side, I should be surprised to learn that as a race the Scots are less proud of their nationality and its heroes, or less attached to their historical memories, than they ever were at any period in the past. I believe they are only more intensely Scottish, as a rule, than they formerly were.

✓ The truth is this. The more intense is the spirit of nationalism in its highest and best form, the more powerful is the appreciation of the wider Imperial patriotism. In the fostering of that Imperial patriotism the worst possible course would be to discourage and try to extirpate the national idiosyncrasies, and to aim at a dead level of universal similarity to one general type. The truest Scotsman, the most characteristic and typical Englishman, is the best and most patriotic citizen of the Empire. Each may find it difficult to appreciate the other. If I may venture to quote my own experience, the most remarkable nature, the one which I have found it hardest to gauge or to comprehend, the one which oftenest impresses me with its unsuspected and unfathomed depths, is not that of any foreign, nor even Oriental nation, but the Englishman. And they say that the Englishman can never learn to appreciate the music of the Scottish bagpipes, except in a few cases where he has heard it in the last and most critical moment of a long and hard-fought battle. The story is familiar to all of the old Scot who, after forty-five years of a business life in London, confided sadly yet appreciatively to a young compatriot that it took a long time to learn how clever those stupid English are. He learned his lesson, however, and his respect grew.

If we argue from the particular case which has been quoted to the general law, nationalism is good when it can be combined with a sense of a higher unity ; and the first condition of such combination is that the two or more diverse nationalities can share certain sufficing aims and ideals, and can respect and admire each other, remaining conscious of their diverse individuality, regarding the idiosyncracies of the other with perhaps a humorous but not an unkindly eye, no one nationality seeking to compel the others into an unwilling similarity with itself. Such compulsion may sometimes succeed in annihilating the weaker nationality ; but it can never produce a unity in which each member profits by the strength of the other, and finds its complement in the other.

I have perhaps been labouring the point too much ; but it seems in my judgement of decisive importance. The growing sense of nationalism throughout Europe is not necessarily antagonistic to peace. It may, however, easily become so, when it degenerates into Chauvinism, narrow and ignorant self-love, and inability to appreciate the qualities of other nationalities. That is in Dante's phrase the failure in justice ; it is the inability to give others their due ; and where that is there cannot be peace.

Modern life aims at a higher ideal than Dante's Empire. To produce between two or more different nationalities that higher unity which makes and is peace—not the mere absence of war, but the positive capacity to mix with one another freely and appreciatively, rendering every man his due—that is the ideal both to Dante and to us. Dante required for this end a supreme monarch, an 'over-lord' (as Freeman would have called him) among the kings and states, like Agamemnon among the



disorder all the conditions in which lie the power of an ideal.

Yet it is of the essence of this ideal that it seeks no compelling force. It acknowledges its weakness in the present, and it trusts to the future. It expresses itself in Europe as the concert of the Powers. The very mention of that name generally elicits a smile on the listener's face. It has become rather a joke in the world. We think of it almost as an irresponsible infant, with the trustfulness, the weakness, and the charm of an infant. Still, it is probably a growing infant, although its growth is slow: thirty years of time by the clock and the sun are but a day in its life. There are, however, other causes, to which I should be inclined to trust much more than to the methods and meetings of diplomacy for the realization of this ideal. Of these, two call for special attention—the annihilation of distance and the cultivation of common thoughts and interests—or, to use vague but familiar terms, intercourse and literature.

It is a truism to say that distance fosters diversity, and the annihilation of distance tends towards unity. The Roman Empire, the model of the higher unity including diverse nationalities, failed to solve the problem of distance. In the first century the Empire was aware of the difficulty in its path, and had already done more to solve the problem than was ever achieved until the nineteenth. There existed great freedom of intercourse through the Mediterranean lands, in which the Imperial unity was maintained. Very extensive plans of travel could be conceived and arranged in advance during that and the following century. By land and by sea great numbers of travellers were constantly passing to and fro: Roman officials, civil and military, tourists, scholars, professors of philosophy, perchance even of archaeology, merchants,

letter-carriers, were always travelling between the capital and the provinces. The travelling was, to our ideas, slow and fatiguing, and the accompaniments and equipment were rudimentary. But travelling was possible ; and the eager, enterprising spirit of man, or the pursuit of the means of livelihood, or the needs of government and administration, drove many to it. But the difficulties of further development were not overcome, and the means of locomotion remained primitive.

Many scholars and historians have described the reasons for the downfall and ruin of the Roman Empire, and I have essayed the task like others : but I venture to differ from them all (including myself), and to think now that the prime first cause lay in the failure to solve the problem of intercommunication. In a detailed estimate of the degree to which the problem was solved under the Empire, I have maintained that the Roman government sought rather for certainty than for speed. It was content with a slow rate in sending out dispatches and communicating laws and regulations to the provinces. It was more desirous to know beforehand at what date a regulation would be put in force, than to have it put in force quickly ; and this was wise policy. Only tidings of disaster were carried at highest speed ; and the messenger reporting a danger on the frontier was marked by the ensign of a feather, which symbolized that his journey was to be like the flight of a bird. The news of victory might travel more slowly in the bearing of a laureated courier. Such was the theory, as it was put in practice by the vigorous emperors.

But all this was utterly insufficient to cope with the situation. The Empire grew weaker as it grew larger. It could not maintain its organism against the disruptive forces of nationality. The provinces overcame the Empire.

The military strength was not kept on such a level of readiness and efficiency as should guard the frontier against the outer world of barbarism. If the succession of able and active emperors could have been kept up, the vigour of the state might have been maintained; but the weak and incompetent rulers allowed the currents of communication to slacken and the unity of purpose to become dissipated; and thus the common life of the Empire grew weak. Educational system had been defective, but with vigorous intercommunication it might, and would, have improved. All chance of improving the Imperial postal service and opening it to the public was lost. There was not sufficient vitality in the state to improve its own condition and cure its diseases. From this first cause all other evils either arise or become worse.

In discussing this subject with scholars and practical men in the United States, I was impressed by the unanimity of their opinion that the states could not have been held together if the machinery of rapid transport had not been organized. The life-blood moves rapidly: it stagnates when its motion is impeded. Such is the experience of history.

On intercommunication and the increase of real familiarity with others, and understanding of and friendly feeling towards others, which are thereby produced, the growth towards the ideal peace depends. The common literature of the world, the common sympathy with noble ideals, the general admiration of the same great men and great thoughts, are stimulated by wide intercourse, and will in turn make the intercourse wider. Those who know the world most widely, find some of their most valued friends in other nations, and yet return to a home that they value all the more. The evening brings all home.

Besides the lack of compelling power to enforce its

decisions, the modern ideal suffers from a serious fault—a fault which some would count fatal. There is no sufficient provision or means for reaching a right decision in any practical matter, and no guarantee that the decision is right. The general sense of the world is the only deciding tribunal. How is this sense to be taken, and who shall decide whether it is right? There is no recognized tribunal to appeal to: there is no agreement as to any form in which the appeal shall be made. In practice the old-fashioned English way of redress, to write to *The Times*, is as good as any other.

The monarchical idea, as it appears in Dante, suffered from the defect that there is no sure means of getting your monarch. Dante seems to hold that any, and every, monarch will be suitable, because he will go right in the absence of all temptation to go wrong. Let us grant, as I think we may, that the able and good monarch offers in practice the best means of reaching a right decision on the business of the moment; but we must add that the foolish, weak, and idle monarch offers probably the worst. Dante thinks there cannot ever be a monarch of that class; but this is a dream. To put the matter with the exaggeration of an epigrammatic balance: the monarchical Empire presents a supreme tribunal that is sometimes right and sometimes wrong, whereas the modern ideal presents a system that is never right, but always halting, uncertain, and, at the best, half right and half wrong.

There seems to be no way out of it. Rousseau would have it that the 'general will' must be right. The 'general will' is the sovereign power; and the sovereign can do no wrong. We can resign ourselves in a monarchy to the assumption that the monarch cannot do wrong. He is, so to say, the umpire; and we all agree to accept

his decision, and call it right. The government of the state must go on ; and this assumption is necessary. The modern ideal, however, claims to supersede the older ideal, as being better : it is not justified in making this assumption.

Moreover, there is, in practice, no case where all are agreed in their decision. There is always a majority and a minority. Is the minority always wrong ? Ought not opinions to be weighed rather than counted ? There are cases where we would, most of us, set more store by the opinion of one man whom we trust than by the voice of the crowd. Every true and great thought has begun by being the opinion of a minority, and has ended, or will end, by convincing the majority.

Such is necessarily the defect of seeking after an ideal. We are involved in a process of growth ; and growth must at any single moment be illogical, uncertain, wavering between the past and the future, neither one thing nor the other. The minority, confident in its rightness, must be content to wait : it must answer the poet's question, ' Wilt thou trust death, or not ? ' with an unhesitating ' Yes '. Many opinions have begun by being the opinion of a minority, and have ended by being the opinion of none. The minority that is right will become a majority, and must live for the future, acquiescing in the imperfect present. Faith is the power by which we live. The peace of conscious and quiet strength is our ideal. The struggle between good and evil, light and darkness, degradation and progress, is always going on ; and an inert peace, which meant the abandoning of this struggle, would not be a good, but an evil. Yet war, as Dante says, is only the last means. ' When two peoples are at variance, they are bound to try in every possible way to arrange the quarrel by discussion.'



The notion that union and unity can rest safely, or ever do rest, on considerations of material profit, may be set aside. The opinion of modern writers has changed in a remarkable way in regard to this cause. In 1885 one of the greatest of the historians of Rome spent a week as my guest in Oxford, the first time he had ever been in England. His conversation turned several times on the future of the British Empire. His opinion was confident: the Empire had in it the inevitable seeds of dissolution, which were rapidly maturing to their inevitable result. The colonies had nothing to gain from the union with England; the interests of the colonies were opposed to, and inconsistent with, the interests of Britain; and they must go in the direction that was most advantageous for themselves. What may be for the material and immediate advantage of the colonies I cannot pretend to know or to guess. But it is now generally recognized that the union of the Empire rests on sentiment and not on calculation of apparent material interest. It rests on the possession of common ideals of liberty and free individual development, on historical memories and on the English literature.



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Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch) in the Augustan Age

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 6 (1916), pp. 83-134

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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# COLONIA CAESAREA (PIDIDIAN ANTIOCH) IN THE AUGUSTAN AGE.<sup>1</sup>

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## I. FOUNDATION AND IMPORTANCE OF THE COLONY.

Colonia Caesarea was the oldest and the chief among the Pisidian coloniae which were founded by Augustus. The emperor briefly refers in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* to one or more colonies in Pisidia; but the reference is so slight as to give no evidence of their number or of the time or circumstances of foundation: it only shows that he planted in Pisidia at least one colony of soldiers. Strictly these garrison cities were 'Pisidian,' not 'in Pisidia': they were founded on the Pisidian frontier of the empire, but the Romans expressed themselves with geographical looseness, and the looseness had a political meaning and purpose: Rome did not trouble herself about barbarian geography, but intended to substitute a Roman geography and classification.<sup>2</sup>

The Pisidian coloniae of Augustus were not all situated in the country which bore the name Pisidia among geographers or Greek writers who had regard to racial facts. Augustus and the Romans generally employed the term Pisidia in a loose way to designate a large part of the western Taurus mountains between Lycia and Cilicia, together with the foothills and the valleys on the north side of Taurus, so far as these were commanded by the mountains. That the geographical names in Asia Minor were used in a very loose fashion is a complaint made by Strabo more than once; and he assigns part of the blame for this looseness to the Romans, who arranged their divisions without regard to racial facts.<sup>3</sup> Part of the fault lay in the intermixture of races, and the difficulty of fixing definite limits between them.

Three of those colonies were in Pisidia proper: one, namely Antioch, was in Phrygia; one, namely Lystra, was in Lycaonia or in the Isaurican region: one, namely Parlais, is usually assigned to Lycaonia, although the Augustan term Pisidian is probably more correct.

<sup>1</sup> The following paper, sections i-vi, was written and ready for the printer in July, 1914, but publication has been delayed for various (some of them obvious) reasons. The time that has elapsed since August 4, 1914, has not been propitious for such work, and nothing further has been done to it except in §3 (q.v.). In the circumstances the article remains a first and merely preliminary report prepared in the first few days after returning from an excavation while the scene was fresh in my memory. The excavations on the site of the colony were conducted in 1913 by Professor Callander of Queen's College, Kingston, Ontario, while Lady

Ramsay, with Professor Calder and myself, were excavating the temple adjacent to the colony on the mountain above: later we all united in the concluding stages of the excavation on the site of the colony. The excavation in 1914 was conducted only by Lady Ramsay and myself, and it was her eye which detected the proper place to resume the work of 1913; on the very first day we began to find stones of the Augustan staircase (see § 6).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xiii, 4, 12, p. 629.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, *ib.*

The fact that the intention of them all was to restrain the mountain tribes of Taurus, loosely called Pisidians by the Romans at that time, led to their being classed as Pisidian colonies.

These Pisidian coloniae fall into two divisions, as their names show. The first division contains only Colonia Caesarea (Antiochea). The second contains five: Cremna, Olbasa, Comama, Parlais, Lystra (or Lustra as the inhabitants call it on coins and inscriptions). These five are all termed Colonia Iulia or Iulia Augusta, with additional epithets: Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Cremnensium (Cremna), Colonia Iulia Augusta Olbasena, Colonia Iulia Augusta Prima Fida Comama, Colonia Iulia Augusta Parlais, Colonia Iulia Felix Gemina Lustra. The omission of Augusta in the last is probably accidental. The authorities often shorten the long titles of these coloniae by omitting one or more of the names: probably Parlais also had other epithets.

Colonia Caesarea stands by itself, and the name points to an earlier date for its foundation. Messrs. Cumont and Anderson point out<sup>1</sup> that the name Kaisareion for a temple of Augustus implies an earlier date than the name Sebasteion or Augusteum. Now it is impossible to place the foundation of this colonia so early as 27 B.C. when the title Augustus was bestowed on Octavianus; for the province Galatia was not created until 25 B.C. and it is a fundamental principle that a colonia was on Roman soil, although even recent investigators sometimes ignore the principle,<sup>2</sup> and Kornemann<sup>3</sup> says that Colonia Caesarea was founded before 27 B.C. inasmuch as after that year it would have been called Iulia Augusta: in other words he maintains that the Roman colony was founded in the kingdom of Amyntas. This principle does not imply that no colonia was planted in a country unless it had already been fully organised as a province; for there are exceptional cases, in which it was so important for the Roman to hold a piece of foreign territory, either for trade and imperial intercommunication, or for military reasons, that the foundation of a garrison city and centre of Roman power was necessary. Such was the case at Narbo, which was needed to hold the land-road to the two provinces of Spain. It was impossible to permit the connexion between Rome and Spain to depend solely on navigation: that was too uncertain. The land-route must be held firmly. The necessary basis for retaining the Spanish provinces was a safe road through the south of France. Again, evidently,

<sup>1</sup> *Studia Pontica*, iii, p. 80f.

<sup>2</sup> Colonia Niniva was long supposed to be an exceptional colonia situated on alien soil; but the name is now proved to be an error for Ninica in Cilicia Tracheia. Kubitschek, however, would attribute the foundation of Colonia Ninica Claudiopoli to Claudius, long before the province arose; but, though he explicitly dissents in this from my article on Colonia Ninica (*Rev. Numism.*

1894, p. 164 ff), yet I still adhere to the view stated there that Claudiopoli was founded as a city by Antiochus in honour of Claudius, and Col. Iul. Aug. Claud. Ninica as a colonia by Domitian, named after Iulia Augusta: Kubitschek, *Rundschau über ein Quinquennium d. a. Num.*, Wien, 1896 (see footnote on p. 86).

<sup>3</sup> In Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Colonia, p. 532.

in the case of the Mauretanian colonies founded by Augustus, the principle that the territory of the colony was a piece of Rome itself, separated in space from the rest of Rome, was observed. Pliny remarks with regard to the first of these colonies that its territory was disjoined from the alien rule of Mauretanian kings and attached to the administration of the province Baetica; and the same may confidently be said about the others. All stood on or at no great distance from the coast, and were needed to maintain the Roman dominion on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

None of the conditions that apply to Narbo and other cases were fulfilled at Antioch, which had been a self-governing state from 189 to 40 B.C. It was then given to Amyntas, an energetic client king. No Roman interest was involved in this district, except that of general peace and order; and it was a principle of Augustan administration that, in such outlying distant regions, where the population was not yet fit for incorporation in the empire as a province, the general advantage would be best served by placing the territory under the government of a king, part of whose duty was to educate the people up to the standard needed for a provincia.<sup>1</sup> Such kings were Amyntas, Polemon, Herodes, Antiochus IV, etc. No line of communication of great importance for the empire passed through Pisidian Antioch. There is no sign that it had been a centre of Roman trade, or that Roman traders had preceded the eagles in settling there. The rarity of *cives Romani consistentes* in the province Galatia is remarkable, and contrasts with their great numbers and wide distribution in the province Asia (as is gathered from a wide survey of the epigraphic material). In any case they must be looked for along the great central trade-route, and not at Antioch on a branch road. Amyntas perhaps founded a *polis* Kaisareia in his dominions, but Augustus would not found a colonia there before 25 B.C.

The question may be asked whether Augustus would have permitted the name Caesarea after he had assumed the title Augustus. There are two alternatives possible, and evidence does not prove or disprove either as yet.

(a) It is possible that Amyntas may have renamed the Greek city Antiocheia as Kaisareia. Such an act would be quite probable, and many similar cases are known.<sup>2</sup> All such cities, however, continued to be *πόλεις* of the Graeco-Asiatic type, and were not 'coloniae.' The new name would, doubtless, be accompanied by some change in its constitution: it was made by Amyntas his base

<sup>1</sup> This function of the client kings is clearly stated by Strabo, pp. 671, 840; and has been discussed by the present writer, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* pp. 120-123.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the name Kaisareia by foreign kings must not be quoted as exemplifying Roman

usage. Archelaos of Cappadocia renamed Eusebeia Mazaka between 12 and 9 B.C. calling it Kaisareia. Again Kaisareia Germanica in Bithynia was not a 'colonia,' and the time of its foundation is unknown (probably it is named after Julius Caesar): it was a Greek *polis*.

of operations against the mountaineers of Taurus in the war during which he perished. Then Augustus in 25 B.C. made the city into a 'colonia' and settled here a large body of veterans, retaining the name Colonia Caesarea.<sup>1</sup>

(b) We might perhaps assume that the name Augusta was not forthwith made universal in imperial usage after 27 B.C., but that the name Caesarea was still allowed. Yet the older name for an Augustan foundation should be referred to as early a date as possible; and we should therefore be disposed to assign the colonia to the first organisation of the province, and would not even come down to Augustus's residence in Asia 20-19 B.C.

In this obscure period and country the former alternative may be admitted as more probable, that Amyntas had changed the name Antioch to Kaisareia. Almost every vassal-king named some city in his realm to do honour τῷ ἀεὶ Σεβαστῷ.

As to the other class of Pisidian coloniae, we know their date, ab. 6 B.C. They were founded at the conclusion of the Homonadensian war, evidently to keep the peace in that troubled region. They are very obscure, and played little part in history. Their colonial character is known only from coins and inscriptions, except Cremna, which is mentioned by Strabo as a Roman foundation. In the progress of exploration it has gradually become possible to complete the list, and to understand the occasion of their establishment. Marquardt mentions only Cremna, Parlais on the authority of third-century coins, and Olbasa discovered by Duchesne and Collignon, and known from coins.<sup>2</sup> The first reference to Colonia Iulia Augusta Lustrensum was found, and a coin of Colonia Lustra was purchased on the site, by my friend and coadjutor Professor Sterrett in 1884: Waddington about the same time, without knowing of Sterrett's discovery, published a coin of the Colonia Lustra. Yet in January 1885, when I showed to one of the greatest of German scholars Sterrett's copy of the inscription, he at first inclined to regard it as misread. Colonia Iulia Augusta Comama was discovered only in 1886, and then a series of coins, hitherto falsely attributed to Comana in Cappadocia, were correctly read and assigned to the newly discovered colonia. The Pisidian colonies had to fight for their recognition in the nineteenth century, as they had to fight for their existence in the first century.

A series of discoveries of milestones restored to us the knowledge

<sup>1</sup> Ninica Claudiopolis offers an excellent parallel. It was renamed Claudiopolis by Antiochus in honour of the emperor; but it continued to be a Greek *polis*. Kornemann, *P.W. s.v. Colonia*, 551, follows Kubitschek (see footnote on p. 84). Another example is found in Iconium, which was granted the name Claudiconium by the same emperor, but remained a *polis* till Hadrian

made it Col. Ael. Hadr. Aug. Iconiensium. Kornemann is wrong in this also; and he quotes Eckhel as authority for the false name Col. Claudia Iconium, which has no ancient authority: *C.I.G.* iii, 3991, 3993.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen gives the same list, *Res Gestae D. Aug.* 1883, p. 119.

of the Pisidian colonial system. The milestones were found both in the east and in the west of the country that looked to Colonia Caesarea as its centre and capital.

They are numbered in miles from Antioch as the 'caput viarum': the numbers go far over a hundred: cxxii was found on the site of Comama: xlv on the road to Colonia Lustra. The milestones are all dated in 6 B.C. and they all speak of the road on which they are placed as the Via Sebaste, the imperial road. The hybrid name Via Sebaste was so strange that it was at first misunderstood and altered; but, as one stone after another confirmed the name, we now know with certainty that this series of Pisidian roads was planned under Augustus, and called by the Greek form of his title. These roads connected the Coloniae Iuliae Augustae with the older military centre Colonia Caesarea. Everything points to a carefully planned effort to maintain the Roman authority in the Taurus mountains; the consummation of the policy is dated in 6 B.C. at the end of the war against the Homonades; and the circumstances become connected and intelligible only by reference to Colonia Caesarea as capital and military centre.

This last point I used to speak of as self-evident; but I have been criticised for stating it as obvious. The distinguished theologian who made this criticism asks what authority there is for regarding Antioch as the administrative and military centre of the great series of regions which formed the southern portion of the province Galatia. The answer to this question lies in the facts just stated and in Roman administrative principles. Antioch was the 'caput viarum,' and the roads leading east and west to the new coloniae are measured from it as centre.<sup>1</sup> The single name for all the roads, Via Sebaste, implies a unity of plan. The plan takes its name from Augustus, and is dated under him. The road-centre is in Roman custom the administrative centre. This centre was an older 'colonia,' already in existence when the plan was carried out; and therefore the old 'colonia,' Antioch, stood in 6 B.C. as the capital and seat of Roman government for all that country (which may be called by the modern descriptive term South Galatia, i.e. the southern part of the province Galatia).

The mountain-tribes of Taurus had been a constant source of danger to the plains on the north for centuries, as Xenophon mentions about 400 B.C. and Strabo in A.D. 19. Antioch was the basis from which the defence of the Phrygian plains was conducted before 6 B.C.; and in that year this defence was systematised by the

<sup>1</sup> Nothing of this is stated in the article on Antioch in Pauly-Wissowa; but the geographical side of that valuable encyclopaedia is the weakest, so far at least as the eastern provinces are concerned. In these geographical articles the facts are rarely stated in a complete or correct form even from the

older authorities, and little attempt is made to co-ordinate and value the evidence. Antioch is reckoned to Pisidia, and Acts is quoted for this assignment; but Acts rightly understood is of the contrary opinion, and does not speak about 'Antioch of Pisidia,' but about 'Pisidian Antioch.'



construction of roads along the northern side of the Taurus region and by the foundation of five military colonies at important points in the mountains. The original Colonia Caesarea, however, did not lie in the mountains, which were still unsafe when it was founded : it was planted on a Seleucid site in the southern part of Phrygia, rich both as an agricultural centre and as situated on a great road running east and west between the Maeander valley and the Cilician Gates—not indeed the greatest of the roads across Asia Minor, but one that has always been an important line of communication.

Other considerations carry back to an early time the foundation of Colonia Caesarea. Antioch elected Drusus, stepson of Augustus, as one of its *duoviri* for two successive years, as we learn from the *titulus* mentioning his *praefectus* in his second year.<sup>1</sup> As Drusus died in 9 B.C. this carries us back much earlier than the making of the Via Sebaste and the foundation of the five *Coloniae Iuliae Augustae* in 6 B.C.

Moreover, Pliny<sup>2</sup> mentions ‘Colonia Caesarea, eadem Antiochia’ alone of the Pisidian *coloniae*. It is now generally assumed that Pliny in these lists depended on the statistics of Agrippa, 12 B.C. ; it is therefore inferred that Antioch was the only Pisidian ‘colonia’ which existed before 12 B.C. : and this inference is in perfect accordance with all the rest of our information.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, such a scheme as is involved in the creation of a military post for defence on the south belongs to the first constitution of the province. The province arose through the unsuccessful wars of Amyntas on the south frontier ; and the defence on that side was urgent, and must have been attended to by the first governor Lollius.

In reading the inscriptions published in *J.R.S.* 1914, pp. 253 and 254, by Mr. Cheesman, we are amid the early fortunes of an established colonia. The first of them was engraved on the basis of the first statue erected in the colonia, an event which (as he says) is not likely to have been postponed many years after its foundation. In a colony so situated, guarding the fertile plains amid which it lies from the ever-dreaded tribes of Taurus (as Strabo describes the situation on the frontier), the Roman soldiers of the city were sure to produce some man that deserved well of his country ; and Mr. Cheesman publishes the *elogium* inscribed on his statue and another which was probably engraved on his tomb.

The statue of this soldier and civilian official, C. Caristanius Fronto Caesianus Iulius, was erected about 10–7 B.C. Already

<sup>1</sup> An alternative explanation as to which Drusus is meant, although admitted as possible by Mommsen in *C.I.L.* iii, 6843, has now been disproved by Professor Calder in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 100 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Nat. Hist.* v, 94.

<sup>3</sup> Kornemann, p. 532, states the facts exactly and correctly.



we have at this time got beyond the first beginnings of the colonia. Caristianus is not a veteran of the first foundation. He is an official of the colonia, who goes through the customary career in the imperial and the colonial service. We must therefore go back to a still remoter period for the generation of veterans who came as the original 'coloni.'

Incidentally we notice that the cognomina Caesianus Iulius did not remain in use by the family, and should therefore be regarded as special to this individual. According to republican usage Caesianus is an adoptive cognomen, and perhaps may be so regarded here.<sup>1</sup> Iulius, a nomen employed here as a third cognomen, may perhaps have been added to his name as a mark that his father had been in the service of Caesar himself<sup>2</sup>: the father may have been one of the original veteran 'coloni,' but the son must have been born in the west, before the colonia was founded.

## II. THE FIRST COLONI (LEG. V GALLICA)

The theory has been generally accepted that Colonia Caesarea was composed of veterans of Leg. V Gallica; but the evidence was hitherto so slender that it is a great pleasure to be able to confirm it.

Three epitaphs of such veterans occurred among the Latin inscriptions of Antioch. Those veterans could not be Antiochians born, who had gone to serve in that legion and returned to die at home, for it was a western legion. Several such veterans occur, who had served in eastern legions, and the military career was evidently common among the young Romans of Antioch; but they could not serve in the west. Still the facts stated below about Leg. VII, and our failure to find other similar inscriptions as the number of Latin epitaphs increased, were casting some doubt on the theory: especially as the lettering of the three known<sup>3</sup> was hardly such as to suggest so very early a date. Yet we must not expect carefully formed letters in inscriptions of this character. I recopied no. 6828 in 1912, and made a note that the first part is in good early letters, but the Bacchanalian sentiment is in poor careless letters: yet the two parts must be contemporaneous. All doubt, however, is removed by the following inscription and coins.

If Domaszewski's opinion be correct that Legio V Gallica was disbanded in 16 B.C. because it lost an eagle in a defeat on the Rhine,

<sup>1</sup> On Caesianus see below, p. 95. It is, however, possible that Caesianus is taken from his mother's name according to a common imperial fashion.

<sup>2</sup> The use of nomina in the place of the cognomen was beginning at this period: examples *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.* iii, 6824 (Campusius), 6825 (Cissonius), 6828 (Tiberius). I have copied all more than once. Mr. Calder has, I think, seen them all, and Mr. Anderson most or all of them.

it would prove the truth of the theory. But we need not go into this point,<sup>1</sup> as other conclusive evidence has been found.

In the court of a house in Yalowadj I copied the following epitaph in 1914. One advantage of long-continued work at Antioch is that from time to time one gains access to private houses (usually a difficult matter in Turkey except in peasant homes): inscriptions will continue to be found in this way for a long time, and probably any visitor to Yalowadj might have the luck to hit on a valuable document at any time in the future.

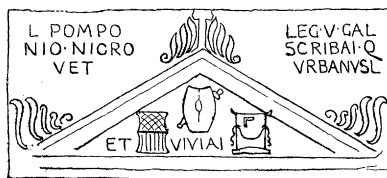


FIG. 6. EPITAPH AT YALOWADJ.

1. (Fig. 6) Yalowadj: copied in 1914 (R.)

L. Pomponio Nigro vet(erano) leg(ionis) V Gal(licae) scribai q(uaistorio): Urbanus l(ibertus). Also et Viviai in another part of the stone.

The Pomponian family is mentioned frequently at Antioch; but it is impossible at present to distinguish possible descendants of this veteran from 'incolae' who took the nomen of Pomponius Bassus (legatus of Galatia-Cappadocia, A.D. 95-100) on receiving the 'civitas.'<sup>2</sup> As is shown below, this veteran's family perhaps died out with him.

The spelling *ai* in the first declension dative is an important criterion of age. That form was archaic. It lingers in the poetry of Lucretius, where its use is generally taken as due to intentional archaism, and it is sporadically found in inscriptions under Claudius<sup>3</sup> and in Christian inscriptions. The soldier who used it here must have learned it in Italy, and brought his native dialect with him. The descendants of the first colonists would not be likely to learn an archaic form. Latin was in the position of a language fighting for its existence in Antioch against the pressure of Greek, the speech used by the 'incolae,' Greeks or Phrygians,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cheesman mentioned to me that the legion which lost an eagle in the Jewish war (Suet. *Vesp.* 4 f) must have been XII Fulm., a conclusive proof that the loss of an eagle did not always terminate the existence of a legion. Leg. V Alaudae existed as late at least as Nero (Dessau, 974, 991); but the older identification of Alaudae and Gallica is not accepted in Dessau's *Index* (published 1914). The Fifth Legion was in

Germany till 69; then in Italy and Moesia, and was annihilated in Moesia in 86-87.

<sup>2</sup> The Pomponian family at Iconium originated c. A.D. 100, when a Greek citizen of the *πρόλις* took on enfranchisement the name M. Ulpius Pomponius after the emperor and the provincial governor.

<sup>3</sup> Claudius, among his affected archaisms, re-introduced *-ai*.

and by the more educated among the surrounding Phrygian population of the villages on the great estates of the god (inherited by the emperors).

Bücheler indeed has suggested that the sporadic late use of *-ai* was due to Greek influence, and this might be held to account for its occurrence at Antioch. If, however, Greek influence was the reason for introducing *-ai*,<sup>1</sup> then we should expect to find it oftener in Antiochian inscriptions. For my own part I venture to think that *-ai* here is a true survival of an archaism preserved in rustic Italian speech, and not a new form introduced into Antiochian Latin under Greek influence. The Greek form was not, and had not for centuries been, a sound like *-ai*: the iota adscript had long ceased to affect the sound of the termination, and was preserved in writing only sporadically, and practically it was never appended to *a* at Antioch<sup>2</sup>: Greek influence, therefore, could not produce the sound *ai* in Latin. The occurrence of *ai* in some Christian inscriptions is probably due to false declension and ignorance (like so many other wrong forms of inflexion in Christian Greek and Latin); and it is not to be taken as a real survival of an old form. The use of *-ai* under Claudius certainly springs from his fondness for archaic forms.

Pomponius may confidently be regarded as one of the original coloni, sent by Augustus in 24 or 23 B.C. His career, therefore, is interesting: he became a clerk in the office of the quaestor of the colonia (*scriba quaestorius*). Presumably he had some education such as would qualify him for this position.

His freedman Urbanus erects the monument to his memory. As no children are mentioned, it may perhaps be presumed that there were none of the marriage,<sup>3</sup> which was perhaps contracted late in life, after he had served his time in the army. His wife bears a Latin name, *Vivia* (probably for *Vibia*). Both names, *Pomponius* and *Vibius*, remained in use at Antioch; but, if we are correct, it was not descendants of this pair that appear in later history. *Vivia* probably came from the west with *Pomponius*: he did not marry in Antioch, for in that case his wife would have had a Greek or a Phrygian name.

It is hardly what we might expect, that one of the original coloni should be only a clerk in the quaestor's office, for the

<sup>1</sup> A form due to Greek would, of course, be not a survival of Italian archaic Latin, but a corruption under foreign influence. I have made the suggestion in the manuscript of a book now preparing that the use of *-a* instead of *-ae* in the first decl. dat. *C.I.L.* iii, 6842, 6856, 6861, at Antioch was due to Greek influence. Mommsen rebels against the use in no. 6856, but it is there: he allows it in the other two places. In no. 6856, *NONIAE PAVLLA* was actually written and was altered by the stone-cutter, who deleted *ε*: the name is dative.

<sup>2</sup> Even the existence of a form *-ηι* in the Greek dative at Antioch would not produce a Latin dative *-ai*.

<sup>3</sup> A son would perhaps be absent serving in a legion, as service in the army was customary for the sons of veterans of the colonia; but even though absent his co-operation would be presumed naturally, as being the heir.

coloni were the aristocracy of the Roman colonia; but in the beginning they had to conduct the entire government for the young foundation. Gradually the 'incolae,' the native population, were admitted to the civitas. In the first years of the colonia, however, only the original coloni possessed the Roman civitas or the right to vote and conduct the administration in the colonia. Moreover, inscriptions show that in Rome the office was not a humble one,<sup>1</sup> and in Antioch it was no doubt quite honourable.<sup>2</sup>

The difference in form between c and g is very slight: *Nicro* would naturally be read. In the earliest Antiochian inscriptions the distinction is slight.

At the same time this tombstone is an interesting example of Greek influence on the Romans of the colonia. It is quite Greek in general character, but a Roman touch appears in the scutum. The pediment outlined on the stone is common throughout this whole region, and characteristic of Phrygia; and the custom of representing articles of household use in relief on grave-stones is also general in Phrygia. In this case they are chosen to suit the Roman soldier and scribe: shield and sword and caps of documents locked, with the basket of Vivia at one side and the spindle of Vivia hanging over the shield. The sword and shield are a device rare in Phrygia, but more common in Pisidia. In Pisidian and Isaurian monuments the shield is round: in this monument a Roman scutum is intended. These objects are executed in high flat relief. The architectural devices of the acroteria are badly executed in a sprawling fashion. The freedman also must have come with Pomponius from Italy. A slave acquired in Antioch would probably have had a Greek or eastern name. Urbanus ordered the gravestone after the native fashion to be adorned with devices suited to the special case.

Another fact seems to show that the first coloni were largely or perhaps entirely veterans of Legio V, namely, the legend of a coin at Berlin, the description of which I owe to Mr. G. F. Hill (from Dr. Imhoof). The coin is dated in the seventh consulship of Vespasian, A.D. 76, and shows on reverse an eagle standing between two military standards with the inscription on l. LEG V and on r. cc.<sup>3</sup> The memory long remained in the colonia of the original coloni and the legion to which they belonged. In regard to this

<sup>1</sup> Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 1033 (where the office is held by a man of senatorial rank), 8859, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The interpretation, *scribai, q(uaestori) urban(o) v(oto) s(oluto) l(ibenter)*, though epigraphically possible (as no stops are written in the last line) must be rejected. The quaestor in Antioch can hardly bear the title 'quaestor urban(us)': *Urbs* means Rome, and not a provincial town, which was *oppidum* or *civitas*. Moreover, the form of the sentence, with a dative but no nominative, could not in that case be defended; the meaning would have to be taken as 'to Pom-

ponius Niger (he himself made the tomb) in accordance with a vow,' but this way of expressing the meaning seems too awkward.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hill tells me also of two worn and indecipherable coins purchased at Antioch which seem to correspond perfectly to the Berlin coin: they are countermarked with a figure of Mên holding Victory l. and leaning r. on long sceptre (*Num. Chron.* 1914, p. 305, pl. xix. 10). These prove that cc on the Berlin coin must mean Colonia Caesarea, as in the inscription of Claudius's time: *J.R.S.* 1914, p. 258.

coin we must reject the explanation which at first suggested itself, that Legio V Macedonica is meant, and that a vexillatio of that legion was detached to Antioch to aid in the reorganisation of the Taurus region at the beginning of Vespasian's reign (when a large part of Pisidia was detached from Galatia, and Cappadocia was united with Galatia, and Armenia Minor was included in the province, and Cilicia Tracheia was taken over from the sons of Antiochus). That view had some apparent show of probability, for much would have to be done in those changes which required in the Roman system the service of soldiers: it was really, according to our custom, work for civilians; but the empire had only soldiers available for census and similar duties. Mr. Cheesman, however, points out that legions were urgently needed on the denuded Danube frontier; and Josephus says positively that Legio V was sent back from Syria to Moesia (in the autumn of A.D. 71<sup>1</sup>).

Another hypothesis must also be rejected, namely, that this supposed vexillatio was detached from the Legio V stationed in Lower Germany. This legion went to Italy with Vitellius, and was sent after Vespasian's victory to Moesia, where it was urgently needed, and where it was annihilated by the enemy in A.D. 86-87.

The only explanation that seems possible is that the legend LEG. V on this coin must be a memory of Leg. V Gallica as the original source of the colonia. The type is two pairs of military standards. In general on those earlier colonial coins the types are purely military.

Accordingly the situation seems clear. Antioch retained its military character through the first century of its history: its coins are legionary, and it cherished the memory of the Fifth Legion Gallica from which its first settlers had been largely derived. The early coins show a Roman colonia, whose interests and pride turn towards Rome; but a change begins under the Flavian emperors.

This character for the colonia in the first century confirms also the view that the policy of the Romans on the NE. Asiatic frontier centred in provincia Galatia, and every change or development in that policy was reflected in a modification of the province.<sup>2</sup> Down to A.D. 69 the province continued steadily to increase, as new parts were added to it. Then in 72 the Flavian emperors began to modify the policy: they cut off parts of the south-west from the province, but joined to it the vast mass of Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia, made the united provinces consular in rank, added legionary troops in permanence, and organised the military lines and stations along the upper Euphrates. Thus after 25 B.C. Galatia Provincia meant

<sup>1</sup> *Bell. Jud.* vii, 5, 3. For the date cf. Chamblu, *Philol.* xliv. (1885), p. 507 ff. and Filow, *Die Legionen d. Provinz Moesia (Klio vi Beiheft)*, 1906, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> This is discussed at length in the introduction to my *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, pp. 113-126.

the frontier policy in that quarter, as Cilicia Provincia had meant the frontier policy on that side between 80 and 49 B.C.; and this fact shows in clear light the importance of the provincia from 25 B.C. to A.D. 70.

The following facts suggest that another legion may have furnished part of the original coloni. Two veterans of Legio VII are mentioned in Antiochian epitaphs.<sup>1</sup> As the legion is named without the epithet Claudia, these epitaphs belong to a period older than A.D. 42. At that time it would not be possible that recruits from Antioch should go to serve in the seventh legion in the west. It is therefore probable that some of the coloni sent to Antioch were of that legion (or they represent a subsequent draft required to increase the strength of the colonia); but they were apparently fewer in number. With this hypothesis we may perhaps connect the fact that on early coins (Augustus to Vespasian) the customary type shows two eagles on two standards<sup>2</sup>: these may indicate that veterans of two legions were among the early coloni.

It may be added that the following inscription, found in the



C. Anicius  
Q. F. Ser(gia tribu) Caesi-  
anus, duumvir,  
trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis)  
III] Gallicae  
[cum filia sua]  
A]nicia C. F.  
C]aesiana  
[et matre su]a  
C]aesia [P. ? F.  
P]rocilla  
L·V·S·

FIG. 7.

MARBLE TABLET FROM SANCTUARY OF MÊN,

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* iii, 6826 and 6827. The veterans are called Cissonius and Coelius, of tribes Sergia and Aniensis. [Col. Caes. was classed to tribe Sergia. Two inscriptions, at least, mention citizens of Collina and Aniensis. These were coloni of the original foundation, who came possessing the 'civitas.' One inscription is obviously quite

early; the other is at the sanctuary of Mên, where the character of the stone generally used makes the lettering almost useless as evidence of date.]

<sup>2</sup> The whole type is four standards, the two in the middle supporting eagles (*Num. Chron.* 1914, p. 303, pl. xix. 6, 7).



sanctuary of Mên above Antioch, cannot be restored as mentioning this Gallic Legion V.

2-4. (Fig. 7) Three fragments of marble tablet (R, A, C, 1912): good letters of first century A.D. carefully engraved. Above is a bust of Mên broken. I unite conjecturally the three fragments on account of their resemblance in my copies.

Anicius Caesianus was duumvir at Antioch (doubtless as the climax of a municipal career), and served in the army, rising to be tribune of the (third) legion (stationed in Syria). I should hardly be inclined to place this inscription so early as the time of Augustus, and judge that it belongs rather to the middle of the first century A.D.; yet the cognomen Caesianus recalls the second cognomen of C. Caristianus Fronto,<sup>1</sup> and indicates some possible connexion between the families, perhaps through marriage. Anicius took the cognomen from the mother Caesia Procilla.

The other fragment mentions a daughter of C. Anicius Caesianus. It may perhaps be placed between the other two fragments, as



FIG. 8. INSCRIPTION ON HERON AT SANCTUARY OF MÊN.

I have done. I must confess that the restoration is here less probable, (1) because the daughter's name is drawn in my notebook slightly larger,<sup>2</sup> (2) because the order—father, daughter, mother—is unusual. The fact that the shape of the fragments is similar is not conclusive proof that they are parts of one memorial: the form is frequent. It is unfortunate that we did not put these three pieces side by side at Antioch, but I observed the resemblance from the drawings in my notebook too late. As to the order—father, daughter, mother—it may be observed that in Greek authors, children are often mentioned before the mother: in fact this order is distinctly commoner in the classical Greek period.<sup>3</sup> In Anatolia, however, the mother is usually mentioned before the children; but there are exceptions.

I place all three stones conjecturally here as parts of one: there are, however, many cases where two dedications were made by one

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.S.* iii (1913), p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> But the size in my copies, made at different times, cannot be trusted as exact. They vary in scale. Moreover, if the daughter were the devotee who placed the offering and added her father's name, she might write her own in larger letters:

the son puts his name larger than the parents in the inscription *J.R.S.* iii (1913), p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> An exception in the appeal of Nikias to the soldiers in the siege of Syracuse *γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ θεοὺς πατρώους* (Thuc. vii, 69), where the climax makes the apparent exception really an example of the general custom.

family, with only slight variations, and it seems certain that these three pieces were all dedications by one family and help to complete our knowledge of it, even if they are not parts all of one stone, *C.I.L.* iii 6830 mentions freedmen and a freedwoman of this family: I have never seen this inscription, and cannot speak of the lettering Sterrett and Mommsen print it in type, not in facsimile.

The same duumvir may be mentioned in the inscription on the entablature of a heroon of ornate character, in letters  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, of a good early first-century form, C. Anicio Co . . . . (fig. 8).

### III. CORNUTUS ARRUNTIUS AQUILA

*leg. Aug. pr. pr.* 6 B.C.

At this point the orderly execution of the plan would require a section devoted to the military history of Colonia Caesarea in the Augustan period. All the information that is available at present centres round the notable figure of L. Caristanus Fronto Caesianus Iulius. The study which Mr. Cheesman has devoted to this leader of the colony in war and peace<sup>1</sup> may be regarded as the execution of our plan at this point. Caristanus is the one name which stands out in the wars of the colony under Augustus; and its military history is, for the present, confined to an exposition of his achievements and his place in Roman history on the eastern frontier. It is to be hoped that further discovery will increase our knowledge of this man and also add some other early military names.

An hypothesis may, however, be advanced about an insignificant fragment, *C.I.L.* iii, 6834,<sup>2</sup> which defies all interpretation in its published form, and demands some drastic treatment. If our conjecture is right, this mutilated fragment reveals the family of the governor of Galatia in 6 B.C. and throws some light on the Homonadensian war. The war must have been pressed simultaneously from north and south. Caristanus, as acting magistrate (*praefectus*) of Colonia Caesarea, worked in concert with his provincial governor, who had indeed no legion under his command, but only auxiliary troops: the writer has long thought (and wrote fully about it in his last letter to Mr. Cheesman) that the *Cohortes Phrygum* (of which six disappeared soon from history, leaving only *Cob. VII Phrygum*) were needed in the early years of the *provincia*, but were not maintained after danger from the Taurus mountaineers

<sup>1</sup> In *J.R.S.* iii (1913), pp. 253 ff. I add a word of mourning for the loss of two scholars whose work on problems of Asia Minor was just beginning—Mr. Cheesman and Mr. Hunter. The investigation of the history of Asia Minor suffers severely from the death of these two excellent young scholars. Mr. Cheesman had arranged

with me, if possible, to go out to co-operate in the excavations at Antioch during the summer of 1915, where his help would have been invaluable.

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of section iii was added in 1916. Sections iv. ff. belong to the original MS. written in 1914.



ceased. The governor of Galatia was also active in the pacification that followed the Homonadensian war; for the milestones along the whole series of *Viae Sebastae* east and west bear his name.

Incidentally the following notes show how deceptive epigraphic copies printed in type are liable to be, even if carefully supervised. One would hardly recognise in the accompanying zincograph (fig. 9, *a*) the inscription which is published in Sterrett's *Ep. Journ.* no. 128 (fig. 9, *c*) and *C.I.L.* iii, 6834 (fig. 9, *b*). The copies perhaps suffered from a feeling on the part of the copyists (myself in 1882 and Professor Sterrett in 1884)<sup>1</sup> that the scrap was too insignificant to reward care: at least I must confess to this, so far as I am concerned. Accordingly, we are reduced to a conjectural restoration, where probably a minutely careful examination of the stone would give certainty, as some slight traces of the lost letters might be detected.

As Sterrett says, the stone is broken at the left, but whole at the top, the right side and the bottom. Evidently, however, the inscription continued on another stone immediately underneath,

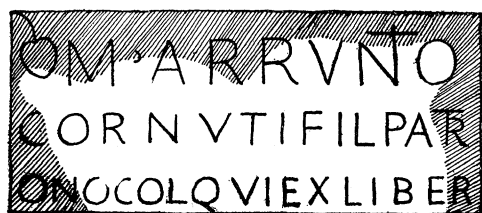
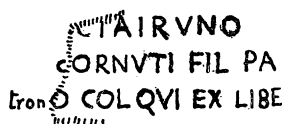


FIG. 9, *a*. FRAGMENT AT YALOWADJ.



*b*. *C.I.L.* iii, 6834.



*c*. ST. 128.

showing that the whole was engraved on a wall and extended over at least two stones (as was the case with many honorary inscriptions in Antioch).<sup>2</sup> The accompanying illustration will show the state of the stone better than any description. While the stone is complete on three sides, the surface has been injured a good deal at the top and in a smaller degree on the right side. The letters in the top line were larger than in the body of the inscription, but the published epigraphic copies show no difference in size. This causes a wrong arrangement in Sterrett's publication, and the reader will naturally ask how he can describe the right side as complete when line 2 stretches much beyond line 1 and line 3 beyond line 2. The error, however, lies not in Sterrett's own copy, but in the type as set by the printer.

In attempting to represent the epigraphic text by type the printer finds difficulty, and hence this inscription as hitherto

<sup>1</sup> The too early death of J. R. S. Sterrett has been a great sorrow to me and a great loss to Anatolian studies.

<sup>2</sup> It was probably a stone in the wall of a stoa covered with honorary inscriptions. On such porticos, painted or inscribed, see the account of Apamea Phr. in Ramsay, *C.B.* ii, pp. 431-434.

published is not merely unintelligible, but even misleading. Any one who looks at the published texts must inevitably conclude that the name in the first line ends in ATRVNO, or AIRVNO, but this appearance is largely due to the wrong spacing between the letters. There is a considerable gap between R and the broken letter which precedes it and which certainly was not T but R. Further, in those publications no indication is given where the surface of the stone is broken, so that although RVNO can be read with certainty, one cannot infer that there was nothing protruding above the top of the letters. Mommsen's publication of the text suffers both from the use of type (like Sterrett's), and also from the attempt to incorporate two copies in one text.<sup>1</sup> He and Sterrett place at the beginning of the first line part of the letter c, but this is really part of a leaf ornament<sup>2</sup>; and the only fragment of a letter before A is a part of M, the praenomen M(arcus). At the end of line 3 Sterrett is indubitably incorrect, and here Mommsen follows my copy.

With regard to the arrangement of the lines one thing remains in doubt. Is there a gap sufficient to contain one letter at the end of line 3, or is this line complete? My copy leaves this uncertain. The stone has disappeared, as we did not find it in 1911-1914, though we repeatedly examined the cemetery where it was seen in 1882 and 1884. Perhaps, however, this small stone has been covered with soil during the interval since 1884, and may yet be recovered.

Our hypothesis (as shown in fig. 9, a) is that the letter N had T written over the top of it, and that on the top of T was I. NT are frequently written *liées* in this way, and the three letters N T I written *liées* occur at Antioch in inscriptions of a later date. When the letter R after A is restored, as seems certain, the completion of the *lettres liées* N T I is in the highest degree probable. We have, then, a certain M. Arruntius, son of Cornutus, who was patron of the colony at some period comparatively early in the history of Colonia Caesarea. Cornutus must here be interpreted as a praenomen: in a Latin inscription of early imperial time we are not justified in supposing that the filiation is stated by the cognomen of the father. On this point I had some correspondence many years ago with Mommsen, arguing that Cornutus in this case was used as a praenomen; but the possible restoration Arruntius did not occur to me, and was not put before him.<sup>3</sup>

In this period the patron of a colonia, especially when it was a city so important as Caesarea Antiochia, was usually a man of standing

<sup>1</sup> Many cases might be mentioned in which the attempt to combine two independent copies in one text has led to error. The most remarkable and extreme instance was in the treatment by Pauli of the oldest Phrygian inscriptions, where quite astounding results were attained by selection of readings from different copies.

<sup>2</sup> Hence I took no notice of it in my copy.

<sup>3</sup> This restoration only suggested itself in 1916 when I was revising the notebook containing the inscriptions copied at Antioch in 1882, as in the intermediate time I had used only the published copy in *C.I.L.* iii, 6834. It is never safe to prefer a text printed in type, and neglect the original copy.

in Rome, who had some hereditary or personal connexion with the city: e.g. in *C.I.L.* iii, 4817, Gnaeus Pompeius Collega is simply described as patron of the colonia: we know, however, from milestones and coins that he was governor of the province about A.D. 74-77. On this analogy it might be argued that M. Arruntius, son of Cornutus, was himself governor of the province and patron of the colonia; but our inscription was evidently one of some length and gave a different reason for the honour (of a statue?) conferred on Arruntius<sup>1</sup>: he had contributed liberally to certain colonial purposes (in all probability to the cost of gladiatorial sports): this is not characteristic of the conduct of provincial governors in the inscriptions of Antioch, but rather was the duty of local priests and magistrates. In the case of Pompeius one can understand that, in a brief honorary inscription inscribed in very large letters, stress was laid only on his patronage and no further information was given as to his standing in the city or the reasons for honouring him; but in the case of Arruntius a different reason is given and his governorship of the province is not mentioned (for it would be out of place that this should be mentioned after the tale of his liberality). We therefore conjecture that M. Arruntius held a hereditary patronage, and that his father or grandfather had been governor of the province and in close relation with Colonia Caesarea.

Now with regard to the praenomen Cornutus, which is so far as I know unique in that usage, it probably belongs to the reign of Augustus, when some attempt was made to add to the inconveniently small number of praenomina. For example Iullus was invented and used only, so far as is known, in the case of the son of Antony and Fulvia; and various cognomina were employed as praenomina under the early empire. There is therefore some probability that a person named Cornutus Arruntius is likely to have lived in the time of Augustus.

The cognomen of M. Arruntius is omitted in our inscription. There is no possible room to add it, for the gap at the left of the inscription seems to have contained only one broad or two narrow letters. It was, therefore, left out by those who composed the inscription; but the designation of a Roman by his praenomen and nomen is quite common, and was prescribed by early custom and practised in S.C. Now in the first century A.D. the cognomen Aquila occurs in the family bearing nomen Arruntius: at Padua, *C.I.L.* v, 2819, M. Arruntius Aquila is mentioned, and was evidently a person of high standing, being quaestor Caesaris, praetor, consul and quindecimvir S.F. The same or another M. Arruntius Aquila was consul in the time of Vespasian (*C.I.L.* x, 8038). M. Arruntius

<sup>1</sup> Arrius Calpurnius Frontinus Honoratus, consul (6810-2), was patronus of this colony, but not governor of the province. Two of his names,

Calpurnius and Frontinus, were borne by earlier governors; and his connexion with the colony may have been hereditary.

Aquila was also procurator governing Pamphylia in A.D. 50 (*C.I.L.* iii, 6737) : he was evidently a procurator of the highest class 'cum iure gladii,' and his name appears on a milestone. A procurator of this class might quite naturally be the father of a consul<sup>1</sup>; but speculation has no sure ground here.

It follows then in all probability that the governor of Galatia in 6 B.C. was Cornutus Arruntius Aquila, and that his son was M. Arruntius Cornuti f. (Ter. Aquila), who mindful of the hereditary connexion with Colonia Caesarea Antiochea made at some time a gift of money to that city (*ex liberalitate sua*).

The readers of Mr. Cheesman's article felt that the governor of Galatia during the Homonadensian war must have had some part in it. It is not without interest to show that he belonged to a family of note, which perhaps sprang from transpadane Gaul.

#### IV. NAME OF THE COLONIA AND THE PROVINCE.

Colonia Caesarea was at first the complete name of the new Roman garrison city. It is so called in inscriptions as late as Claudius<sup>2</sup> and on the early coins.<sup>3</sup> The first intention evidently was to substitute the Roman idea and to get rid entirely of the nationalist spirit : hence the old name Antiocheia was done away with. The new colonia was to be a Roman city, secondary capital of the organised Provincia Galatia.<sup>4</sup> The new province, however, was at the same time a transformation of the old kingdom of Deiotarus and Amyntas : hence the capital remained at Ancyra. Similarly, when Asia Provincia was created out of the Attalid kingdom in 133 B.C. the royal capital Pergamum continued, although Ephesus was by far the most important and convenient for Rome from every point of view. But Colonia Caesarea was at that time a more thoroughly Roman city than Ancyra ; and, when the history of the province comes to be written, this will be evident in the statement of the facts.

The old name of Antioch, however, was too firmly rooted to be done away. The hold of Hellenism on the city was too strong, and the coloni fell gradually under its influence. They learned

<sup>1</sup> He could hardly be the son of Cornutus Arruntius Aquila, as the latter was of senatorial rank and his son would enter the senatorial cursus honorum : the procurator of Pamphylia was presumably equestrian ; but he might perhaps belong to a collateral branch of the family of Arruntius Aquila the senator.

<sup>2</sup> See Cheesman in *J.R.S.* iv (1914), p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> On coins of Augustus *COL.CAES.* is the name, and c.c. occurs alone; but already in the first century the name is c.c.an.; under Titus *ANT. COL.* (*Num. Chron.* 1914, pp. 303 f.).

<sup>4</sup> The idea of secondary capitals lasted long in Roman affairs. In 372 A.D. Basil calls Iconium in relation to Antioch the secondary capital of the newly instituted province Pisidia (371), *post maximam prima*, Ep. 138. This real fact furnished some real basis to the disputes about the honorary title 'First,' for which the cities contended in many provinces, Asia, Bithynia, Cilicia, etc. In Macedonia the same quarrel existed, as we know from Acts xvi, 12, and no other authority ; but this admirable touch of real life has roused much discussion among the theologians who refuse to accept the ready explanation, and alter the text.

Greek, as was necessary, since the great majority of the population used that language, and it was the language of education for the whole of central Anatolia as well as the familiar speech of almost all the coast-lands. They could not neglect the native god Mên who was the patron of the region, and whose anger must not be roused by neglect. Thus the Latin language was gradually forgotten<sup>1</sup>: by A.D. 300 it was rarely used in epigraphy, and few seem to have known it familiarly; though a certain acquaintance with it seems still to have been a mark of good birth. Antioch became once more a Hellenistic city, and its colonial character was practically obliterated. Accordingly the name Κολώνεια never was attached to the city in Byzantine time: it was then Ἀντιόχεια. Very different is the case in Cappadocia and Armenia Minor, where the Hellenic influence was never so strong, and where the Roman character was grafted on the native non-Hellenic stock. Both Archelais and Nikopolis are always called Κολώνεια in Byzantine lists. That was so, because in the local speech during the earlier centuries the name colonia was familiarly used by itself as the name of the town, and this usage established itself. An example occurs in *C.I.L.* iii, 14186, a milestone, where the distance is stated A Colonia MIL X.<sup>2</sup> This milestone implies that the people around Colonia Archelais spoke of it simply as Κολώνεια in the time of Diocletian.

The same is true about the province Galatia as about the Colonia Caesarea. The intention was to introduce the Roman provincial unity within the empire. All national distinctions and separatist names were to be done away as non-Roman and nationalist and sectarian. The entire province was to be bound together in a non-national and purely Roman union, held together by the loyalty of the empire as expressed in the worship of Rome and Augustus. The empire consisted of provinces. The population, so far as they did not possess the 'civitas,' were members of the Roman empire in virtue of being members of a province. Rome did not recognise them for her children on the ground that they were Phryges or Lycaones or Pisidae: such national names were hostile or servile, as Mommsen has shown in his own perfect and final way when discussing the designation of legionary and auxiliary soldiers, and 'classarii.'<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of this vast province were Roman

<sup>1</sup> See Kubitschek, *Rückgang des Lat. im Orient*, *Wiener Studien*, xxiv, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen suggests a *Co[manis]*, but Comana was 200 miles distant, and the 'caput viarum' for Cappadocia was Caesarea-Mazaka, which lay on the road between Colonia Archelais and Comana. The distance on the stone is stated from the colonia and not from Caesarea, because it stood in the territory of Colonia Archelais.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes*, 1884, pp. 33 ff. A summary of this statement is given in my article in *Studia Biblica*,

iv, p. 36 ff. The province, again, was composed of cities, and a soldier's 'domus' was his city, except where the municipal Greek or Roman organisation had not spread, in which case his 'domus' was his tribe; but 'Lycaonian' did not designate a Roman unit in the province. 'Lycaonian' designated a 'classarius,' because those troops were originally servile. Mommsen recognises on p. 33 the difficulty caused by the fact that the same term, e.g. Sardus or Thrax or Galata, often was used both for the province and for the country, Roman and non-Roman.

through being units in the province, and therefore the province and its members must have a name and a unity. It was called Galatia. As the realm of Attalus III, when converted into a province, had been called by the name which the Romans previously had applied to the realm (calling it loosely Asia, as the part of the continent which most concerned them), so now they called the new province by the name Galatia, which they had been wont to apply to the realm of Amyntas. Strabo describes Amyntas as successor of Deiotarus, i.e. last of the sovereigns of Galatia; and so the Romans spoke of the new province Galatia.

This statement, which is merely the application of the principles taught by Mommsen in more convincing and conclusive style than by any other, was in the last years of his life rejected by him; and in the index to *C.I.L.* iii, pp. 2459, 2649, he has invented a new Latin name for the province, 'Galatia adiunctaeque provinciae'; and this modern name, being now canonised in the *Corpus*, is likely to be adopted as if it had really been in Roman use.<sup>1</sup> No ground for it is stated: none of the inscriptions in the volume support it. They are contradictory of it (because they use the singular *provincia*, not the plural, as it demands), where they give any evidence on the point. The sole origin of it and the sole foundation for it are a wrong interpretation of a Greek expression used in an inscription of Bithynia. That Bithynian inscription produced a marked effect on that great scholar's judgment, as I know, because he wrote to me about it. I could not at the moment produce any explicit epigraphic evidence against his interpretation of the Greek, though I knew that it was wrong, because it sinned against the deepest principles of Imperial policy as enunciated so often by himself. I had to wait until the decisive analogy should be discovered. After all the decisive analogies had been published in the *Corpus* long before; but I did not notice them until after Mommsen's death.

The point at issue is this. Was the province Galatia, as Augustus organised it, a real one, a unity under a single governor; or was it a mere congeries of distinct countries which were placed under one governor by a sort of chance, but of which each remained a separate individual province with its own special constitution? In the former case, the province was real, single and unified in administration. In the latter case, the use of the term Galatia to denote the province would be a mere abuse or convenience, corresponding to no real administrative character. Mommsen adopted the latter view, but only in the last part of his life, for it is contrary to all the principles laid down in his earlier work. I am quite sure that he would never in his earlier time have admitted that Augustus

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, not used in the indexes to Dessau's *Inscript. Lat.* of which the first vol. has just appeared (1914).



created out of the kingdom of Amyntas a bundle of distinct provinces, 'Galatia et adiunctae provinciae.' On the contrary Augustus took a kingdom as the inheritance of Amyntas, and made a single province, Galatia.

The Bithynian inscription which produced this error speaks of a procurator of Galatia and the adjoining provinces (Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς ἔθνων).<sup>1</sup> Procuratorial administrative districts or provinces were of a totally different character and class from the real imperial provinces, and no one has put this more precisely and emphatically than Mommsen himself.<sup>2</sup> It was obviously a mere slip, the failure to hold together all the factors in a complicated problem, that led him, when casually taking up a new topic, to regard this phrase as equivalent to the province Galatia in all its parts. This phrase is to be understood as meaning 'Galatia Provincia and the adjoining provinces, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, etc.' These provinces were all placed under that procurator in one special respect, and formed no unity in any sense except that the procurator discharged his own special duty in them all at the same time. *C.I.L.* iii, 431 (7116), speaks of a procurator of Lycia, Pamphylia, Galatia, etc. but that does not imply that Lycia and these other were then or ever under the same governor or in any way united<sup>3</sup> except in respect of the duty of the procurator concerned. The exact Latin phrase corresponding to the Greek title was elicited by Mommsen from a fragmentary inscription *procurator per Asiam et adhaerentes provincias* (iii, 6994). This is the analogous phrase which proves the sense of Γαλατία καὶ τὰ σύνεγγυς ἔθνη and is the true Latin equivalent. Mommsen had forgotten it when he adopted or accepted the Latin 'Galatia adiunctaeque provinciae' for the index.

As to the meaning of *per Asiam et adhaerentes provincias* there can be no possible doubt. The procurator concerned held authority over a great series of provinces, almost the whole of Asia Minor. Mommsen enumerates them in *Staatsrecht*, ii, p. 1071; Hirschfeld in *Kaiserl. Verwaltungsb.* p. 292; and similar lists occur in the inscriptions *C.I.L.* iii, 6753; x, 7583 and 7584; etc. It was a procurator fam. gladiator. that held authority 'per Asiam et adhaerentes provincias.' The procurator Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς ἔθνων must be interpreted in the same way: he held authority in Galatia Provincia and certain adjoining provinces, including certainly Lycia-Pamphylia.<sup>4</sup> The connexion between the Pisidian cities (which

<sup>1</sup> *Att. Mitt.* 1887, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *Staatsrecht*, ii, p. 1024, ed. 1, p. 991, ed. 2; *ibid.* p. 237, ed. 1: in the latter place one kind of procuratorial province, but the idea applies *mutatis mutandis* to all procuratorial administration.

<sup>3</sup> Yet this mistake has been made by inexact writers through confused thinking. Pamphyliarch

and Lykiarch were each head of a separate *κοινόν*. The *κοινὸν Λυκαόνων* contained the cities of Lycaonia as one of the Tres Eparchiae (second and third century).

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.* iii, 471, 7116, group together Galatia and Lycia-Pamphylia. When Tacitus says, *Hist.* ii, 9, 'Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio

were transferred from Galatia to Pamphylia Provincia in A.D. 72) and their old capital Antioch lasted as a procuratorial fact, and will be often referred to in our future investigations in the antiquities of Antioch.

That the kingdom of Amyntas was created a unified province with a single name Galatia by Augustus seems established beyond question both by the principles of Augustus's administration and by the failure of every attempt to find evidence to the contrary. The earliest name for it found as yet in an inscription is *Γαλατικὴ ἐπαρχεία* in *C.I.G.* 3991 (at Iconium A.D. 54). Galatia is used in historical authorities regarding the foundation and early history of the province.<sup>1</sup> The importance of this matter of the name lies in its bearing on the constitution of the province, a very obscure subject. So far as I know, nothing has yet been found to indicate that the original province Galatia had anything to differentiate its government from other imperial provinces governed by 'legati,' but only scanty evidence of any kind has been found. With what has been said by Professor Calder in *J.R.S.* ii (1912), pp. 82 ff, I am in agreement, but there is now a good deal to add, and the excavation of Antioch should afford much further information.

On the other hand, the additions that were made to the province Galatia after its original organisation were probably not actually incorporated in it in the same intimate fashion as the original parts: they were excrescences, so to say, fastened to it<sup>2</sup>: they had had their own separate older organisation, which they probably retained under the general superintendence of the governor of Galatia.

The attempt to disregard the power of nationality and to create an imperial unity that should override national differences was inevitably a failure. Rome learned another way, and Hadrian it was who most of all practised and inculcated it. But the former way was tried for a time, alike in the province Asia and in Galatia and elsewhere; and Strabo, p. 629, speaks very strongly of the Roman disregard for national bounds in Asia Minor. The Galatian provincial unity was supported for a time with all the moral force of the Roman authority, and during that time the acceptance of Roman ideas and method was accompanied by use of the Roman

Asprenati regendas Galba permisit,' it has been customary to understand that Asprenas was Galba's legatus. The question may be asked whether he was not merely procurator put in charge of the provinces, during the interregnum that resulted after the death of Corbulo. Lycia was not yet connected with Pamphylia, which was at this time under a procurator (*C.I.L.* iii, 6737). The connexion with Pamphylia was perhaps not arranged until A.D. 74. X. 7583 f. show that such lists are hardly ever complete, and

the omission of one item does not prove that the part omitted was not included in the single administration.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 2, 9; *Ann.* 13, 35; 15, 6; *C.I.G.* 3991, refer to the time when Galatia province included Pisidia, and the procuratorial was then probably identical with the imperial province.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 569, xii, 6, 3, uses a similar metaphor about another Roman arrangement ἡ Δέρβη, μάλιστα τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐπιπεφυκός (τυραννείον).



names and forms. But the native names outlived the Roman names<sup>1</sup>; the expansive and dominating force of the older Roman idea grew weaker in the latter part of the first century, and the force of nationalism grew stronger. The provinces (and especially the eastern provinces) overcame the old narrower Roman idea, and it was modified and brought into alliance with the national spirit. The fact that it failed and was abandoned should not blind us to the fact that it was tried, that for a time it seemed to be successful and to control the organisation and growth of the empire, and that it was accepted and effective in the Julio-Claudian period.

#### IV. AVGVSTVS AND COLONIA CAESAREA.

Considering the great importance of Colonia Caesarea in the province of Galatia and the great part that Augustus played in the city's history, one could feel no doubt that a copy of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, similar to the famous *Monumentum Ancyranum*, must have existed there. Augustus founded the colonia. He made it the military and administrative centre of the southern half of the province, a secondary capital after Ancyra (as the writer has repeatedly emphasised).<sup>2</sup> His guiding purpose appears throughout its early history. That this garrison-city, which owed so much to the hand and the policy of Augustus should seek to perpetuate the memory of its founder by some memorial after his death in A.D. 14, might be taken as a matter of course.<sup>3</sup> It was therefore no surprise that we should begin to find in 1914 fragments which seemed to belong to the *Res Gestae*. The scraps which we found were, with one exception, very small. Two of the earliest I sent to Professor Dessau, as the nearest scholar to whom I could appeal for confirmation, but, long before his corroborating answer came, other fragments had made our first conjectural identification a matter of certainty.

As yet we are only beginning the work of discovery, but so much interest attaches to this monument that it is worth while to sum up what can already be determined with regard to the Antiochian copy, its situation, and the surroundings of the inscription. Moreover, for the sake of the future, it is advisable to show what promise the further excavation of Antioch, and especially of the Forum of

<sup>1</sup> As is pointed out by Mommsen (quoted above, p. 101, n. 3), there are many cases in which the provincial title was the same as the national name, and the two senses have to be carefully distinguished: so in Galatia, Thracia, Sardinia, Corsica, etc. The boundaries of the province sometimes were the same as those of the nation (e.g. Corsica, Sardinia), but more frequently differed.

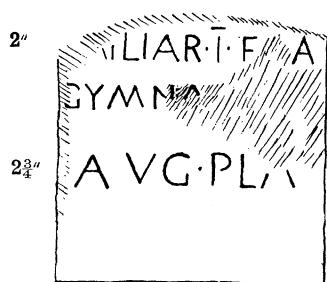
<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 87; *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 25;

*St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 103-105; *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 273 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The remarkable road-system alluded to in the passages quoted in the preceding note implies a definite controlling plan, the idea of which is that Antioch should be the centre of a garrison system. The roads eastward and westward alike bear the same name, Via Sebaste, a remarkable latinisation of the Greek translation of the Latin word Augusta.

Augustus, holds out, if it can be done in a thorough fashion. I shall follow the order of discovery in placing first a description of the locality and circumstances, and afterwards the words of the text.

6. In 1912 Mr. J. G. C. Anderson and I copied at the village of Hissar-ardi<sup>1</sup> a tantalising fragment of an inscription of the first or early second century (fig. 10). Only a small piece of the inscribed part of the stone remains; and the surface of this piece is so much broken that few letters can be read. At first it seemed hopeless, but it became a guide for future excavation, as soon as we recognised the meaning of Aug. Pla. as 'Place d'Auguste,' one of the 'vici' of the colony.<sup>2</sup>



[praefecto ? alae]  
[m]iliar(iae) I, f[l]a(mini),  
gymn[asiarcho]  
Aug(usta) Pla(tea).<sup>3</sup>

FIG. 10.

FRAGMENT AT HISSAR-ARDI.

In Pauly-Wissowa's list *alae* styled simply *miliariae* are mentioned in Mauretania Caesariensis and in Dacia, also one styled *prima miliaria* in Palestine. The first and second are known only from late authority, but the third may probably be the *ala miliaria* in Syria, mentioned by Pliny, *Ep.* vii, 31.<sup>4</sup> If that be so, the Syrian squadron may probably be the *ala* of this inscription, which may be dated about A.D. 100 to 160.

The unknown person honoured in this inscription served in the equestrian military career, and also held office in his native city of Antioch as flamen and gymnasiarch.<sup>5</sup> As in the case stated by Mr. Cheesman,<sup>6</sup> the imperial part of his career is enumerated before the municipal. Service in the army was evidently regarded as the

<sup>1</sup> Hissar-ardi, 'behind Hissar,' is a village close behind and above the ancient site, Hissar, the fortress. The modern town Yalowadj lies below and in front of Hissar, on the plain.

<sup>2</sup> Parts of the surface are broken even in these letters; but we considered the text here certain, and in 1914 I revised it.

<sup>3</sup> [a], [m], indicates that a small part of the letter only is preserved consistent with, but not necessitating, the restoration a or m.

<sup>4</sup> This *ala prima miliaria* is known otherwise only from *Notitia Dign. Or.* xxxiv, 36.

<sup>5</sup> Flamens were part of the colonial constitution. The gymnasiarch is an institution that marks the growing hellenisation of the colonia: its occurrence may perhaps indicate that the inscription should be assigned to the second century (which suits the lettering). The existence of a gymnasiarch at Antioch is attested also by an unpublished inscription.

<sup>6</sup> *J.R.S.* iii (1913), p. 254.

proper career of the enterprising young Roman of Antioch in the first and early second centuries.

The inscription was erected in his honour by the Augusta Platea. This restoration seems certain. The Augusta Platea must be ranked with the various 'vici,' or divisions of the city<sup>1</sup>; and the 'vici' individually were in the habit of erecting honorary inscriptions to distinguished persons. To judge from the name, the Augusta Platea is likely to have been a conspicuous part of the city, associated with the name of the great founder of the colonia. If that may be assumed (as appears beyond question), then the excavations of the present year (1914) enable us to place it with complete certainty. It approximates in shape to a square of 200 feet. Three sides were straight, north, south and west. The east side<sup>2</sup> was disclosed in 1913, and consists of a great curved stoa backed by rock, with a small temple (of Augustus?) in the centre on a high platform of rock. In 1914 we made a few trenches at points on the south side. The north side remains untouched. On the west side at the middle we opened up partially in 1914 a broad staircase, about 65 feet wide, leading down from the Platea to a street which descends towards a large church (beyond which are the theatre and other public buildings).

The staircase was not a single flight extending unbroken across the whole breadth of 65 feet. It was divided into two or three narrower flights separated by intervals; but the arrangement remains uncertain, partly because the excavation was stopped in the middle, partly because the staircase has been greatly injured. There were found on or between the steps slabs of two friezes, one 4 ft. high, showing Victories and Erotes (each doubtless in pairs) supporting garlands, the other 1 ft. 11 inches high, showing Capricorn and other symbolic figures.

The symbolism is obviously Augustan, and the style of the larger frieze is consistent with early Roman period; the brittle limestone requires different treatment from marble; it is therefore natural to suppose that these friezes and the staircase as a whole belong to the age of Augustus. Further, we may conjecture with some confidence that the staircase was constructed, or at least remodelled, to serve as a memorial of the deceased and deified Augustus, for on and about it were found the fragments of the great inscription recording the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.

These fragments seem to have no connexion with the temple on the east side of the Platea.<sup>3</sup> In a paper read before the Society on 12th May, 1914, by Miss Ramsay, the opinion was expressed that this was a temple of the imperial cult, dedicated to the emperors

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.S.* ii (1912), p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> The orientation is far from exact, being conditioned by the rock background. For east strictness would require ESE.

<sup>3</sup> At first I was disposed to connect them with the temple, but they are far from it, and the temple exterior was of marble (now almost all lost), whereas the inscription was on limestone.

generally or to one emperor specially, and that it belongs to the second century of our era. This opinion is now seen to be right except as regards date. The temple was probably dedicated to Augustus. It is the dominating feature of the Platea Augusti, as one comes to the great Square or 'Place' from the lower town; and one cannot imagine the Platea without the temple. The temple, which doubtless gave name to the square, stands high on a platform of native rock, and must therefore be coeval with the 'Place,' for some use must have been made of this large and prominent mass of rock in planning and constructing the Square. If it were not to be used as the basis of a temple, the rock could easily have been removed at no great expenditure of labour. The basis was high, because the temple would have been dwarfed by the great rock Stoa, unless it stood very high.

The temple, therefore, must have been already in existence before the death of Augustus. If it had been built in his memory, the *Res Gestae* would naturally have been inscribed on it, as was the case with the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The temple of [Rome (?) and] Augustus at Antioch was therefore probably older than the Ancyran temple; and the inscription was engraved on, or at the summit of, the staircase, which was built (or altered) as a memorial soon after the death of Augustus.

#### V. MONVMENTVM AVGVSTI ANTIOCHENVN.

The exact position of the inscription is not certain. It was certainly arranged in columns, like the Ancyran copy; but the columns are shorter, for one seems probably to contain only 40 lines. Also there seems to have been more in *Ant.* (as we may now term the new copy) than in *Anc.* As yet no scrap that can be placed in an explanatory preface or in the first seven paragraphs of the *Res Gestae* has been found.<sup>1</sup> It may be suggested that there were at the top of the staircase two buildings forming part of the west side of the Platea, and that the beginning of the *Res Gestae* was engraved on the building at the south summit of the stairs, perhaps on its front; and, since no part of the first seven paragraphs has yet been found, these perhaps may have fallen into the Platea and not on the steps, so that they remain outside the small area over which our excavations extended in 1914. It is also possible that the inscription was engraved on either hand as one ascended the stairs.

The inscription was engraved in short paragraphs, as at Ancyra;

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the explanation of the erection was contained in an appendix (see notes). But we should expect that some more formal decree and statement would be placed at the beginning.

and the paragraphs in *Ant.* agree with *Anc.* but not the columns or the lines. The wording is almost exactly the same.

The text of the *Res Gestae D. Aug.*, so far as historical purposes are concerned, is practically assured from the Ancyran copy. Either in the Latin or the Greek form we there have all but a few words; and the meaning is almost everywhere certain. Yet even the present provisional state of the Antiochene document possesses some value for textual purposes, as well as historic interest. It confirms Mommsen's restoration of Augustus's words in a number of places, but justifies Bormann against Mommsen in par. 10, also Reid's restoration in the same par.; the commentary on the fragments points out some interesting features, and probably others, which have escaped me, will be discovered.

The completion of the work of clearing the staircase and surroundings may reveal much more. The fragments of the brittle limestone are evidently widely scattered, and the excavation of the staircase is still far from complete. The lowest stratum, which is still covered, is most likely to contain fragments; but the large blocks were beyond our power to move, and require machinery; and the surroundings are still untouched by us. It remains uncertain whether a Greek text was engraved on the left (north) side of the staircase; but that is hardly probable as we should have expected to come already on outlying scraps of such a text.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of so many large slabs of the friezes, generally almost perfect, shows that, while the ruin of the construction was very thorough, yet much of the component parts may be expected around. The friezes must have been near the highest part of the memorial, whatever was its exact form; and the lower parts are not likely to have been carried away leaving the upper part little injured. These lower parts, therefore, are likely to be still lying amid the débris under the soil.

The circumstances in which the Antiochene memorial was raised, and its form, still remain for further excavation to determine. Nothing as yet has been found to throw light on these points; yet there must have been one or more inscriptions describing the situation and construction, and incidentally throwing light on the constitution of the early province of Galatia. The recovery of these would be very important, and the search ought to be prosecuted actively. They are probably to be expected on the right (south) summit of the staircase. Moreover *Ant.* probably contained a longer appendix than *Anc.*: this probably should be looked for on the left summit. The relation of *Anc.* and of *Ant.* to the original two bronze tablets in Rome in front of the Mausoleum of Augustus may

<sup>1</sup> Colonia Caesarea was intended to be a purely Roman city (see above, § ii), and a Greek copy, therefore, was probably considered out of place,

although the great majority of the population were *incolae* speaking Greek.

perhaps clear up some of the difficulties regarding the common source of both inscriptions.

The important fact is that there existed at Colonia Caesarea a monument in memory of Augustus. The first emperor lived in the constitution and administration of the province; and we know that his birthday was still celebrated close to the colonia as late as A.D. 237.<sup>1</sup> This memory means much for us in studying the province.

Returning from Antioch (where our excavation was suddenly stopped, quite without justification, by the governor of the vilayet of Konia), I found in Constantinople a copy of Diehl's little edition of the *Res Gestae D. Aug.* which Professor Dessau's thoughtfulness had provided for me; and the task of identifying the fragments which we had found whiled away the long hours in the train to Berlin: there can be no more successful way of beguiling the time on a journey than in deciphering and piecing together the fragments of inscriptions. Having identified a good many of them, I wrote out the paragraphs from which fragments had been preserved according to the Antiochene arrangement of the lines, and in doing so found to my great satisfaction that several other fragments occupied their proper places in the lines. Then at home, by comparison with Mommsen's tables of the Ancyran text, two or three more fragments found their proper place; and the whole was again transcribed as here published. The process is described in order to show why it is that the work has been done mainly in dependence on Diehl.<sup>2</sup> While I cannot hope to have succeeded always in hitting on the true arrangement of lines in *Ant.* yet I came so near it at the first trial as to identify several small fragments because they fitted the lines as arranged in the first attempt.

Though the writing looks well as a whole, yet it is in detail a little irregular. The small cross strokes vary much in size, so that I read one night RIGIS where next morning I read wrongly REGIS<sup>3</sup>; and it is difficult sometimes to distinguish between T, I, L, E, F. The limestone is a bad material, as it is brittle and easily splinters.

Most of the fragments are on small splinters, but two are on large blocks containing parts of par. 27, and of 21 f. Although the former block is large and contains much of the right edge, yet only a few letters remain about the middle of the line. These blocks seem to have been part of a wall; but the whole problem of construction is still unsolved. More than sixty fragments were found, but several contained only one letter.

In the earlier part of *Ant.* the lines are about five letters shorter than those of *Anc.* In the later parts the lettering of *Ant.* becomes

<sup>1</sup> *Annual of British School at Athens* (1912), p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> See note to par. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Too late the excellent edition of Cagnat-Lafaye comes before me.



smaller than at the beginning, and the lines contain nearly the same number of letters as, or even more than, *Anc.*

The columns of *Ant.* did not consist of single slabs of stone: there were more slabs than one in each column of the text. The letters, therefore, were probably engraved after the stones were in place—which is natural for other reasons. A column of *Ant.* perhaps began with *Martiales* in iv, 38 of *Anc.* (par 22). A column of *Ant.* (perhaps the same) certainly ended with the words *oppida capta* in v, 21 of *Anc.* (par. 26). If, as seems probable, these are the limits of a single column, this column would be rather shorter than any of the columns of *Anc.* containing about 37 lines of that copy.

The limits of the columns can be inferred only from the fact that in certain fragments there is a considerable space unengraved below the last line, and that this space does not coincide with an unengraved space in a short line ending a paragraph: e.g. the space unengraved below *statu[aru]m* in a fragment of par. 24 does not indicate the bottom of a column, because the last line of that column was very short, consisting only of *[aru]m bo[norem habuerunt] po[sui]*; and thus *statu* at the end of the second last line stood over a blank space in the last line.

The writing is not always of the same size. At first it seemed almost as if we were finding fragments of two separate inscriptions, because the variation in size of letters was so considerable; but the attempt to make use of the variation to determine what part of the inscription each fragment belonged to proved abortive. Next year, since the place of almost all fragments is determined, something may be gathered from the variation in size.<sup>1</sup>

#### VI. TEXT OF MONVMENTVM ANTIOCHENVN.

Words or letters enclosed in brackets are due to restoration in the text of *Anc.* and it is chiefly in those passages that the textual value of *Ant.* lies.

In the fragments many letters are imperfect. These, as a rule, I have tacitly completed in the transcription. Where the letter is not quite certain, I place a dot in some cases underneath the capital letter. Where the broken letter is wholly uncertain, and is only restored from *Anc.* I print it as a small letter with a dot underneath.

Accents are written in *Ant.* on the same principle as in *Anc.* but with even greater irregularity of omission. Cases where any of the few preserved accents in *Ant.* agree with *Anc.* are rare: in par. 17 *pecuniâ meâ* occurs in both.

<sup>1</sup> Written in July, 1914.

The mark at the end of paragraphs or sentences is rarely found in *Ant.*, but a case occurs in par. 22. It is usually expressed in the printed editions of *Anc.* by the symbol §.

As in *Anc.* so in *Ant.* (if we may generalise from a small part) the words are written in full almost universally, and abbreviations are extremely rare: the numbers are almost invariably written in full. Even where they do not occur in the fragments, the conditions of space show that the longest form must have been used. Only in one small fragment the letters *cs* occur at the end of a line with a space unengraved beneath: I could not understand this, and doubted my own copy, until I found, when transcribing par. 26 in the train on the way home from Constantinople, that *IMA* stood at the end of the third line from the end of the paragraph, and [*exer*] *cs* at the end of the line below it, leaving in the last line only [*ad opp*] *IDVM . MARI[ba]*. It is obvious, therefore, that *exercitus* was abbreviated to *exerc's*. In 35 (with *Anc.*) and probably in 10, s.c. Perhaps in App. *pa'* for *patris*.

As regards spelling, the only differences that I have noticed between *Anc.* and *Ant.* are:—

<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Anc.</i>
24 [quad]rigis	quadrigeis
26 [exer]c's	exercitus
17 consulib[us]	cos
21 sestertium	HS
22 [quinq]uiens	quinquens
22 [spec]taculum	spectac[lum] restored
26 ant. id	ante id. (see note <i>ad loc.</i> )

The last four paragraphs, which are an appendix added to Augustus's own composition (paragraphs 1-34), seem to have been almost or quite identical in the two copies (if we may venture to generalise from the very scanty fragments of this part). The appendix, however, in *Ant.* was perhaps longer than in *Anc.* Several fragments remain, which I cannot identify with any part of *Anc.*, not even with any of the lost and unrestored parts in pars. 6 and 7; and one of these is so considerable in size as to give one great confidence that it must belong to a paragraph which was peculiar to *Ant.* The most probable place is the conclusion of the appendix.

No evidence could be gathered from the situation in which the fragments were found. A note of this was made at first; but the great majority of the fragments escaped the notice of the workmen on account of their minuteness, and they were picked out afterwards from the earth which was wheeled away in order to allow the digging to proceed. It is highly probable that in this débris other tiny fragments may still be found. When we first noticed



a few of these very small fragments, we hired some boys to go over the earth which had been wheeled away, and rewarded them liberally for every inscribed fragment which they picked out. This operation was not completed when the Pasha of Konia (who had sent a spy to report what was being done) telegraphed to the kaimmakam of Yalowadj putting an abrupt and instantaneous end to the work. We were not allowed even to cover over the sculptures in order to preserve them from the weather or from the inhabitants of the town, who construct all their buildings of stones taken from the ancient city.

All cases in which the edge of an inscribed stone is preserved are marked by lines. In one case, par. 27, the right edge is preserved in a fragment of five lines, but the only letters that remain are quite in the middle of the lines, and all the other letters up to the extreme right edge are lost owing to splintering of the brittle surface.

There are only two cases in which the end of a column or *pagina* is quite certain, one in the middle of par. 22 and the other in the middle of par. 26. In the former case it fortunately happens that the last letters of one *pagina* and the first of the next are preserved. In the other a small fragment marks the first line of the new *pagina*.

As to the length (i.e. the height) of the columns or *paginae* there is little evidence. There are 37 lines of *Anc.* between the two ends of *paginae* which are marked with certainty. As the lines of *Ant.* are usually shorter by three or four letters, the consequence is that this *pagina* contains 40 lines in *Ant.*; but, if the theory that the inscription was incised on the side of a staircase should prove correct, the *paginae* would differ in height.

Again, there are 64 lines of *Anc.* between the beginning of a *pagina* in par. 26, and the probable end of a *pagina* at §2 of Appendix. This suggests that, if the latter division is correctly made, two *paginae* of *Ant.* were comprised in these 64 lines of *Anc.*

8. The arrangement of the last lines is fixed by the fragment preserving initial letters; and the preceding lines must be grouped accordingly, so as to be about three to four letters shorter than in *Anc.* The evidence tends to confirm Mommsen's restoration against others, though not decisively: the text given by Diehl leaves the lines too short: more letters seem needed to fill the lines; yet it is clear that these lines must have been spaced more widely, as the total number of letters is small. There is an empty space under the second fragment, proving that it stood over an incomplete line (as shown in the rearranged epigraphic text). The space that remains empty is deep and might at first sight suggest that a column (*pagina*) may have ended here; but this is impossible because 9 continues on the same stone in the first fragment: moreover the second fragment is broken at the bottom, whereas, if it ended a *pagina*, it would almost certainly show the edge of the stone there.



## TEXT OF MON. ANTIOCHENVM.

N.B.—The brackets indicate restorations in *Anc.* (see p. 111).

[M]plura e]xempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nost-  
[RO usu revocavi et ipse multa **RVM**·Re[rum exe]mpla imitan-  
DA·Pos[teris tradidi]

[VOTA pro valetudine mea suscipi per consules et sacerdotes qu[un]-  
[TO] qu[oque] anno senatus decrevit ex iis] votis [a]e]lpe fecerunt  
vivo me [l]udos aliquotiens sacerdotu[m] quattuor am-  
plissima colle[gia] aliquotiens consules privatim etiam  
et municipa**TIM**·Vniversi [cives sacrificia concordite]r ap-  
ud omnia pulv**INARIA** pro valetudine mea fecerunt]

10 [nomen meum s.c. inc]lusum est in saliare carmen et sacrosanctus  
[ut essem decretum est et q]uo[d] viverem tribunicia potestas mihi esset  
[per lege**M** sanctum est pontif]ex maximus ne fierem in vivi con-  
[legae] **LOCVM** populo id sace[r]dotium deferente mihi quod pater me[us]  
[habuer]AT·Recusavi cepi id] sacerdotium aliquod post annos eo  
[mort]VO·Demum qui tumultus o]ccasione occupaverat cuncta ex italia  
[ad comitia mea coeunte tanta mu]ltitudine quanta Romae nunquam

*desunt fragmenta Ant.*

[ic]iae potestatis duodevicensimum consul xii trecentis et vigint[i] millibus **PLEBIS**  
urbanae sexagenos denarios viritim dedi. o in colon[i]s mili**TVM**·Meo  
rum consul quintum ex manib[us] viritim millia numm**VM**·**SINGVL**a  
dedi: acceperunt id triumphale congiarium in colo[n]iis·Hominum  
circiter centum et viginti millia. o consul tertium dec[i]mum **SEXAGEN**

os denarios plebei quae tum frumeNTVM publicum accipiebA[T]·DEDI: ea  
millia hominum paullo plura QVAM ducenta fuerunt

16

PECuniam [pro] agris quos in consvlatu meo quarto et postea consu-  
LIBUS m cr[asso] e[st] cn lentulo augure adsignavi militIBUS solvi  
MVnicipis ea[s]u[m]ma SEST[ERTIVM] circiter sexsicens MILLiens fuit  
Quam [p]ro italicis praed[IS]·NVMERavi ø et ci[r]citer bis·MILL[ie]ns

et sescentiens quod pro aGRIS·PROVIN[c]ialibus solvi ø i[D]·PRImus et  
[s]olus omnium qui [d]eduxerVNT·Colonias militum in italia aut  
in provinciis ad memoriam aetatis meae feci. et postea ti. nerone  
et cn. pisone consulibus [ø] item[que] c. antistio et d. laelio cos, et  
c. calvisio et l. pasieno consulibus, et l. le[n]tulo et] m. messalla  
consulibus et l. caninio[ø] et q. fabricio co[s] milit[ibus] qu[os] emeritis sti-  
pendis in sua·Municipi[a] dedux[i] praem[ia] n[umerato] persolvi[ø] quam in  
rem seste[RTIVM]·Q[ua]ter m[illien]s li[ber]e impendi.

17 quater [pe]cunia·MEA·IVvi aerarium ita ut sestertium millien[s] et

quing[en]t[i]e[s]·AD·EOS·Qui praerant aerario detulerim et m. lepidio et  
ar[r]unt[i]o·CONSVLIBUS i[n] aerarium militare quod ex consilio  
m[eo] co[n]s[ul]t[ul]t[ul]VM·Est ex [q]uo praemia darentur militibus qui vice-

na aut plura·STI[pendi]a emeruissent [ø] iis milliens et septingentiens  
[ex pa]t[rim]onio [m]eo detuli. ø

*desunt fragmenta Ant.*

20 capitolium et pompeium theatrum utrumque OPVS impensa grandi  
refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei RIVOS aquarum comp

luribus locis vetustate labentes refeci et **AQV**am quae marcia  
appellatur duplicavi fonte novo in **RIV**um eius immisso

*desunt fragmenta Ant.*

manibiis in capitolio et in aede divi iu[ll]i et in aede Apollinis et in  
aede vestae et in templo martis ultoris consacRAVI·Quae MIHI·CON  
stiterunt sestertium circiter milliēns.ϕauri coronari PONDO·TRI  
ginta et quinque millia municipiis et colonis italiae CONFERENTIBVS·  
ad triumpho[s] meos quintum consul remisi et postea QVOTIENS·CVMQVE  
imperator a[pp]ellatus sum aurum coronarium non ACCEPI·DECERNENTI  
bus municipiis et coloni[s] aequ[e] benig[ne] adque antea DECREverant.

22 t[e]r munus gladiatorum dedi·Meo nomine et quinqVIENS·filioru[m]·ME[O]  
rum aut n[e]potum nomine·QVIBUS muneribus depugNAVERu[n]t homINV[M]

ci[r]citer decem mILLia[ϕ]BIS·[AT]H[le]tarum undique accITORVM spec[TA]C[VLV]  
[m] po[pulo] prae[bui] meo]·NOMINE·ET·TERTium nepo[tis]mei NOMINE· / I[u]DOS  
feci m[eo] no[m]ine] QVATER[ϕ]aL[IO]RV[VM]·Autem m[agist]ratu[VM]·VICEM·TER·ET·VI

cie[ns] ϕ pr[o] conLEGIO· x̄v VIRORu[m] magis[ter] conL[E]GI]·COLLEG[A]·M·  
ag[rippa] [ϕ] lud[os] s[ae]CL[ARE]s c. furnio·c·[s]ilano cos[eci]. c[ON]SVL·XIII·]LVDOS·

*finis paginae*

*incipit altera pagina*

MAR[tia]les p[ri]mus feci·QV[OS]·P[ost] id tempus deincep[s] ins[eq]uen[ti]bus  
[ANN]is [fecERVNT co[n]su]les[ϕ] [ven]at[i]o[n]es] best[ia]rum afri-  
CANarum meo nomine AVT filio[rum] meorum et nepotum in ci[r]co aut  
[i]n foro aut in amphit[heat]ris popul[o] d[edi] sexiēns et viciēns, quibus con-  
Fecta sunt bestiarum CIRCiter tria m[ill]ia et quingentae.

- 23 navalis proeli spectaclum popvLO de[di tr]ans tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est  
caesarum cavato [SOLO]·IN longitudinem mille et octingentos pedes, in latitudine[m]  
[mille]e[t]ducentos, in quo trIGINta rostratae naves triremes a[ut biREM]es plu-  
res autem minores inter se conflixerunt q[ui]bus·IN[CL]assibus  
pugnauerunt praeter remiges millia ho[mi]num tr[ia] circITER· $\delta$   
24 in templis omnium civitatum pr[ovinci]ae asiae victor orNamen  
ta reposui quae spoliatis tem[plis] is] cum quo bellum gesseram pRIVatim  
possederat  $\delta$  statuae [me]le pedestres et equestres et in quadRIGIS·Ar  
genteae steterunt in urbe xxc circiter quas ipse sustuli  $\delta$  ex quE EA PECun  
ia dona·AVrea in aede apol[li]nis MEO nomine et illorum qui mihi STATVa  
rum·HONorem habuerunt POSui  $\delta$   
25 mare PACAVi a praedonibus eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dom  
inis sVIS et arma contra rem publicam ceperant triginta fere mi  
llia capta  $\delta$  dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi.  $\delta$  iuravit in  
mea verba tota italia sponte sua et me be[lli] quo vici ad ACTium  
ducem depoposcit.  $\delta$  iuraverunt in eadem ver[ba] prov[er]v galliAE·His  
paniae africae sicilia sardinia  $\delta$  qui sub [signis] meis tum] mili  
taverint fuerunt senatores plures quam septingenti in ii[s] qui]  
[vel antea vel pos]tea consules facti sunt ad eum diem quo scripta su[n]t haec]  
[lxxxiii] sacerdo]tes Ci[RC]i]ter clxx  $\delta$   
26 omnium prov[inci]arVM·POPuli romani] quibus finitimae fue  
runt gentes qVAE n[on] parent imperio nos]tro fines auxi galli  
as et hispanias provincia[s] et germaniam qua inclu]dit ocea  
nus a gadibus ad ostium albis flum[inis] pacair alpes a religi  
one ea quae proxima est hadriano mari [ad tuscum paca  
[ri] fec]i nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato  $\delta$  cla[ssis] mea]  
[per oceanum] ab ostio rheni ad solis orientis regionem us  
que ad fi[n]es cimbroru]m navigaVIT  $\delta$  quo neque terra ne

que mari quisquam romanus aNT·ID·Tempus adit  
 cimbrique et charydes et semnones et eiusdem tractus a  
 lii germanorum popu[li]i per legatos amicitiam meam et po  
 puli romani petierunt meo iussu et auspicio ducti sunt  
 [duo] exercitus eodem fere tempore in aethiopiam et in ar[ab]iam  
 quae appel[latur] eudaemon [maxim]aeque hos[tium] gentis utr  
 [ius]que copiae caesae sunt in acIE·Et [c]om[plur]a oppida capta [ ]

*finis paginae*

*incipit nova pagina*

in aethioPIAM usque ad oppidum nabata pervent[um] est, cui proxIMA  
 est meroE·INARABIAM usque in fines sabaeorum pro[cess]it exerCS  
 ad oppIDVM·MARIBA

27 aegyptVM·IMPERIO populi romani adiei  
 terfeCTO REGE·eius artaxe  
 lui m[ai]oRum nostrorum exemplo regnum id tigrani regis art  
 avasis filio nepoti autem tigranis regis per ti neronem trad[e]  
 [r]e qui tum mihi privignus erat et eandem gentem postea d[e]  
 [sc]iscentem et rebellantem domitam per gaium filium meum regi  
 ario[barz]ani regis medorum artaba[zi] filio regendam tradidi  
 et post eius mortem filio·Ejus artavasdi, quo interfecto tigrane  
 qui erat ex regio genere ARMENIORUM oriundus in id regnum misi  
 provincias omnis quae TRANS hadrianum mare vergunt ad orien  
 tem cyrenasque iam ex parte·MAGNA regibus eas possidentibus et .nt  
 ea siciliam et sardiniam OCCV[Pat]as bello servili reciperavi

*desunt fragmenta Ant.*

29 signa militaria complura per alios duces amissa devictis hostibus·RE  
ciperavi ex hispania et gallia et a Dalmateis parthos iii exercitum RO  
manorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam POPVli  
romani petere coegi δ ea autem signa in penetrali quod est in templo·MAR  
tis ultoris reposui

30 pannoniūrum gentes qual[s] ante me principem populi romani exercitus  
nunQVAM ad[i]t, devictas per ti [ne]ronem qui tum erat privignus et legatus  
meus IMPERIO populi romani s[ub]ieci protulique fines illyrici ad r[ip]lam fl-  
umiNis dan[u]i

*desunt fragmenta Ant.*

31 ad me ex in[di]a regum legationes saepe missae sunt nunquam ante visae  
apud qu[em]q[uam] r[omanorum] du[ce]m δ nostram AM[icitiam] petierunt  
per legat[os] b[abyloniae] scythae[que] et sarmatarum Q[ui]·Sunt citra flu[m]en  
tanaim [et] ultra reges, albanorumque rex et hiber[orum] et medorum  
32 ad me supplices confugerunt reges parthorum tiridates ET postea phrates  
regis phratis[us] FILius δ, medorum [artavasdes, adiabonorum] a[r]taxa  
res britann[orum]·VM·Dumnobellau[nus] et tin[commius] sugambr[orum]  
maelo δ mar[c]omANorum sueborum[us] . . . . . rus ad me rex parthorum  
phrates orod[i]s filius filios suos nepot[es]que omnes misit in italiam  
non bello superatu[s] sed amicitiam nostram per [liberorum] suorum  
pignora petens δ plurimaeque aliae gentes·EXper[tae] sunt populi romani  
fidem me principe quibus antea cum POPVlo roman[o] nullum extite[re]  
[ra]t legationum et amicitiae [com]meRCIVM δ

33 a me gentes parthorum et medorum per legatos principes earum gen  
tium reges pet[it]os acceperunt par[thi] vononem regis phr[atis] filium



*desunt fragmenta Ant.*

inscriptionem ꝫ post id temp[us praestiti omnibus dignitate potes-]  
[t]atis aut[em] n[on]hilo amplu[s] habui quam qui fuerunt m[i]hi quo-  
que in m[ag]is[tra]t[u] conlegae.

- 35 tertium dec[im]um consulu[m] cum gerebam, senatus et equ[us]TER Ordo  
populusq[ue] romanus universus [appellavit me patrem p]atriae IDque  
in vestibulo aledium mearum inscriben[dum] esse ET·INCURIA e[st] in f-  
oro augusti sub quadrigis quae mihi [ex] S·C·Pos[itae] sunt  
[decrevit cum scri]psi haec, annum AGEbam septuagensi[mum] sextum  
1 summa pecun[i]ae quam ded[it] in aeraRVM vel plebei romanae vel di[m]is-  
sis militibus denarium sexiens milliens

*incipit nova pagina?*

- 2 opera fecit nova ꝫ aedem mARTis, iovis tonantis et feretri, apollinis

*desunt fragmenta Ant.*

- 4 impensa p[rae]stita in spect[acul]a scaenica et munera] gladiatorum at-  
[que] athletas et venationes et nau[M]ACH[iam] et donata pe[c]unia [oppidis]  
[in] provinciis coloniisque in ITALIA ter[rae] motu incendioque con-  
sumpt[is] a[ut] viritim] a[m]iCISsenat[oribus]que quorum census ex-  
plevit, inn[u]mera[bili]s.

9. The initial letter is preserved here and in par. 16: the arrangement is as in *Anc.* The length of the first line favours Mommsen's restoration *suscipi* (54 letters) in preference to Diehl's *suscipere* (56 letters), though not decisively. The exact position in the line of the small fragment of the last two lines is not certain: this fragment contains also an accent which belongs to the first line of the following paragraph. I conjecture that this accent fell on *includsum*, which would fix the position of the small fragment. As arranged, the third line of the paragraph seems rather short (42 letters; next is 48); but similar variations in length are assured in *Anc.* as well as in the other parts of *Ant.* In the third line of the paragraph the spelling was perhaps *quattuor*, not *quatuor* as in *Anc.* as that tends towards greater uniformity. The exigencies of type-setting necessitate a broader space wherever an accent has to be indicated. In the original text the accents are indicated by a line which approximates more to horizontal, while in the type the accent is placed at an angle nearer to perpendicular.

10. It is probable that s.c. was written in *Ant.* (as in paragraph 35), not *senatus consulto* as in *Anc.*; but this is only conjectural, as the evidence is insufficient to give certainty in respect of line arrangement. Only one very small fragment of four lines remains, but this fragment falls wholly in a part where *Anc.* fails; and no restoration yet proposed seems to suit the traces. Counting according to Diehl's printed text the letters per line indicated by the intervals between the parts of the fragment, I find three lines of 48, 56, and 44. The differences seem suspiciously great: inserting *idem* (as might be proposed), the numbers are 48, 56, and 48, which might pass. Mommsen's *cepi id* suits the numbers, but traces of imperfect letters do not suit. The s of *sanctum* falls in the proper place, but the letter before it was apparently m or a: accordingly (as Professor Reid suggests) I have printed *per legem*, instead of *lege*.<sup>1</sup> *Habuerat* (Bormann) is confirmed against *habuit* (Mommsen); also *locum* and *mortuo*; but the broken letter following *mortuo* is part of a p or r or f or d, not q. This confirms Reid's suggestion *demum tumultus occasione*, in support of which he quotes Suet. *Aug.* 31, *mortuo demum suscepit*. On the other hand *recusavi* (Mommsen) is confirmed against Reid's doubt.

15. The ends of the lines may be gathered approximately from the two last fragments; in one *dedi* stands over an unwritten space, viz. the blank latter part of the last line of the paragraph. This implies a different arrangement of the lines in *Ant.* from *Anc.* The other fragment occupied a corresponding place in the line (assured by containing a scrap of the first line of paragraph 16).

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. E. Sandys notes that this is a very rare construction, *lege* being much more common; but that the evidence compels us to accept *per*

*legem* and to assume that this construction was directly due to Augustus himself (in which opinion Professor J. S. Reid agrees).

16. The arrangement of the lines is given by the first fragment : the lines are shorter by about five letters than in *Anc.* ; and this number seems to suit generally in the earlier part of *Ant.* (not, however, in par. 8 f). The other fragments in this paragraph fix the arrangement of lines throughout almost perfectly. The spelling *milliens* occurs twice, not *miliens*.

17. One fragment runs through the last two lines of 16 and all lines of 17 but the last. Notice *consulibus* in full, where *Anc.* has *cos.* The lines in this paragraph must have agreed nearly with *Anc.* in length.

20. The only fragment fixes the first four lines, which are shorter than *Anc.* in the usual ratio : AQV might be read MQV and come four letters later ; but this would not suit the arrangement of lines. *Rivum*, not *rivom*, in *Anc.*

21. The arrangements of lines is assured from the fifth onwards by one large fragment, containing the ends of lines in 21 and 22, and also the end of a *pagina*. After *consacravi*, *Anc.* has a punctuation stop (indicated in this and other printed texts by §), but *Ant.* has only a dot indicating the end of a word. The *i* of *consacravi* is taller than the surrounding letters, which is equivalent to an accent (as Mommsen says) ; *sestertium* must have been written in full in *Ant.* : HS *Anc.*

22. The arrangement of the lines is assured throughout. Notice

<i>quinqüens</i>	<i>Ant.</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>quinqüens</i>	<i>Anc.</i>
<i>spectaculum</i>	„ <sup>2</sup>	<i>spectaclum</i>	„ (restoration)
xv or <i>quindecim</i>	„ <sup>3</sup>	<i>quindecim</i>	„

In line 4 there is a considerable gap and a punctuation mark. After l. 7 there is a broad unwritten space, and l. 8 begins on a new stone. This marks the end of a column (*pagina*). In l. 9 there is abundant room for one or more words, which have nothing clearly corresponding with them in the Greek. Editions of *Anc.* leave a gap here.

The fragment containing MEO and PO seemed at first to suit the third and second lines from the end of this paragraph ; but in transcribing the paragraph I found that PO could not be brought under ME without the impossible supposition that *filiorum* was abbreviated to FIL'M : subsequently the proper place for this fragment was found in the end of par. 24. The end of a column is clearly marked at l. 7, and the beginning of a new column is also indicated at l. 8. This also is the only case in which one fragment continues another without the loss of any letter.

23. The length of lines 8 and 9 (68 and 63 letters) makes it probable that some of the numbers were denoted by symbols (or at least that *et* was omitted in each). In that case *est* should be trans-

<sup>1</sup> So here ; but *quingenties* 16.

<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful whether *m* was omitted, or left over to the next line.

<sup>3</sup> The space seems broad for xv, but narrow for *quindecim* in full.

ferred from 1 to 2. The relation of this paragraph to the last line of 22 and the first of 24 is determined by two fragments.

24. The fragment of four lines near the right-hand edge was either the first or the second which we found. I read it that day correctly RIGIS .A. Frequently there are horizontal or inclined lines at the top and bottom of 1, projecting some distance to the right, making 1 liable to be mistaken for E. Very early on the following morning, looking at this fragment again, I misread it REGIS, and the idea occurred to me that there was a reference here to King Amyntas, and I guessed that it must be a fragment of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. The suggestion was in fact wrong from every point of view (as Amyntas is not mentioned), except that it was next day proved right in the main inference. I sent hurriedly a copy of this fragment to Professor Dessau, with the suggestion that we had found an Antiochene copy of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. The same morning, during our absence, a thief entered the tent, and this fragment disappeared: I knew that some person entered, because he moved my aneroid and evidently opened the case; and his curiosity led him to move the dial-plate a little (destroying my reckoning of an altitude). Presumably, the unwelcome visitor took away this scrap of stone. No copy of it exists except that made for Professor Dessau (who kindly sent me back his own transcript, correcting to RIGIS). Now this copy seems to indicate that the block ends at an interval of nearly two lines below STARV. On the other hand the fragment A.AV at the left side shows that paragraphs 24 and 25 are continuous on one block. There seem to be only two alternatives. (1) I erred here: In the dawn of day I had only a hasty glance at the stone, and dashed off a hurried letter stating the idea which suddenly occurred about the *Res Gestae*. In the copy of a copy which remains alone at my disposal, the indication of the bottom of the block is different from that which I adopted in copying later fragments, and may perhaps have been intended simply to draw Professor Dessau's attention emphatically to the unwritten space that remains below owing to the shortness of the last line of this paragraph. (2) The fragment A.AV. etc. does not belong here, which, however, seems an absolutely inadmissible hypothesis. Probably the scrap will be brought to us for sale in 1915, when the doubt will be settled.<sup>1</sup>

25. The fragments are few, and the arrangement of the lines is far from certain here and in 26. At the beginning l. 1 is about four letters shorter than in *Anc.*; and this suits with the last line, which is fixed by its relation to the first line of par. 26.

26. The position and reading of the fragment *vi* and *nt-id-t*

<sup>1</sup> This hope, written in July, 1914, is left standing as a protest against the absurd and ruinous war which was forced on Europe.

which I have placed in ll. 8, 9, are uncertain; *ium*, or *num*, or *nua* is more probable on the copy than *vi*, and the stop between *ant(e)* and *id* is contrary to analogy; but *Anc.* reads *ante-id-tempus* with stops marked. The easiest supposition is that I misread the very small fragments of *i* before *v* and of *A* or *M* after it; but the easiest supposition is not always right. My copy, however, was only preliminary to a complete copy of all fragments, which was to be finally made, but was prevented by the action of the provincial governor.

*Anc.* has *apellatur* in l. 14. After *capta* at end of l. 15 a sentence stop (not in *Anc.*) is inserted conjecturally to fill the space. If the small fragment *IE·E* is rightly placed in this paragraph, there followed after l. 15 the end of a *pagina*; and that supposition is definitely proved correct by a fragment of the following line 16, which is clearly the beginning of a new *pagina*.

A fragment containing parts of the last three lines of 26 and of the first three of 27 is marked as the beginning of a new *pagina*,<sup>1</sup> and also assures the general arrangement of the lines. When these are written accordingly, the rather puzzling fragment close to the right-hand end of the second and third last lines becomes clear. The second last line ended with *exercitus*, while *xim* belongs to the word *proxima* which ended the third last line. It is therefore evident that *exercitus* was written in abbreviation as indicated in the text.

The question will be raised why we speak about columns or *paginae* and do not consider that the whole inscription was written on one wall covering a series of stones placed one above the other? There are many honorary inscriptions at Antioch which indubitably were written on a wall and extend over several stones. Why then do we not admit the possibility that this was the case with the great inscription? The reason is clear from a consideration of the depth of the edge that remains unwritten at the end of the *pagina* in 22 and here. If the inscription continued on a new stone immediately underneath the last preceding line there would remain an awkward gap between the two lines. There is no reason to think that in any of the honorary inscriptions written on a wall such a gap was left. It is evident that reaching the foot of a *pagina* the engraver had no need to consider the amount of space that remained to the bottom of the stone, because the next line was placed in a new column.

27. Two fragments remain of this paragraph showing approximately the arrangement of the first three and the last five lines. The intermediate lines must be four in number, because to arrange the text in either three or five is impossible. Thus the entire paragraph is fixed. The fragment at the end has its surface very

<sup>1</sup> In the facsimile the line above *PIAM* should be marked strongly and clearly, indicating the top

edge of the stone. Above *xim* the edge is not certain, as the fragment is small and broken.

much broken. There can be hardly any doubt that 28 continued on the same stone and in the same *pagina*, because the break at the bottom is sharp and hardly admits the possibility that the bottom of a stone was only half an inch further down.

If measurements had been made in the fragments of 22 and 27 we might have been able to calculate the exact breadth of each *pagina*, but unfortunately the work was interrupted in the middle by the arbitrary action of the provincial governor,<sup>1</sup> and during the last few days of the work, while we were finding these fragments, our whole attention had to be devoted to the search for them (only making a first copy of each scrap), and further work was postponed until the discovery of fragments should cease. When, however, the work was stopped, we had a first copy of each piece, made as it was found.

29. There are only two small fragments of this paragraph, one containing the end of the first two lines, the other containing letters close to the end of the third and fourth lines. It is quite possible that these may have actually fitted on to one another, but it is impossible to verify this now.

The second fragment in this paragraph shows a blank space of considerable depth underneath, proving (1) that the last line of this paragraph was short, (2) that this was not the end of a *pagina*, because the scrap finishes with a broken edge at the bottom, and therefore was part of the stone on which 30 was engraved.

30. There is only a small fragment containing parts of three lines of this paragraph, but it is sufficient to furnish an approximate arrangement for the whole.

31. The only remaining fragment, which extends into par. 32, seems to suit the arrangement of lines in *Anc.*

32. Two names have been lost in *Anc.* (Greek and Latin).<sup>2</sup> Perhaps some of the unidentified fragments should be placed here. The last fragment contains an accent belonging to the line below [*comme*]rcium, and the probable place for it is on *legátos*. The fragments are not sufficient to fix the arrangement except in an approximate fashion; but they permit an approximation.

34. The fragment common to 34 and 35 is satisfactory, though at first sight it seemed puzzling and obscure, as the top line stands over an unwritten space, below which come two lines of writing. After the fragment had been identified, it became clear that  $\eta\iota$  in

<sup>1</sup> There still remained some days of the time specified in our permit; but perhaps the Vali might justify his action by the plea that the years should be counted as lunar, not as solar, in which case the irade had lapsed.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. E. Sandys on 22nd Nov. 1917, read before the Cambridge Philological Society a paper on the restoration of the lacunae in this paragraph, showing

that the Supplement (1890) to Sir John Evans's *British coins* (1864), supported by other new evidence, confirmed his preference for Tincommius as the true restoration of the text. This evidence (naturally unknown to Mommsen in his edition of 1883) has not been taken into consideration by more recent editors or commentators on the text of *Anc.* This paper has been published in the *Num. Chron.*, 1918.

the top line stood over the empty space at the end of the last line of 34 (which is short).

35. The fragments permit an approximation to the arrangement of lines. Below the last fragment (which is common to 35 and app. 1) is a high unwritten space reaching down to the second line beneath (if that line had been engraved). The first unwritten line in this space corresponds to the last (i.e. second) line of app. 1, and the second line should therefore be the first line of app. 2. Therefore, either app. 2 was separated by an unusually broad space from app. 1, or a column ends with app. 1. The former supposition is not per-

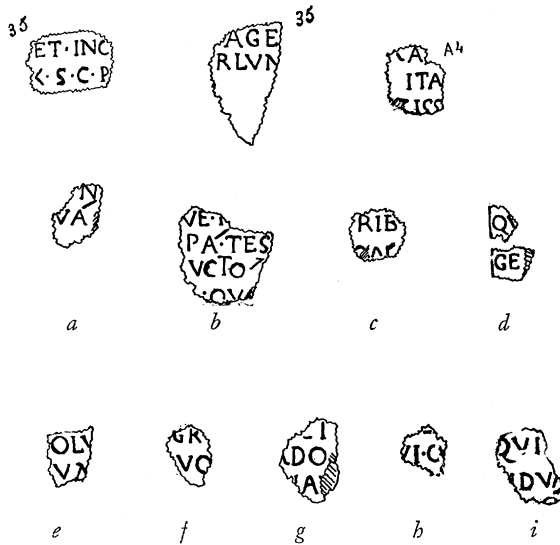


FIG. 12. MON. ANTIOCHENVM  
(paragraphs 35, 36, App. 4, and unplaced fragments.)

missible, inasmuch as app. 1 is placed close to par. 35; and we may assume provisionally that a new column (*pagina*) began with app. 2; and then a tiny fragment of the first line of a column, containing the letters ART, finds a suitable place here.<sup>1</sup> In the facsimile L is put instead of I.

At first I tried to place the fragment common to 35 and app. 1 in par. 12, reading *mageistratus* above *anniversarivm*, and closing a column there. But, besides the archaic spelling *mageistratus*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a better place for this fragment may be found. In that case the reason for supposing a new *pagina* here would disappear; and a new

*pagina* would begin at the line to which ART is transferred.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* has *quadrigis* where *Anc.* has *quadrigeis*.



(objectionable in *Ant.*.) it requires far too wide spacing to bring RIVM under AGE. Now, unless we hold fast the rule of spacing, the study of *Ant.* becomes hopeless.

App. 4. The fragment of this paragraph contains part of the gap which editors of *Anc.* from Mommsen to Diehl leave. The Latin does not correspond exactly to the Greek translation, for part of the required word *italia* is preserved, and it proves that the order differed in the Latin from the Greek text (which is preserved). It is remarkable that the Latin mentions provincial towns before Italian, while the Greek mentions the towns in Italy first. The restoration *oppidis* which I have printed is uncertain, for *Anc.* has the apex of an A instead of o, according to Mommsen, whereas Diehl thinks this apex is a punctuation mark. The photograph shows that the surface of *Anc.* is in a bad state here.

If a new column began, as we suppose, with app. 2, it would look very small in comparison with the others. This would be an additional reason for supposing that the appendix in *Ant.* was longer than in *Anc.*; and I would conjecture that most of the unidentified fragments should be placed here. In line 2 of the longest fragment, perhaps *pá* may be taken for *pa(tris)*, on the analogy of *exerc's* (26): then we should have [*ex*] *pa(tris) test[amento]*.

At Professor Dessau's request I sent to Professor Kornemann at Tübingen a complete copy of the text of *Ant.* and also copies of all the small fragments whose place remains uncertain. On 13th July, 1914, the latter wrote me making some suggestions with regard to the latter, putting them forward, as he said, with all reserve as merely first ideas. In regard to one fragment (fig. 12, *i*) there is great probability that he is right. He reads—

exemplar rerum gestarum divi augusti **QV**ibus orbem terrarum  
imperio p.r. subiecit incisarum **INDV**abus aheneis pilis  
quae sunt Romae positae

This is the fragment about which I have a note: 'The spaces between the lines are unusually broad'; and his interpretation, which makes it part of the preface at the beginning of *Anc.* has everything in its favour. I would, however, suppose that the 'preface' was placed in *Ant.* not at the beginning, but at the end of the monument. We seem not to have found as yet anything belonging to the early part of the monument, and therefore should not expect that a part of the prooemium should be preserved.

With regard to the longest of the unallotted fragments Professor Kornemann (independently of a similar idea which occurred to myself)<sup>1</sup> reads *pater testamento*. I prefer my own hypothesis *patris*

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps I may have mentioned to him my conjecture, but I cannot remember.



*testamento* because the unusual contraction seems more explicable in the case of a genitive closely attached to the following word, whereas the nominative *pater*, being the most important word in its surroundings, ought not to be abbreviated. *Pater* is supposed by Kornemann to be used in reference to a citizen of Antioch who erected the monument in honour of the deified Augustus, which his father had in his will ordered to be placed. Here would presumably come two scraps (fig. 12, *f* and *e*) which temptingly suggest in juxtaposition the reading

GRato animo  
VOto sOLVto  
sVA pecunia

He also suggests that two fragments (fig. 12, *g* and *h*) may possibly fit together as follows :—

CIVI Optimo  
DO  
IA

#### APPENDIX I. CAPARCOTNA.

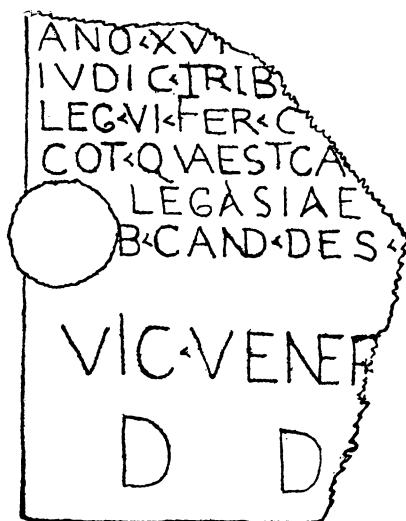
A series of Antiochian inscriptions throws light on an obscure point in the Roman military history of Palestine, and gives me the pleasure of confirming by definite and complete evidence the well-reasoned argument of Professor R. Knox McElderry on this point.

A series of inscriptions was inscribed in honour of Gaius Novius by the vici (probably twelve in number) of the colony. Four are now known: three being published in *C.I.L.* iii, 6814–6816. C. Novius Rusticus was tribune of Legio VI Ferrata, to which is attached in these inscriptions the name CAPAR or CAPARC. As to this name Mommsen in *C.I.L.* iii, 6814, says ‘quid significet nescio,’ but appends a note by Otto Hirschfeld that it denotes a place called Capareae or Caparcae near Laodiceia in the northern part of Syria, as the permanent camp of that Legion.<sup>1</sup> Professor McElderry in the *Classical Review* argued conclusively that this legion could not be stationed so far to the north, and that the station was Caparcotna in Galilee (Ptolemy) on the edge of the plain of Esdraelon. In 1914 we had the good fortune to find a fourth inscription of the

<sup>1</sup> This was wrongly adopted in *Hist. Geogr. A.M.* p. 302. Capersana with bridge over the Euphrates (Amm. 18, 8, 1) and Capharda (south of Antioch, identified by Muralt, *Chron. Byzant.* A.D. 1098

with Cappareas) contain the name Kaper or Kaphar (village). [*Itin. Anton.* has Caperturi between Antioch and Apamea Syr.—J.S.R.]

same class, honouring this Roman official (fig. 13). The text is as follows :—



[C. Novio, C. Novi]  
 [Prisci cos. et Flavoniae]  
 [Menodora f., Ser. Rus-]  
 [tico Venuleio Aproni-]  
 ano x vi[r stlit.  
 iudic. trib. [laticl.  
 leg. vi. Fer. C[apar-  
 cot. quaest. cand-  
 id.] leg. Asiae  
 trib. cand. des.  
 Vic. Vener.  
 D. D.

FIG. 13

INSCRIPTION IN HONOUR OF C. NOVIUS RUSTICUS.

The restoration is beyond doubt. The official's name is almost entirely lost at the beginning, but his identity is sufficiently shown by the fragment that remains of his career, and the scribe in this case was so generous as to give the name of the military station more fully. The restored lines at the beginning were certainly shorter than we print them.

C. Novius Priscus was consul with L. Iulius Romulus in September–October A.D. 152. His mother Flavonia Menodora was evidently a lady of the highest rank in Antioch. The name Flavonius is well known in the later history of the colony, and her cognomen Menodora perhaps indicates some close connexion with the hierarchy and the god Mên, the nature of which cannot be exactly specified, as the old priestly family had been put down by Augustus.<sup>1</sup> It seems not improbable that that family, although deprived by Augustus of the priesthood and the power connected therewith, still survived and gradually recovered a position of great influence in the revived and re-created cult as well as in the colony. The analogy of the priestly families at Iconium supports this hypothesis. It is doubtless as her son that Novius Rusticus was honoured by the (xii ?) divisions

<sup>1</sup> Since the text was printed, I have been tracing the old hieratic families at various Anatolian religious sanctuaries, and feel growing confidence that the suggestion in the text is right. Augustus

did not destroy or impoverish the great priestly dynastic family at Antioch, but merely took from it the chief priesthood, leaving it wealthy and influential in the colony : *J.H.S.* 1918, pp. 146–8.

(*vici*) of the city. His connexion with the family of L. Venuleius Apronianus, consul A.D. 168, was evidently close, but cannot be specified with certainty.<sup>1</sup> The suggestion may be hazarded that the cumulation of names came through adoption, as evidently Novius Rusticus could not inherit the second half of his names from his mother, and apparently the conjunction of names did not occur in the earlier history of the family. The name Rusticus seems to come from neither his father's nor his mother's side, nor from Venuleius. We observe that Fulvius Rusticus Aemilianus governed Galatia at some date not remote from A.D. 155.<sup>2</sup>

It would be interesting if we could determine the circumstances in which a marriage between the Antiochian lady and a member of a Roman senatorial family came about, but this must be left to speculation, as evidence is entirely wanting. The best analogy known is the marriage of Sergia Paulla with Gaius Caristanus Fronto, which took place in all probability while her brother (or possibly her father) was acting as an official in the province, and there can be little doubt that he must have been governor of the province, as there was no other senatorial position for him to occupy. This analogy should not be pressed to the extent that the father of C. Novius Priscus might have governed Galatia and had his son with him, because this would be, though possible, improbable, inasmuch as a son of sufficient age to marry would hardly be likely to accompany his father to a province: he would be engaged either in finishing his education at Rome or in the earlier stages of his own career of office. It is not impossible that Novius Priscus governed Galatia and contracted this marriage during his period of office or immediately on its conclusion. There is also the possibility that Novius Priscus might in his youth have been the 'comes' attached to the person of some governor of the province.

The arrangement of the present inscriptions shows that the restoration of *C.I.L.* iii, 6814, which makes Rusticus into a 'praetor designatus' is incorrect. There is hardly room for the title praetor in that inscription, and here it is evidently impossible.<sup>3</sup> Rusticus was only designated tribune when this series of inscriptions in his honour was composed. This makes it all the more certain that the honour was done to Rusticus entirely in virtue of his parents, particularly his mother, and had nothing to do with his own deserts, for a designate tribune could have no claim to such honour on his own account. Dessau in *Prosop. s.v.* has adopted on this point the unjustifiable restoration of *C.I.L.* On the other hand, Dessau has rightly adopted in his *Index to Inscr. Lat. Selectae* the view that Caparcotna was the standing quarters of the Legion VI Ferrata.

<sup>1</sup> See *Röm. Mitt.* 1891, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> See *Prosop.* where Borghesi's identification of Aemilianus is rejected.

<sup>3</sup> The same is the case in a fifth inscription of this class, Calder in *J.R.S.* ii (1912), no. 40 (see below app. II, no. 40).

## APPENDIX II. CORRIGENDA.

I should take this opportunity of correcting some other errors in *C.I.L.* iii (chiefly the last volume containing the supplements and indices), so far as the province Galatia is concerned. The presence of errors in that work, which is accepted as canonical (generally with good reason), constitutes a danger to scholarship, and it is a duty to rectify them at the earliest opportunity, a duty which I have too long neglected. Mommsen welcomed every correction from any quarter (as he did many suggestions during his life, when the proofs of vol. iii, pp. 1230-1296 were sent to me for revision).

12218. The date given in the margin should probably be 81, not 80 as stated. The date is incautiously fixed from the eighth consulship of Titus, A.D. 80; but the title 'cos. viii' continued to be used until he became cos. ix. The date is fixed by the title 'cos. desig. viiii.' The double dating is certain here,<sup>1</sup> and Mommsen accepts it, though he refuses it and alters it to 'cos. vii des. viiii' in 6732 (Cyprus). In the note on 4, *hiatus post* is a slip for *hiatus ante*: my copy, which I sent to Mommsen, is clear. In 1908 Miss Ramsay and I recopied the milestone, and in the '*hiatus ante* PP' we read ii, making the text 'Imp. xvii.' The composer of the inscription seems to have supposed that Titus and Domitian were in 81 designated consuls for the following year 82.

6813. The name of this legatus was [L. Cosso]nius, which is given in an inscription copied by me at Konia in 1914.

6885. The note on Voconius Saxa is correct but incomplete. In the index, however, Saxa is wrongly given as *legatus Aug.* of the province Galatia. He was legatus of Lycia-Pamphylia; and Comama was in that part of Pisidia which was in A.D. 74 disjoined from Galatia and given to Pamphylia: this part extended north at least to the lofty mountain ridge between Sagalassus and Baris. Whether Baris and the valley of Baris and Seleucia also were, like Sagalassos, included in Pamphylia remains still doubtful: the only authority is Ptolemy, who includes them, but, as he also includes Talbonda (which is false), his authority is doubtful.<sup>2</sup> The *Prosopogr.* has not erred on this matter.

12144. Read after Bademli, 'duabus horis a Bey Sheher ubi.'

12145. Anderson and I read 'mutulos' in 1912, thus confirming O. Hirschfeld's conjecture.

14186. Read Co(lonia) for Co(manis). See above, p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> We verified it in 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy was confused by employing two authorities and not comprehending rightly their

relation to each other. He actually gives Antioch twice, in Galatia and in Pamphylia, though C. Müller cuts out the latter.

While correcting errors, it is necessary to set our own house of Galatia in order. Several misprints in my article in *Annual Brit. School Ath.* 1912 will be readily corrected by any reader. In Calder's article in *J.R.S.* ii (1912) the following notes are needed :

In no. 8, l. 3, the name may be Chrysogallos ; but, as we were most careful here, I believe that the original Anatolian form gyallos was represented as *Ιαλλος*. *Γιαλς* is a name in the list of Korykian priests.

In no. 10 Calder and I, in 1913, made out the first line *ποταμοῖο π[αρώ]ννμος* : for ΠΙ in the epigraphic text read Π (broken off in the middle).

In no. 14 I read *Πομπωνίας Μαρύλλας* in 1913, and verified this in 1914.

In no. 25 we doubt the restoration of the cognomen of L. Gellius Polyistor. The text is very faint, and these lines at the beginning baffled the united efforts of Anderson, Calder and myself on several occasions.

In no. 26 we should read *Αἴλιος Κασσιανὸς [Σ]εβ. ἀπελεύθερ[ος] Αἰλίῳ Νομίῳ ἀπελευθέ[ρω] κτλ.* Calder states convincingly the arguments against his own restoration. There is a confusion in the engraver's mind between the two occurrences of the term 'freed-man' : in the first he writes a small *ω* (in place of *ος*) over the last letter *ρ* : in the second he has C after Θ, and does not conclude the word (probably C is a mark of abbreviation).

In no. 27 we should date the Latin at a different period from the Greek. The column was an older one, perhaps re-used as a Christian grave-stone.

In no. 34 the dotted letters were merely restorations in my copy (the only one), made to show the probable course of the inscription. Pau[llino] is only highly probable, not certain as represented in the transcription.

No. 38 should be restored as follows (Calder and I found the remaining half in 1913) : C. Carrinati|C. F. Ser. dec.|ex testamento|et|L. Iulio L. F. Gal.|Turro dec. eq.|ex test. C. Carrinatis|fratris eius. The two parts are on separate stones : the lower stone is incomplete at top. The lettering is early. Iulius Turrus was adopted into a family of the earliest coloni of tribe Gal. and of equestrian rank.

No. 40 should be restored as one of the group of honorary dedications to C. Novius Rusticus by the vici of Antioch : we have Cermalus, Venerius, and two from which the vicus has been lost.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that no. 40 may be the conclusion of 6815. On them see appendix I.

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* iii, 6815, 6816.

In no. 42 Calder on revision read P for I : restore as dedication to an emperor [P]ontif[ici maximo—t]ribunic[iae potes|t]atis cos.], erected by [L.]Calpu[rnius Frugi (?)<sup>1</sup> The emperor was Tiberius, and the dedicator was the legatus of Galatia, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (who is to be read in *C.I.G.* 3990, which can be restored with almost complete certainty : on 3990 see *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 174). In 1914 I had the opportunity of recopying this inscription, confirming Calder's revised text, but believing at the moment that I had found an unpublished piece of evidence.

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* iii, 6831.



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A Noble Anatolian Family of the Fourth Century

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Classical Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1/2 (Feb. - Mar., 1919), pp. 1-9

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [The Classical Association](#)

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# The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1919

## ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

### A NOBLE ANATOLIAN FAMILY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

THE two following inscriptions were intended to form part of an article in the forthcoming number of *J.H.S.*, which however became too long. Taken in conjunction, they offer a glimpse into the life of one of those great Anatolian provincial families on whose importance in the development of Byzantine Asia Minor I have for many years been collecting information from scattered and inadequate sources. In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, 1895 (republished and much enlarged in *Pauline and Other Studies in Religious History*, p. 376 ff.), and again in *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 187 ff., some facts are collected bearing on the family system, the household life, the great mansions (τετραπύργια<sup>1</sup>) in which they lived, and the architectural character of those buildings. The typical figures exemplifying the influence of those great landed families on Christian organisation are Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, who show the effect which the possession of money with the possibility of education at one of the great universities produced in a remote part of Cappadocia. Gregory Nyssen, the brother of Basil, exemplifies the way in which a less able member of such a family looked down on certain members of the Christian Church, sprung from humbler origin and struggling for a livelihood. I have not been struck with any sign that the same contempt for the vulgar was shown or felt by the greater personalities of Basil and Nazianzen; but I speak from very insufficient knowledge. Gregory Nyssen, however, incidentally illustrates

the attention that was given to Christian education during that century (see *Pauline and Other Studies* etc., p. 373 f.).

A proof that the facts seen in the families of Basil and the Gregories were not confined to one part of the country is furnished in the two following inscriptions, which show the standard of education in an Antiochian family of high social standing, and confirm the inferences drawn many years ago from a study of the letters of the three Cappadocian Fathers. These inscriptions also add further information, wholly unexpected, with regard to the origin of some such families. It has become more and more clear, as the study of social and family life in early and Byzantine Anatolia progresses, that the great priestly families of the pagan period frequently survived through the centuries in possession of influence and considerable wealth, and on the whole deserving this position, so far as the evidence goes, by their character. In the fourth century, to judge from the evidence here presented, some at least of those families became Christian, and yet preserved their old quality and their social eminence. When we consider further the signs of the deterioration of education during the fifth century (as e.g. when a bishop at the Council of Constantinople in 449 was obliged to employ a friend to sign for him because he was ignorant of letters, and yet was considered qualified to make laws for the universal Church<sup>2</sup>), we must ask what was the reason why such deterioration on the Central Plateau became widespread. Another

<sup>1</sup> See also *C.B.Phr.* II. p. 419 f., and Rostovtsev *Stud. z. Gesch. d. Kolonates*, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> *H.G.A.M.* p. 92.



trace of this deterioration appears in the biography of St. Hypatius (*A.A.S.S.* June, IV., p. 249).

That subject is not one to enter upon in publishing two inscriptions. I mention that, while many factors contributed to it, one important cause lay in the terrible massacre by Diocletian, which was perhaps worst in the central parts of Asia Minor (especially in Phrygia, where one Christian city was burned with its entire population, a fact vouched for on the highest contemporary evidence, but discredited by the determinedly ignorant scepticism of some modern authorities). Massacre is a dangerous weapon. Not merely does it always produce a deteriorating effect of profound significance on the authors and agents of the massacre, but also sometimes, when it is carried sufficiently far, it eliminates the best elements in the body which suffers massacre, and does away with that tendency to generous liberality and enlightened toleration which are required as a sweetening influence in social life: the survivors of the massacre are made hard and intolerant, even when enough of them survive to preserve corporate life and unity (*C.B.Phr.* II. pp. 505 ff.).

The inscriptions belong to about 340-380.<sup>1</sup>

### I.

This is the epitaph on C. Calpurnius Collega Macedo, who died at the age of thirty, and was buried by his father. He was a member of the *curia* of Pisidian Antioch and the representative of an eminent and wealthy family, possessing the Roman citizenship since about A.D. 72, and clinging to the *civitas* as a mark of old family dignity even when the devotion to the Roman system of personal nomenclature was weakened and disappearing around. This inscription was found at Pisidian Antioch, in the courtyard of a house in Yalowadj. It was copied by Calder and me in 1912, and again by me in 1914. The right-hand side is broken, and about

nine or ten letters are lost at the end of each line. The surface is worn and even broken in parts; and the lettering is very faint in some places, but on the whole the text is certain, except in 9 and at the ends of lines. It is therefore unnecessary to print an epigraphic text, as type never satisfactorily represents any difficult point. The inscription is correct and free from ligatures, in the ordinary rounded form of letters.

- Γ'. Καλπ. Κολληγαν Μακεδόνα βουλευτήν ἄνδρα  
ἀξιόλο[γον ἥρωα ?  
ὅς ἐγένετο ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ ὡς φησιν ὁ ἀρχα[ίος ?  
ποιητής ?  
ῥήτορα ἐν τοῖς δέκα Ἀθηναίων πρώτοις κλ[ῆρον  
ἐχόντα ?  
4 φιλόσοφον τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σωκράτους ἐτι αἰρού-  
μενον ?  
ἀρχιατρὸν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις τὰ Ἰπποκράτους.  
τολμήσαντα ?  
γενόμενον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας . .  
θεοῦ προνοία καὶ ἱερῶν ἀγγέλων συνοδία μετέτικ-  
σαντα  
8 εἰς [ο]ύραν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, θάπτον ἢ ἔδει τοὺς  
γ[ε]ναιμένους ?  
καταλιπόντα, τὸν [πῆλ]λο[ν] χ[ι]τῶνα ἐνταυθοὶ περι-  
δυσάμενον,  
κατασκευάσας τὸ ἥρῳον τῷ γλυκντάτῳ καὶ πολ[υ]θινο-  
τάτῳ  
καὶ [θεοφιλεσ]τάτῳ τέκνῳ Γ'. Καλπούρμιος Μ[ακεδών].

1. *βουλευτής* was used at Antioch in the fourth century as corresponding to *curialis*, and did not imply that the old Hellenistic *βουλή* had been substituted for the *Curia* of the Colonia. The use of *hero* and *heroön* in 1 and 10 is quite consistent with Christian origin: *heroön* is frequently mentioned in the early Christian inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries (see Waddington on Lebas III. No. 2145: *C. B. Phr.* II. pp. 387, 518). The superlative degree in the final adjective *ἀξιολογώτατον* might be substituted for *ἥρωα*, but it can hardly be justified, as a *curialis* had not the superlative title.

2. In 1914 I copied APXAP or APXAIP (last letter doubtful); but *ἀρχα[ίος]* (suggested by Mr. Lobel) seems a probable correction. I submitted the line to Sir J. E. Sandys, who replied by return of post that, if we assume the restoration as printed, 'the poet' is necessarily Homer, that the original probably contained not *pās* but *παντοῖος*, and that therefore the line was *Iliad* XV. 641, τοῦ γένετ' ἐκ πατρὸς πολλὸν χείρονος νῖος ἀμείνων

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor A. W. Mair for many suggestions, most of which I have adopted: also, as usual, my debt to Professor W. M. Calder is great.

παντοίας ἀρετάς. We had ἀρχάν[γελος] in mind at first, seeking some Christian reference, but in 1914 I convinced myself that N was not on the stone: ἀρχάνγ[ελος] however would be a possible correction of the copy, but I cannot find that any known Christian book connects an archangel with this or a similar saying.

3. The stone has K-Λ: K- is frequently used in local epitaphs for κε, either as a separate word κ(αί), or as a syllable, but this epitaph seems to avoid such devices as uneducated: therefore I take the mark after K as accidental. I had thought of the meaning 'who acquired fame as an orator on the same rank with the ten leading orators of the Athenians,' restoring at the end a participle like κλ[εόμενον], but κλ[ήρου ἔχοντα] or κλ[ηρονόμον] (A.W.M.) seems preferable. It seems feasible to take the preposition ἐν in this sense. Calder suggests κέ[Αντιοχέων], but I dislike κέ.

4. ἐτι α[ίρουμενον], 'still choosing as a follower the teaching of the old philosophers,' is perhaps possible: it is defended by αἵρεσις, a philosophic sect or school, and preserves the normal length of the line: ἐτι ἀκολουθοῦντα with accusative instead of the usual dative is defended by a quotation in L.S. from Menander, and the accusative is an easy variant from dative in the article neuter plural. We saw no reason to doubt the reading ETI; but TI and Π are hardly distinguishable on a broken surface: ἐπαγγελόμενον, 'professed,' would give good sense, but is rather long: ἐπακολουθοῦντα (A.W.M.) would also suit well, but is no shorter.

5. I supposed that the concluding participle was το[λμώντα], 'venturing to do (or imitate) a thing' (usually with infinitive or participle), but this is rather short, and not wholly satisfactory. Calder suggested τε[λοῦντα], but this also is short, and in 1914 I felt confident that O (broken), not E, was on the stone (which is well preserved here at the edge of the break). το[λμήσαντα] would be of the right length. (σ)το[ιχήσαντα] (A.W.M.) (assuming haplo-

graphy) appears most probable.<sup>1</sup> It is common in the N.T. and papyri (where it takes the dative); the use of the accusative is no real objection, as similar variation occurs with other verbs, e.g. ἀκολουθεῖν, παρακολουθεῖν.

6-8. 'Living among men thirty years and [twelve] days, through the providence of God and in the convoy of the holy angels changing his home to heaven from among men, leaving his parents more quickly than was right, putting off the mantle of clay (to consign it) to this place.' The precise statement of the age of the deceased is a common and widespread Christian custom, which hardly occurs in pagan epitaphs. In the present case the months are omitted, showing that the deceased had exceeded thirty years by less than a month. Similarly in the well-known Christian inscription found in the catacombs dated by the Consuls of A.D. 237 (one of them incorrectly named) the dead child was eight years and a few days old: he had been sick for a hundred and twelve days, and the long anxiety of the parents nursing him from hour to hour is expressed in counting the time by days alone. The passage is definitely Christian, after a well-established type. The phraseology in 9 is evidently Christian, and the allusion to the 'Providence of God' occurs in Lycaonia during the fifth century. Hence 7 and 9 are restored with Christian touches. The cumulation of endearing adjectives at the end is common in Christian epitaphs; it is of course not confined to them, but I remember nothing so extreme on any pagan stone as is here the case.

7. The allusion to the angels accompanying the departed spirit to heaven perhaps alludes to the subject of a sculpture accompanying the epitaph, and if so has a bearing on the development of Christian art. με[τοικήσαντα] (A.W.M.) is right. I had a less typically Christian compound.

<sup>1</sup> The genitive -του is barred out by Σωκράτους above: that form, common in late inscriptions, is below the Greek standard of this epitaph.

8. The lines ended with a word meaning parents; but *γονέας* is too short. Either it was followed by some short word, or perhaps the more poetic term *τοὺς γ[ε]νναμένους* was employed. It is difficult to determine exactly in this inscription the exact number of letters lost at the end, because often a new subject begins in the new line, and there may have been a certain space left free at the end of the preceding line; but in this case, 8-9, there is no break in the sense, and there is no reason to think that an unwritten space would be left at the end of 8.

9. Part of the surface is much worn. The adjective before *χιτῶνα* is the difficult point. It seems to begin with an upright stroke, e.g. I or II or Γ: Λ (or A) is the letter before IN. These conditions exclude *λάινον* or *γήινον*. Both in 1912 and in 1914 the reading *πήλινον* seemed most probable, but there seemed bare room for such a long word, and this happened to be in our minds (assuming a Christian idea 'putting off the garment of clay'). On further consideration I abandoned the thought of a Christian idea here, and saw another tag from 'the poet': the writer, who was educated in epic poetry and remembered Homer's expression *λάινον ἔσσο χιτῶνα* about a person who being stoned to death put on a garment of stone, applied this idea to his son, who was buried in a clay (or stone) sarcophagus inside the family mausoleum, and thus clothed himself in a garment of either clay or earth *περι- [δυσάμενον]*; but Professor Mair reconverts me to the former opinion, pointing out that *περιδύω* is commonly used in the sense of 'taking off a garment,' and that this usage, while quite frequent in later Greek, is also employed in good Classical Greek, e.g. Antiphon *Tetr.* I. 2, 5, and Hyperides *Fr.* 263 (Blass) quoted from *Pollux* VIII. 44, and even in *Iliad* XI. 100 (disputed by Dr. Leaf and Mr. Keane, who quote German authority; but probably incorrectly).<sup>1</sup> At any rate, it is admitted

<sup>1</sup> *περιδύω* is rare in the sense of putting on. Professor Mair thinks that it was used of removing the inner garment, *ἀποδύω* of putting off the outer cloak.

that the word in *Iliad*. *l.c.* was commonly understood in the sense of 'taking off'; and this sense was therefore familiar to the composer of this Phrygian epitaph both from Homer and from common usage in later Greek. I therefore recur to the Christian idea that Collega put off from himself the mantle of clay, depositing it in the grave here (*ἐνταυθοῖ*) while he himself changed his home from earth to heaven. At the same time Homer's *περίδυσσε χιτῶνας* might be in the writer's mind, turned to Christian use, probably combined with a vague thought of 2 Cor. V. 3 f.

10-11. The construction is involved. The idea is that C. Calpurnius Macedo, in constructing the tomb for his sweetest and dearest son beloved of god, (did honour to him); and on this unexpressed verb (*ἐκόσμησεν* or *ἐτίμησεν*) depends the whole series of accusatives in 1-9. The expression at the end, retaining a trace of the old pagan idea of the tomb, belongs to the period already indicated, c. 350 A.D.

This inscription presents several features of unusual interest. It is Christian, and its Christianity belongs to the time of freedom, not to the older period of concealment and veiling of religious feeling. It is written in better Greek than was usual in Anatolian, especially Christian, epigraphy, better even than the epitaph of Bishop Eugenios of Laodiceia, which is almost contemporary, and to which it shows various points of analogy.

The writer, father of the deceased, belonged to the old native aristocracy of Antioch, and possessed education and wealth. His education imparts literary quality to the epitaph (which is filled with sympathy for old literature, and yet is thoroughly Christian), and induced him to give his son the best education possible. The fond parent sees in his son a many-sided distinction of excellence, which placed him as an orator on the level of the ten leading famous orators of the Athenians, and as a philosopher made him a professed exponent of the teaching of Plato and Socrates; while as a leading physician he ventured to repeat the achievements

of Hippocrates,<sup>1</sup> both in prescriptions as a physician and in operations as a surgeon. The form of this laudation gives a favourable impression of Christian society in Antioch during the fourth century, when leading Anatolian Christians, such as Basil and Gregory, were studying at the University of Athens.

## II.

This very difficult text, in the outer wall of the mosque at Oerkenez, four hours south-east from Antioch, is published by Sterrett *E.J.* 182 from the copy of the late J. H. Haynes without transcription: it was recopied by Mrs. Hasluck with Calder and myself in 1911. There remain difficulties at one or two points, especially in 9. The first letter of every line on the stone except 7 is injured or lost. Each hexameter gets two lines (like the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus):

Κολλήγαν, μάκαρός τε Μακηδόνης ἡδ' ἱεροῖο  
3 4 βλαστὸν Κολλήγου, ἀρετῆς θάλος ἀθανάτοι[ο,  
τὸν νέον ἀμβρόσιον μνή[μ]ης συνέφυνε παλαιοῖς  
7-8 μήτηρ δ' εὐώδην δυσαρι[στ]οῦκεῖα τε Μάγνα  
ἡ] γεν[έ]τη τε κάσει τε μέλος παρακάτθετο ἡδύ  
11-12 τ]ὸν σοφὸν ἡτρὸν εἰκοστὸν ἄγοντα ἔτος.

There are several ligatures, 5 NMNH, 7 MH, 9 HTEK (difficult and uncertain). In 7 εὐώδιν is quoted from *Anth.*

This epitaph was erected by the widow of Calpurnius Collega, whom the first epitaph commemorates, in honour of their son, who took the *cognomen* Collega as his sole name Kollegas. In the interval, evidently about twenty years or a little less between the two inscriptions, the Roman system of personal nomenclature had been abandoned (if we may trust the usage of a metrical epitaph), and the Byzantine system, which approximated more to Greek usage, had become common, and was adopted even in an old family where the Roman usage had been maintained to the middle of the fourth century. Both the son and the father are here called Kollegas,<sup>2</sup> whereas the father and the grandfather were spoken of twenty years previously by full Roman designation.

<sup>1</sup> τολήσαντα: (σ)τοιχήσαντα would mean acting according to.'

<sup>2</sup> A second name in one case at least.

This epitaph is more ambitious in style than the other and not so successful from any point of view. It wants the simplicity that characterises the former epitaph, in which the strong family affection displayed fully atoned for the evident partiality and tendency to exaggerate the excellence of a lost son. The second epitaph is metrical, though the scansion is awkward and not always correct. The construction is highly involved, but is grammatically quite defensible provided that the word δέ is omitted in l. 7. The lady, Magna, is probably the real composer of the epitaph, which is not got from the local schoolmaster, but shows personal feeling and family affection. She was evidently a person of good education, though not completely mistress of the Greek language.

The meaning seems to be 'Kollegas, son of blissful and holy Collega Macedo, scion of undying excellence, his mother giving him birth added the young immortal to the ancient of history, bearing one who was best though born only to die, Magna, mother of a noble son, who laid beside his father and brother a loved sweet member of the family, the skilful physician, who was in his twentieth year.' Evidently the father Collega Macedo was already dead (μάκαρ), and the mother Magna alone erects the tomb of her son: there is a reference to the epitaph of the father in the statement that the son was a scion of immortal excellence, for the father is there said to be 'born in all excellence.' The thought of her husband is evidently in the widow's mind when she speaks about their son as 'the new immortal.' He has been conjoined by right of birth with the members of an historic holy and old family, and the mother is privileged in having given birth to such a son though born only to die. The reference to his training as a physician is noteworthy, and is explained by the family history as stated.

The lady Magna who composed the epigram uses H in the second syllable of Makedon, apparently with the intention of making it long, showing that difference was still felt between the length of *eta* and *epsilon* about 370 A.D.



in Phrygia by the writers of one epitaph, not merely by authors of literature. The facts regarding the use of *eta* in different parts of the country are of some interest. Forms with H are used occasionally in poets (also by Eustathius) in the names of the country and the inhabitants. The lady Magna was much better educated than ordinary Phrygians, and though she was not likely to be acquainted with Callimachus IV. 167, yet she may have been familiar with some of the late epigrams and the *Anthology*, in which this quantity is known. At any rate she was sufficiently acquainted with Greek quantities to employ a spelling here that justified her scansion.

1. The second word *μάκαρ* is a poetical variation of the ordinary Christian *μακάριος*, 'the blessed dead.' Compare Euripides *Alc.* 1002 f., *αὐτα ποτε προῦθαν' ἀνδρός, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ μακαίρα δαίμων*. Pagan usage tended rather to prefer *μακαρίτης*, *μακαρίτις*, than *μακάριος*; the latter became characteristically Christian and the former tended to be pagan (as exemplified in an inscription, No. I., in my article in the recent number of *J.H.S.* 1918): compare Theocritus II. 70, Herondas VI. 55. These examples are suggested by A.W.M., and confirm the tendency to this distinction, which I have stated in the article in *J.H.S.* At the same time this tendency cannot be said to be a law, as exceptions certainly occur.

5. There is some temptation to regard Ambrosios as a second name of the young deceased Kollegas. The construction *μνή[μ]ης παλαιοῖς* seems possible though undoubtedly bold; the reading seemed to us certain. She bore this son to be conjoined in the same family with the ancient members who played a part in history. There is here probably a reference to the ancient descent of this great hieratic family from priest-dynasts and a god, according to the common Anatolian custom (which is illustrated by many examples in the article already mentioned, *J.H.S.* 1918).

7. The word *δέ* breaks the construction, and is probably due to a mere

slip. The mother in 7 is required as the nominative to the verb *συνέφυνε* in the preceding line. The adjective *εὐώδιον* is quoted also from the *Anthology*, from Nonnus, and other late writers. The following adjective *δυσαριστοτόκεια* is a happy quotation from *Iliad* XVIII. 54.

9. I follow here A.W.M., having myself thought of [*εὐ*]γενέτη (for *εὐγενέ-τειρα*) *τοκάς*, which seemed suitable to the text on the stone, but does not offer such good sense, and is a *ἄπαξ εἰρη-μένον*. My restoration involved the error *εἴτε* by the scribe for *εἴτα*.

10. The expression *μέλος ἡδύ* might indicate the metrical epitaph which was placed on the tomb, but there seems no possibility of making good construction if the words are taken in this sense.

11. The Ionic form *ἰητρός* is probably used also at Apollonia in a metrical epigram of great interest, but the word there is incomplete, though I have long restored it in this way. Perhaps the Ionic form is due to ancient medical influence from the great schools of medicine attached to the temples on the west coast. Hippocrates used the Ionic dialect in writing.

11-12. It looks as if there were space for something more than TON at the beginning of 12; possibly there was also an I at the end of 11 and [*ἐκ*]τον at the beginning of line 12:<sup>1</sup> but more probably the last line was engraved rather loosely as the space was abundant, and the lady when it came to a matter of numbers was exceptionally careless in her scansion. She might have made a much better line if instead of *ἔτος* she had used the word *ἐνιαυτός* (for she apparently does not attempt to conclude with a pentameter). The twentieth year is rather frequent in this sort of epitaph, and was perhaps used as a pathetic touch without regard to strict accuracy in time; but the lady Magna stands apart from the stock formulae of local metrical epitaphs, and probably would not imitate them even in such a detail.

<sup>1</sup> The text would then be *εἰκοσι ἔκτον*.

In Epitaph I. no reference is made to the mother of the deceased except in the implication of l. 9, that she like the father was living when the son died. The deceased, thirty years old, was married, as might be taken for granted in Phrygia; but his wife is not mentioned. From the second inscription we learn that his wife was called Magna, and the Latin name suggests that she too probably belonged to a family possessing the *civitas*, though this is not certain, for Magna perhaps had passed into the common stock of Anatolian personal nomenclature. We learn also from the second epitaph that she and her husband, the writer of Epitaph I., had another son who died very young. Magna was qualified to make the tomb and the following epitaph for her son, though she does not appear as taking part in the erection of the epitaph of her husband. At first she was not in any sense *κυρία* or *οικοδεσπότις*, but was only a Nympha residing in the family mansion of her father-in-law after the old Phrygian fashion. There she was under a very mild form of *patria potestas*, not like the strict Roman usage but according to the Phrygian custom, on which inscriptions of Phrygian Lycaonia throw much light. See also in *Studies in the History of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 148 ff., 373 f., also 71, 82, 121; *Hist. Comm. on Epist. Galat.*, pp. 338 ff., 352 ff., 374.

It must always be remembered in the study of Anatolian custom that both Pisidian Antioch and Iconium (with the cities of Lycaonia to the north of it) were in the strictest sense Phrygian cities, inhabited mainly by a Phrygian population, amid which the use of Phrygian as a home language lasted till a comparatively late date. Hence the inscriptions of this Phrygian region of Lycaonia throw light on, and receive much light from, the inscriptions of the Tembris valley, a very rustic, uneducated part of north Phrygia, where the true old Phrygian custom lingered longest. On the other hand central Phrygia was hellenised in great degree at a much earlier time, and the epitaphs of the Roman period in that part of Phrygia attest generally a different state of family custom. The gradual hel-

lenisation of Anatolia, proceeding eastward (especially from the Maeander valley) along the great roads, sometimes leaving untouched districts which lay off the lines of communication, necessitates a careful consideration and classification of the epigraphic evidence as bearing upon native custom. All should be studied in the light of Mitteis' *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht* and his other works.

Apparently the two epitaphs were engraved on stones which formed part of a large family mausoleum. One of these has been carried to Oerkenez, and the other to Yalowadj (where it was said to have been brought 'from the fields'). The mausoleum therefore was probably somewhere between these two places; in other words it was not far from Gemen (Γῆ Μηνός),<sup>1</sup> which was (as we infer on various grounds) the district specially connected with the upkeep of the sanctuary of Men, and therefore probably associated with the priestly family. The priesthood had been taken away from this family by Augustus in 25 B.C., but he did not degrade or destroy the family (as has sometimes been falsely inferred from the language of Strabo 577); and probably this was the family to which the mausoleum at Gemen belonged, for the study of medicine was apparently hereditary in the holy family, and closely connected with all great Anatolian religious centres. This ancient hieratic tradition then furnishes a probable explanation of the epithet 'holy' in the second epitaph. Even though the family had become Christian and no longer retained its priestly connection, still the holy and the medical tradition remained in the family.

Among the Christians of the third and fourth centuries the profession of medicine was highly honoured, and a large number of Christian physicians are known. The subject has been fully treated by Harnack mainly on the literary evidence. Basil of Caesarea writes a noble eulogy of the medical profession. 'To put that science at the head and front of life's pursuits is to judge reasonably and rightly' (*Epist.*

<sup>1</sup> Gemen two hours south-east of Yalowadj, two hours north-west of Oerkenez.

189). It is true that the practice of medicine was not purely scientific, but was mixed up with charms, religious incantations, and the prayers of hermits, and also relied on the relics of martyrs as a curative influence (*Epist.* 49);<sup>1</sup> but this does not prove that scientific tradition was forgotten or ignored. The mob laid stress on the religious side of the treatment. It is worthy of note, although possibly it is a mere coincidence, that the great-grandson of Sergius Paullus, governor of Cyprus about A.D. 46, used to attend the medical demonstrations given by Galen in Rome. According to the Acts of the Apostles the governor of Cyprus was, if not converted to Christianity, at least very favourably inclined to it. There seems no possibility that the great-grandson was also Christian; Christianity seems to have died out in the family; but there are many remarkable facts, showing a certain inclination towards serious religious thought and even towards Christianity, and a certain relationship with other noble families suspected of Christianity, which appear among the Sergii from time to time (see the facts collected in my *Bearing of Discovery on the New Testament*, Ch. XII., and later discoveries in an article in the *Expository Times*, April, 1918). To these must be added as deserving registration the medical studies of the great-grandson.

The Roman system of personal names is decaying in the three generations covered by the two inscriptions. The grandfather, C. Calpurnius Macedo, writing Greek, is fully Roman: so also the son, C. Calpurnius Collega Macedon; but in the case of the grandson, if we may judge from a metrical epitaph, Kollegas is treated as not specifically Roman, but merely a hereditary name in the family. The family clung late to the pride of old descent, but gradually forgot the Roman system of the triple name. This marks the middle of the fourth century in Lycaonia.<sup>2</sup> Probably

the family obtained the *civitas* under Vespasian, when Calpurnius Asprenas and Pompeius Collega were successive governors of the province.<sup>3</sup> Macedo became a stock name, which lasted through the centuries after Seleucid times. The Roman name was frequently determined according to the reigning emperor or governor at the time when the *civitas* was attained: sometimes the conjunction of the names of emperor and governor proves the date very precisely. The second *cognomen* was often individual, showing the native origin. There is no reason to connect the second *cognomen* with C. Larcus Macedo, who governed Galatia under Hadrian.

The date c. 350 A.D. is indicated by another consideration. Less stress is laid on the constructor of the tomb and more on the deceased, a characteristic feature of that period: earlier epitaphs in Phrygia began by naming and describing the constructor of the grave: gradually during the fourth century less and less prominence was given to the constructor, and the deceased was mentioned first, while the constructor was described briefly at the end; and at last it became usual to mention only the deceased.<sup>4</sup> In this change there is involved the transition from the pagan sepulchral custom to the Christian. To the pagan Anatolian feeling the construction of the tomb is a duty of supreme religious significance. It is the construction of a home for the

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Pauline and Other Studies in Early Christian History*, pp. 380 f.

<sup>2</sup> This criterion of date is emphasised in the writer's paper on 'The Church of Lycaonia in Century IV.' (*Luke the Physician, and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 336 f.).

<sup>3</sup> I have conjectured in *Bearing of Research on New Testament*, p. 157, that L. Sergius Paullus governed Galatia between Asprenas and Collega; but left it open as a possibility that Sergius was already governor under Nero. I now believe that the latter alternative is more probable, that Sergius died in office young, and was succeeded by Calpurnius Asprenas, A.D. 68. This supposition suits Tacitus' expression 'provincias regendas permiserat Galba (Asprenati)' (*Hist.* II. 9). When Sergius Paullus died, the governor of Pamphylia was directed to take over Galatia also, and thus exceptionally the Galatian governor ruled the coast that year. Other reasons for suspecting that this Sergius died young are stated in my article on the Sergii Paulii in *Expos. Times*, April, 1918.

<sup>4</sup> The facts as an argument of date are stated more fully in my paper 'The Fourth Century Church in Lycaonia' (*Luke and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 336 f.).

deceased, who at death becomes the god; and thus his home is a temple, and his worshippers meet in his temple to perform the ritual annually in honour of the new god identified with the god of the locality to whom he returns in death.<sup>1</sup> The Christian custom ceases to lay stress on the construction of the tomb, but lays all the emphasis on the deceased, whose body is consigned to

the tomb, though his real self is not there. This thought is expressed with exceptional and eminent clearness in the highly educated Epitaph I. Metrical epitaphs were little influenced by custom and law.

[NOTE.—Since this article was printed, the proof that a hieratic family at Antioch bore the name Calpurnius has been strengthened by further epigraphic evidence.]

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>1</sup> *Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia*, J.H.S., 1884, p. 261, more developed in *Studies in E. Rom. Prov.* p. 271 ff.

## THE ART OF EURIPIDES IN THE *HIPPOLYTUS*.

### I.

IN the *Alcestis* and the *Ion* there are so many apparent deficiencies of composition that Professor Verrall has been led to seek for an explanation and has found a very brilliant and plausible one in the 'rationalistic' idea of Euripides.<sup>1</sup>

According to Professor Verrall's argument the plays mentioned cannot be considered the work of anyone but a 'dullard' and a 'botcher,' unless we admit the ulterior motive, the 'moral' which he reads in them, when they become very remarkable *tours de force* of a master hand.

The 'moral' that he reads in them is, firstly, that 'the gods' do not exist; and, secondly, that the prophecies and worship of the Delphic Apollo are a farce.

Professor Verrall's book must be read in order to appreciate how far he has proved his point.

In the *Hippolytus* we find no such apparent lack of cohesion as would lead us to condemn it *a priori* as the work of an inferior artist. The scenes are well composed and the story runs fairly smoothly.

The *ex hypothesi* moral of the story is a warning against extremes in love: woe to those who love so passionately as Phaedra, woe to those who avoid love so entirely as Hippolytus! Moderation, moderation in all things, is best.<sup>2</sup>

We are going to find that there is probably an ulterior motive in the *Hippolytus*, a second and more subtly pointed

'moral'; but it does not contradict the *ex hypothesi* one. On the contrary, we shall find that the theme of moderation, moderation in all things, is only strengthened and confirmed by it.

Let us now look through the play and see if there is anything to attract our attention away from the *ex hypothesi* moral, and if so, what that may be to which our attention is directed.

The piece begins with a prologue by Aphrodite. She tells the audience who she is, and mentions that while she advances those who respect her power, she destroys whoever does not.<sup>3</sup>

Follows the story of Hippolytus and of the love for him that she has placed in the heart of Phaedra.<sup>4</sup>

She explains that Hippolytus is to die for his disrespect of her decrees—is to die by the word of his own father, who will call on Poseidon to fulfil, by slaying Hippolytus, one of the three wishes he had granted to Theseus.

She adds that Phaedra, though a noble nature, is to die too:

τὸ γὰρ τῆσδ' οὐ προτιμήσω κακὸν  
τὸ μὴ οὐ παρασχεῖν τοὺς ἐμούς ἐχθροὺς ἐμοὶ  
δίκην τοσαύτην ὥστ' ἐμοὶ καλῶς ἔχειν.

She departs, advising the audience of the approach of Hippolytus, all unsuspecting of his impending fate.

And now comes a surprise. Instead of addressing the audience in the usual iambic trimeters, Hippolytus calls in lyric measure upon his attendants to sing

<sup>1</sup> *Euripides the Rationalist*, by A. W. Verrall.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 261-6.

<sup>3</sup> L. 5.

<sup>4</sup> L. 28.





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Pisidian Wolf-Priests, Phrygian Goat-Priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes

Author(s): William Mitchell Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 40, Part 2 (1920), pp. 197-202

Published by: [The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies](#)

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## PISIDIAN WOLF-PRIESTS, PHRYGIAN GOAT-PRIESTS, AND THE OLD-IONIAN TRIBES.

ON a Pisidian tombstone the name Gagdabos Edagdabos occurs. In publishing this in the *Revue des Universités du Midi*, 1895, p. 360, I quoted Radet's tempting conjecture, that it is a case of filiation expressed by prefix. Religion however furnishes a more probable explanation. A priest named Gagdabos adds his title Edagdabos. Gagdabos is a reduplicated form such as is extremely common in Anatolian nomenclature: *e.g.* on a sarcophagus found in the north Isaurian hills not very far from Lystra the two names Gaa and Goggoa both occur and are evidently names in the same family, one a reduplication of the other; Kretschmer has noted (like all Anatolian students) the habit of using reduplicated names.

Gagdabos therefore, implies a simpler name Gdabos or Gdawos: this word was grecised as δάος, and latinized as Davus, a common name of slaves from Anatolia. Δάος is explained by Hesychius as meaning wolf; and the Phrygo-Pisidian god Manes was Daos, the Wolf (see *J.R.S.* 1918 p. 145). It was common to call slaves by the name of some god or king of their native land. Now in Anatolian and old Greek religion the priest bears the name and garb and character of his god. In a fertile sea-plain at Pergamos the order of priests called Boukoloi implies a religious cult for breeding and tending the ox and the cow, agricultural or pastoral (differing from the religion of the dry central plateau, where the goat and sheep can be more profitably bred). The head of this order was the Archiboukolos, and the original priest was Dionysos himself. On this analogy, and on Galloi-Archigallos, we look for a chief of the Wolf priests.

Radet *loc. cit.* quotes the group Logbasis, Idalogbasis, where Idalogbasis is described as an eponymous ancestor of the tribe Logbaseis of Termessos (see Lanck. II. p. 28), with the obvious meaning 'the chief of the tribe' (taken as a religious group).

The hypothesis is inevitable that there was in Pisidia an order of priests called Wolves. Then it is evident that, just as there was an Archiboukolos and an Archigallos, so there must have been a chief Wolf, Eda-gdabos, implying that archi- in Greek corresponded to the Anatolian Ida or Ido or Ede.

Mt. Ida was the chief or supreme mountain (cp. Sultan-Dagh in Paroreios).<sup>1</sup> Idaguges was the chief Guges, probably some hieratic title in Lydia. Idomeneus, like Ida, has the first syllable long; but this is evidently due to poetic convenience (like ἀθάνατος in hexameters): the element meno or mene is common in names in the Anatolian priestly families (see *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 169). The Lycian city Idebessos may be another example.<sup>2</sup>

The term Archigallos was used by the Romans in the borrowed Phrygian cult of Cybele (from Pessinous), and Strabo mentions (like other authorities) that the Phrygian priests were called Galloi; but no epigraphical proof has been found that this name was used in northern Phrygia. In southern Phrygia towards Pisidia the name Archigallos is found on both sides of Sultan-Dagh, near Antioch and among the Orondeis. The name Gallos is probably old Anatolian, and it may possibly be the same as the personal name Glous found in the list of priests at Korykos. The Lycaonian and Isaurian name Lir or Lour (in the reduplicated form Lilous)<sup>3</sup> may be connected. That Gallos and Gdabos should become personal names is in accordance with custom.

For the moment I can only state the opinion based on Strabo, that the Ionian tribe in old Attica, Aigikoreis, are goat-priests, who appear on ceremonial occasions as goat-men and are under the presidency of the chief goat-priest, viz. Attis himself, the god who teaches to mankind the religion of the goddess. The second half of the name Koreis, Anatolian Kaweis, exemplifies perhaps one of the many ways in which the Greeks attempted to represent the Anatolian sound W, for which they had no symbol, and which they were evidently unable to pronounce correctly. There came into play, of course, the general popular tendency to give some sort of suggestion of a meaning to a word belonging to an unknown language; but the use of καύειν in the sense of priestess at Sardis, κοίης (also κόης: Hes.) as priest of the Kabeiroi, and the employment of the word by Hipponax all show that a word which had some form approximating to Kawa or Kowo was widely spread on the west coast and islands of Anatolia.<sup>4</sup>

The same hieratic term can be traced in a more purely Asiatic form in Phrygia. The priests of Kybele at Pessinous are called in inscriptions Attabokaoi. This word falls into two elements which generally have been wrongly specified. The first is not Atta (as has been stated)<sup>5</sup> but Attabo,

<sup>1</sup> There are two objections to the interpretation of Mount Ida as the 'chief' or 'king' mountain. (1) The first syllable is long invariably, but Greek poetic usage does not furnish sufficient proof of the original Anatolian form and sound. (2) The statement is quoted from E. M. that Ida means a wooded mountain or saltus, but the authority is insufficient. It is more likely to be a mere scholastic inference from such phrases as *in vallibus Idae* (as Fraser suggests).

<sup>2</sup> In *J.R.S.* 1917, p. 264 note, I erroneously quoted the name as Idubessos, and suggested

an etymology accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Lir may be a broken-down reduplication. The G at the beginning would be a Greek attempt to represent the Anatolian W. The town of Lyrbe is perhaps connected. On Lir-Lour see Miss Ramsay's note in *J.H.S.*, 1904, p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> See Buckler and Robinson in *A.J.A.* xvii. 1913, p. 362 ff. Fournier, *Rev. d'Et. Anc.* 1914, p. 438, suggests Old Persian kavyáh.

<sup>5</sup> Bokaoi was compared with Boukoloi. On these priests see *I.G.R.R.* iii. 230, 235.

and the second is Kawoi. Attabo is one way of rendering in Greek at a particular locality and time the Phrygian word mentioned elsewhere as Attego or Attago which meant goat. Ultimately the word was Attawo, and it is obviously closely related to the name of the god Attes: in fact Attes is the goat-god, *i.e.* the god of a people whose occupation was largely connected with the domestication of the goat.

Here again we have the goat-priests. Many lines of inquiry suggest themselves, from which I refrain here. It should, however, be pointed out that the central regions of Anatolia are mainly pastoral, and that agriculture plays little part, except in the occasional cultivation of gardens surrounded by walls; these were in fact sometimes called by the Persian name *Paradeisos*, walled enclosure, but generally by the Anatolian name *Kapo*.

The suggestion that B and R and L and W interchange in this way will strike horror into the mind of the philologist; but it must be remembered that this is not a case of the development of one single language. It is a case of the adoption in alien countries and languages of words from a strange tongue containing a number of sounds which were unknown to, and unpronounceable by, and unrepresented in the alphabet of, any of the Greek tribes and races. At different times and in different localities the same Anatolian sound was reproduced in different ways in Greek letters, in fact it is even true to assert that in the same place and much about the same time an Anatolian name was represented by different Greek letters. We are dealing here with a matter of history rather than of philology. Just as priest and presbyter are the same Greek word which has come into English through different routes and assumed totally different forms, and just as the Germans call that Polish river *Weichsel* which we call *Vistula*, and the Germans and we call *Dantzig* (or slightly different spellings) the Polish town *Gdansk*, and just as the Croatian town of *Zagreb* is called in German *Agram*, so it is with the rendering of Anatolian names in Greek. The total difference in the character of enunciation in Anatolia and in Greece is a fact which is as true at the present day as it was in ancient times. The quotation made in *H.G.A.M.*, footnote to p. 281, can be applied universally with reference to the difference between Greek and Anatolian pronunciation. Sounds which existed on the eastern side of the Aegean were unknown on the western side. Not merely is this the case with the spirants W and Y; it is equally the case with the nasalised vowels which are such a marked feature of Lycian and Lydian alphabets and which give rise to so many variations in the grecisation of Anatolian proper names; and, also, vowels which were long in Greek were shortened in Anatolian pronunciation, and *vice-versa*. The halting verses inscribed on tombs often show this non-Greek quantity.

It is natural that in a wild mountain region like Pisidia the god and his priests should be conceived by the people in a savage aspect;<sup>6</sup> whereas in

<sup>6</sup> On the monument dedicated to the deceased Augustus at Pisidian Antioch (see *J.R.S.* 1916, p. 105) the fettered captive Homanadensian or Pisidian Wolf-man was

represented in his ideal ugliness as the naked savage. He is the man in his brutality, though retaining the human form.

the peaceful level plains of Phrygia, devoted largely to pastoral pursuits and especially to the breeding of the goat, the god and his priests should be pictured as the teachers and regulators of goat culture; while at Pergamos in a low rich valley, where cows were more important than goats, the god and his priests are described as cow-keepers (*βουκόλοι*).

Now, as to the old Ionian tribes, or occupations, they may be taken as coming from the East Aegean shores (where the names are found sporadically).<sup>7</sup> We assume, though it may appear dogmatic to do so, that everyone who reads the evidence of Plato (*Critias* 24 and *Timaeus* 110) and of Strabo p. 383, will come to the same conclusion, viz., that there was an old system of classifying the people of the Aegean lands, i.e. the Old-Ionians, the 'sons of Yavan,' into four classes—warriors, priests, artisans and agriculturists—and this four-fold division was an ancient Asiatic custom.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately these excellent authorities do not give the ancient names for the four classes; and they differ in the order of enumeration. The order which they employ is probably dictated by the general purpose in their minds at the time of writing, and is not the ancient traditional arrangement. Plato enumerates *ιερείς*, *δημιουργοί*, *γεωργοί*, *μάχιμοι*: Strabo mentions *γεωργοί*, *δημιουργοί*, *ιεροποιοί*,<sup>9</sup> *φύλακες*, but his list may be in inverse order. Either priests or warriors must have been first in dignity: a warrior state with a conquering caste would put warriors first.

Euripides, *Ion* 1579 f., Herodotus, v, 66, Plutarch, *Sol.* 23, Pollux, viii. 109, Stephanus, enumerate the names. They differ in respect of the order, and to some degree in respect even of accentuation and form. Euripides has *Γελέων* (*Τελέων* is false), *Ὀπλητες*, *Ἀργαδῆς*, and *Αἰγικορῆς*. As eponymous heroes of the tribes Herodotus gives *Γελέων*, *Αἰγικόρευς*, *Ἀργάδης*, *Ὀπλης* (sons of Ion). Stephanus has *Αἰγικορεῖς* (calling it an error for *Αἰγοκορεῖς*) *Ἀργαδεῖς*, *Γελέοντες*, *Ὀπλίται*. Plutarch mentions *Ὀπλίται*, *Εργάδεις* (artisans), *Γεδέοντες* (agriculturists), *Αἰγικορεῖς* (herds). He is misled by the name Aigikoreis, which he understands as herds:<sup>10</sup> and recent historians of Greece, especially the Germans, prefer the authority of Plutarch to that of Strabo, while they rarely regard Plato as being even an authority. As above stated we regard confidently Aigikoreis as the priestly class, practising certain rites in a special dress, of which the goat-skin was the prominent feature.

The difficulty as to the reading Geleon or Gedeon is embarrassing, but the cult of Zeus Geleon points to this as the true form. We reject the supposition that original D had changed to L, for the religious fact is the safest guide. At one time I thought of Gedeontes as Gadavantes (connected

<sup>7</sup> See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Aigikoreis*.

<sup>8</sup> It is assumed that Plato was not inventing novelties, but was guided by wise old ideas: the *Critias* states Cretan facts, not mere fancies, though under a veil of fancy.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo avoids the word *ιερείς*: this has a purpose, natural to one who knew the Anatolian facts and religious Associations.

<sup>10</sup> Plato, *Tim.* 110, classes shepherds, hunters, agriculturists together. According to the social order the same set of men would be shepherds in a nomadic pastoral tribe and agriculturists in an agricultural society. Plato's purpose and natural character might lead him to put warriors last, and to use the rather depreciatory term *μάχιμοι*.

with Gda or Gdan, earth in Phrygian or Anatolian), but I could not work this out in a complete theory.

It has been commonly assumed that the Hopletes must be identified with the classical Greek Hoplitai,<sup>11</sup> but this inference is not necessary. Hoples, the son of Ion, and the class which takes its name from him belong to a far earlier stage in language and custom; and we must not assume that ὄπλον meant a warlike weapon in primitive Aegean usage. It is quite possible that this word meant implement, and that Hopletes were the artisans; such a conjecture is as justifiable as the very uncertain ancient belief. The personal name Hoplôn is common in Pisidia, and accordingly there can be little doubt that ὄπλον is Old-Anatolian and has to be judged on this footing. It seems of course more probable that in Pisidia Hoplôn meant warrior than artisan. The name is used in noble families, who would be unlikely to employ a name that meant artisan; but it is a reasonable supposition that Hoplôn there meant a man who made warlike weapons (an aristocratic occupation), while among the sons of Yavan, who from the beginning stood on a higher plane of civilisation, Hopletes were artisans in the generic sense.

The genealogical theory naturally came into play that these four classes took their names from the four sons of Ion or Yavan. With regard to the number all authorities are agreed, except Pollux, who probably by error in transmission of the text substitutes the single Kadeis for the two names Argadeis and Gedeontes. Perhaps he found this latter form, and not Geleontes, in his authority; but he cannot be quoted in support of either form. Strabo and Pollux are agreed that there were more stages than one, and even Plutarch dimly shadows forth that there were at an earlier time tribes, and that these tribes chose different occupations (βίοι). The truth lies behind all this that a certain development occurred. Pollux mentions four stages, stating, in the first two, mythological names of the tribes. As a third stage, Pollux gives the four Athenian tribes in the time of Erichthonios according to the names of the deities with whom each was connected, Dias, Athenais, Poseidonias, and Hephaistias. In all probability these lists are connected: the third states the tribes as four religious groups protected by four special deities, the last uses tribal names. Euripides connects the Aigikoreis with Athena and her Aigis. The cult of Zeus Geleon at Athens implies that the tribe Geleontes was associated with Zeus. There is no ancient authority for connecting the other two tribes with two special deities, but it may be assumed that the craftsmen or artisans had Hephaistos as their protecting divinity. There remains Poseidon as the god of the peasant class.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, Stephanus, and Pollux (who use the form Hoplitai) considered them the Warriors, erring in regard to the meaning of an old Ionian and Anatolian name through identifying it with a later Greek word. Similarly Plutarch (or his authority), who

substituted Ergadeis for Argadeis, was influenced by the belief that this class was the Artisans (connected with ἔργον); but in Anatolia the initial digamma would not have been lost.



That their protecting deity is Poseidon may seem strange ; but we know little about the original character of the Old Ionian Poseidon. He was perhaps the guardian and guiding divinity, who subdues the earth for the use of men and directs them in their work (like Herakles).<sup>12</sup> Hence at Athens Poseidon-Erechtheus was a natural and official identification.

In *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 183, three of the four tribes at Iconium are described: (1) Augusta the tribe of Zeus, the supreme god Augustus, identified with Zeus; (2) the tribe of Athena (Polias?); (3) the tribe of Herakles, the toiling god, who makes the earth serviceable to men; (4) is still unknown.

Certainty is not yet attainable ; but a definite conjecture may stimulate criticism. We follow the order of Herodotus<sup>13</sup> :—

(1) Geleontes (Dias) are the class of warriors, including the king of a conquering tribe: Gelan in Carian meant king: Gelanor was an old king of Argos: Zeus Geleon is the tribal god, *i.e.* Zeus Basileus.

(2) Aigikoreis (Athenais) are the priests, wearing Athena's *αἰγίς* (as Euripides mentions).

(3) Argadeis (Poseidonias) are the agriculturists: the name is connected with *ἄργος*, field, and survives in the Turco-Anatolian village, Manarga (the field of Man or Men), near Antioch, that 'Phrygian city on the Pisidian frontier.' Derivative names, like Argilos, Argissa, etc. are wide-spread in the Aegean and Anatolian lands.

(4) Hoplêtes (Hephaistias) are the makers of *ὄπλα* of all kinds.

Fraser suggests that in Aigikoreis the second element may be connected with Korubantes. This reminds me that Luk(abas?) Sôzôn on coins of Themissonion, a Phrygian town in the Pisidian frontier hill-country, may be a shorter expression for the full hieratic title Manes Daos Heliodromos Zeus (*J.R.S.*, 1918, p. 145). In that case Luk(os) or Luk(abas) would correspond to Daos-Gdabos, the Wolf-god, while Sôzôn-Saoazos is the Sun-god, and Zeus the Greek title is added.

WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY.

[The Greek system of accentuation does not suit Anatolian words (*J.R.S.*, 1917, p. 266). In writing these words with Greek letters it might be better to use no accents.—W. M. R.]

<sup>12</sup> On the Peasant God, "the great moral figure" in the early religion of Anatolia, see *Luks the Physician and Other Studies in Religious History*.

<sup>13</sup> The regular order was (according to Toepffer in Pauly-Wissowa, quoting as his authority Meier, *de gentil. Att.* 4) Geleontes, Argadês, Aigikorês, Hopletes.



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Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 18 (1928), pp. 181-190

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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# ROMAN GARRISONS AND SOLDIERS IN ASIA MINOR.

By W. M. RAMSAY AND A. MARGARET RAMSAY.

As the following notes are primarily concerned with the Roman Army in Asia Minor, and are not epigraphical, though based on epigraphical evidence, it is best to omit epigraphic texts and employ otherwise the space gained. Epigraphic texts will be published elsewhere, or are already published.

It may be assumed that the cohorts concerned are likely to be *milliariae*, not *quingenariae*, as they were evidently widely scattered in detachments (*numeri* or *vexilla*) over a very large country. A cohort nominally stationed at Iconium or at Ancyra would really be employed in small bodies over many parts of south-eastern or of northern Galatia, and *milliariae* were needed to cover the large district. They were all *equitatae*, as the evidence shows.

## I. COHORS I AUG. CYREN. EQ. (AT ANCYRA).

On a bomos now in the Museum at Hadji Bairam (Temple of Rome and Augustus): l. 1 on the capital, 2-13 on the shaft.

Χαῖρε παροδεῖτα.	λης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ στρατιώ-
ἐνθάδε κεῖται Κούιντ.	της ἱππεὺς χώρτης τῆς α[ύ-
Φιλιππι(κοῦ) κουράτωρ Σα-	10 τῆς στουπενδίων<ν> ιγ'.
ουαθρεὺς στρατιώτης χώρτης πρώ-	Μαρκία Αἰμιλία Ἀθηναί[ς
5 τῆς Αὐγούστης Κυρη-	κ]αὶ Ἀρτεμεισία συνβίοις
ναϊκῆς στουπενδίω[ν	μνήμης χάριν.
κα'· Λούκιος Οὐαλέριος Οὐά-	

L. 3 is difficult. We assume simple haplography, (κου) κουράτωρ; but an error of omission is possible, κος lost before κουράτωρ. In the former case, Philippicus was the father of Quintus: in the latter, the soldier was named Q. Valerius Philippicus, inferring from his brother's name his *nomen* Valerius. The former alternative is preferable, as mention of the father was required by general custom. κουράτωρ is apparently *curator cohortis*, usually translated ἐπιμελητής (see Section 5).<sup>1</sup> στρατιώτης is squeezed in above l. 4, and the insertion makes the language awkward.

Cohors I Aug. Cyrenaica was evidently stationed at Ancyra, and

<sup>1</sup> Κουράτωρ Σαουαθρεὺς cannot be taken as *curator civitatis Savatrensis*. A soldier could not hold so high an office at home. Φιλιππι cannot be

taken as an abbreviation of Φιλιππικοῦ: the abbreviation should not end with iota except in such a case as I for Ἰούλιος.

recruited from Prov. Galatia, in which was the Lycaonian city Savatra. Σαυαθρεύς renders *domo Savatra* (or *-tris*). The inscription is probably older than Hadrian, near the end of Trajan's reign. About A.D. 115 Cappadocia was separated from Galatia and made a consular province, while Galatia remained praetorian, as it had been before 72 (or 74), when Cappadocia was added to Galatia to form the double consular province Galatia-Cappadocia. The *cohors* was then transferred from Ancyra to Cappadocia, and a detachment of its mounted troopers was available against the Alani, sufficient numbers being left for garrison duty. It is quite probable that part was left also in Galatia. In Galatia, a praetorian province, there was never any legion, but only *auxilia*. Coh. I Aug. Cyren. was certainly *equitata*, and probably *milliaria*.

Valens is probably the Latin rendering of a Lycaonian name meaning 'strong, vigorous': similarly Dolichos and Longus, the latter very common, are Greek and Latin renderings of a Pisidian name:<sup>1</sup> so also Hiereus, as a personal name, renders Pappas.<sup>2</sup>

The intention of imperial policy was to hellenize Prov. Galatia rather than to encourage the use of Latin, as is evident from the nomenclature in north Galatia in the Roman period. The Gauls proper would probably have preferred Latin, but the imperial policy sought to produce homogeneity through the whole province,<sup>3</sup> and this could be better attained through Greek than through Latin. Hence the title Helladarch and the institution of the Koinon of Galatia (or the Galatai) mark the first century, while the second century exhibits meetings of the world-wide society of Artists and Athletes.

Further difficulties are found in the unusual abbreviation of the *praenomen* and inadequate designation (ll. 2 and 3). Bad naming can be explained (not quite satisfactorily) as due to ignorance of Roman nomenclature: the ladies did not know how to express the names of the husbands. The Latin names of the two brothers were Q. et L. Valerii Valentes, sons of Philippicus. One brother is designated by *praenomen* alone, the other by the triple name. The inter-mixture of Greek and Latin in the family is noteworthy. Philippikos the father inhabited Savatra, a hellenized city, and bore a Greek name. The sons were Roman *cives*<sup>4</sup>: their *nomen* Valerius may possibly be derived from M. Valerius Italus *leg. Aug. (Galatiae)* at some uncertain date (*C.I.L.* III, 253, which seems to have the style of an Ancyran early titulus, i.e., first century). The fact that the brothers

<sup>1</sup> Another rendering of the same name, perhaps, is εὐμεγέθης in *Monum. As. Min. Antiqua* I, no. 194, repeated from *Ath. Mitt.*, 1888, p. 254, no. 65. The *anagnostes* there may be Appas, with a second name meaning 'big.'

<sup>2</sup> Strictly Pappas was the god, and *papa* meant 'opium': but both are often mis-spelt.

<sup>3</sup> ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος translates Provincia Asia: so Galatia.

<sup>4</sup> It is of course possible, by pressing to an extreme the view about Greek ignorance of propriety in Roman nomenclature, to maintain that Philippicus was also a Roman, [Q.?] Valerius Phil., father of Q. and L.; and that the eldest son ought to have been described as Q. Valerius Q.? f. Valens, but is erroneously styled Κούιντ. Φίλιππι(κου) in pure Greek style. Valerius Valens, praef. classis Misen., *C.I.L.* X, 3336, belongs to the reign of Gordian.

were both buried in one grave at Ancyra suggests either that they received *civitas* before *honesta missio* for some unexplained reason (which suits the fact that their periods of service were only 21 and 13 years),<sup>1</sup> or that, after *honesta missio* with *civitas* for themselves and wife and children, they continued to reside in Ancyra: the second supposition is hardly allowable, as their service is too short.

Σαουαθρεὺς is an excellent example of τ changing to θ under the influence of the following ρ. The name of the town is always Savatra or Soatra, but the ethnic is more liable to change than the town name.

The connexion between Savatra in north Lycaonia and Ancyra was close. In *C.I.G.*, 4034, Tantalos, son of Tantalos, and Sokos his son, Σαουατρειῶς, erected an inscription in honour of Ti. (Julius) Severus, about A.D. 155 at Ancyra. Severus was of royal and tetrarchal descent,<sup>2</sup> and is described by Aelius Aristides as of resolute character and proud (ὕψηλός τοὺς τρόπους, p. 505: cp. also 523, 525, 527-529). The two Savatreis speak of him as friend and benefactor, but they omit his royal descent, which is revealed by another grateful dedicant in *C.I.G.*, 4033 (compare Aristides, ἀνὴρ καὶ μάλα τῶν γνωρίμων).

That a detachment of *Coh. I. Cyren. eq.* was stationed at Iconium at some time, whether on regular or on occasional service, may be gathered from the following small monument, seen there in 1904; since then it has probably been built into some wall. On an altar, above a defaced figure of a horseman to right:

Σπίρης α' Κυρηναϊκῆ[ς<sup>3</sup>

The letters are good, though not by a very experienced hand. There is a small space between Σ and Π, but nothing was cut there.

Probably the intention was to make a fuller record of the vow of the cohort; but either the *lapicida* tired of the work, or he

<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that they were of a good provincial family: to serve as a soldier was no disgrace for such a family (see Sections II-IV).

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ βασιλέων καὶ τετραρχῶν. The identification of this Ti. (Julius) Severus (*C.I.G.* 4034, *I.G.R.R.* iii, 175, Dittenberger *O.G.I.S.* 543) with the Severus of Aelius Aristides, and even the reading of his name, are matters of much controversy: see Groag's important article on C. Iulius Severus in *P.-W.* x, 311 sqq. We follow Waddington, who takes the opening Τ of Hamilton as correct: Domaszewski read Π, but the top stroke is probably as Hamilton saw it a century ago. Mommsen, Groag and Dittenberger correct to Π, and understand Γ(άιον) 'Ι(ούλιον). That he should be named by *praenomen* and *cognomen* in the Angora inscription is not unlikely; but that I should be for 'Ι(ούλιον) is improbable. The topic cannot be treated here. An inscription later than Waddington's time has been ignored in the articles of Keil (*Hermes* xxv, 316) and of Schmid (*Rhein. Mus.* xlviii, 79). The name Ti. 'Ιούλιος came into the family from

Tiberius, who was by adoption a Julius; and this is an important date, inasmuch as Ti. Iulius Severus and Ti. Iulius Sauromates indirectly attest the attention which Tiberius devoted to the east and north-east of the Empire. The tendency is to regard C. Iulius C. f. Severus, *cos. suff.* in 155, as son of this man, whose name is therefore read as Γ.Ι. instead of Τ.Ι. (the distinction of the father helped the son's career); but this is precarious. We stand by Hamilton's reading and regard C. Iulius Severus, *cos.* 155, as a relative of the distinguished Severus, whose influence would be used to aid a nephew as well as a son. Groag rightly accepts the identification of this Ti. Severus with the proconsul mentioned by Aristides, which is denied by some.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that the omission of *Aug.* in this case is not essential, but is due to carelessness of a Greek about exact Roman designation. *Cobors I Cyren.* was stationed in Upper Germany (see *P.-W. s.v. Cobors*, col. 277).

continued it lower down below the figure of the horseman, which shows that the cohort was *equitata*. There is no sign of any continuation, but the surface is in a bad condition.

## II. ALA I AUG. GEM. COLONORUM (AT ICONIUM).

This is a long epitaph of quite unusual interest, copied in 1901 and 1904 at a wayside khan, called Kutu-Delik or Dibi-Delik, at the southern and western end of a pass that leads over Boz Dagħ, eight hours east of Iconium, towards Ak-Serai (Garsaoura, Colonia Archelaïs). There was here a village of some importance called Salarama: the name originally was doubtless Sal-amara (cp. *rège(o)-Salamara ap. Hieroclem*, beside Lake Askania not far from Buldur. That lake is still called Adji-Tuz-Giol, Bitter-Salt-Lake, the translation of the ancient name).

The inscription, in clear, good letters suiting a first-century date, is published by Professor Callander (who also copied it in 1906) in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 171.<sup>1</sup> The relative words for our purpose are

Γ. Ἀπώνιος Φίρμος στρατευσ[άμενος δ-  
εκαδάρχης Εἰλης Κολωνῶν καὶ ὁ[πτίων

*Ala I Aug. Gem. Colonorum* was stationed in Prov. Cappadocia as late as c. A.D. 413, when it was posted at Chiaca in Armenia (*Not. Dign. Or.*), and it is mentioned among the Cappadocian troops by Arrian *Ect. i.*

The military service of C. Aponius Firmus can be placed in the last years of the first century, as the family history is now fairly well established by comparison of two other inscriptions.

Firmus, after serving full time as a soldier (private) and *decurio* and *optio* of *Ala I Aug. Gem. Colonorum*, settled at Salamara, a dry, barren frontier-village of Iconian territory, but retained his Iconian citizenship, as Iconium was εὖ συνωχισμένη.

The *nomen* Aponius, and the date, suggest that he took his Roman name from the well-known Aponius Saturninus, who had some Anatolian connexion as proconsul of Asia, and who may perhaps have been *leg. Aug. prov. Galat.* before he went over to the side of Vespasian in A.D. 69 and attained a place in history. Saturninus was *cos. suff.* under Nero (unknown year) and *procos. Asiae* (unknown year). The interval between the offices was generally about 10 years at that period, and his proconsulship, therefore, was not later than 77-78: the next two years are filled by post-Neronian consuls.

The wife of Firmus was named Visellia; this *nomen* occurs so

<sup>1</sup> In l. 8 read τὸν δὲ κάτω οἶκον, in the lower (underground, elsewhere κατάγειον) chamber a place may be given to those who shall be designated

in the will of Aponius. Sometimes the lower chamber was under, sometimes on, the ground, and sometimes actually above the ground in a vault.

often in widely scattered parts of the province that it must be taken from some Roman official (probably governor) of the united provinces Galatia and Cappadocia. His son (or even grandson), C. Aponius Crispus, was duumvir of Colonia Aelia Iconiensis, as appears from an inscription which has been carried from Salarama a few miles towards Iconium to Sindjirli Khan (published in part by Sterrett *E. J.* no. 254)<sup>1</sup>

Γ. Ἀπώνιος(!) Κρίσπος δ[υανδρικὸς Κολ.  
Εἰκονίου καὶ Αἰλίας Δαδα ἡ γ[υνή αὐτοῦ Π.  
Αἰλίω Ἰουλιανῶ Τειμοθέω υἱῶ, τ[ῇ τε αἰ-  
τοῦ γυναικὶ μνήμης χάριν· οὐδὲ ἄλλω τινὶ  
ἔξεσται εἰσκομισθῆναι σορ[ὸν πλὴν Ἀππω-  
νίου καὶ Διδῶ γυναικᾶ τοῦ Τειμοθέου.

This epitaph needs to be published in full, as Sterrett saw only part of it. It attests the low standard of the Greek spoken by even a leading family in Iconium in the second century. In ll. 3-4 αὐτοῦ (or αὐτοῦ) refers to Aponius and not to his son. In l. 4 the construction is extremely clumsy. The two parents did not make the tomb primarily for themselves,<sup>2</sup> because the mother was dead when the grave was dedicated, but Crispus made it for his son and his own wife, also for himself and his son's wife (both still living).

The son of Crispus the duumvir, P. Aelius Julianus Timotheos, took Hadrian's name and was doubtless born while Hadrian was still living, say about A.D. 130.<sup>3</sup> Crispus was one of the early colonial magistrates. Now the first *duumvir*, about 136, was M. Ulpius Pomponius Superstes (son of M. Ulpius Pomponius Valens, who evidently obtained the *civitas* between 98 and 101).<sup>4</sup> Aponius Crispus, then, was *duumvir* about 137-140. C. Aponius Firmus was probably father (or uncle) of Crispus, as we shall see from the family history; and his military service was in the later years of the first century. A soldier, even in *caligata militia*, was an eminent figure in a provincial city or *colonia*. The name is spelt Apponius by Crispus.

The family was small, and all members who are mentioned in this inscription possess the grave-right, Aponius Crispus himself, his

<sup>1</sup> In 1901 we copied a part to the right of what Sterrett saw: it was hidden by masonry. The form of *omega* makes the distinction between *ω* and *ο* difficult: we follow our copy made on the margin of Sterrett.

<sup>2</sup> In l. 4 the intention is 'it shall not be lawful for any other to have his sarcophagus carried into the grave chamber': this right was a legal property. The proper custom, very often observed, was that the wedded pair should make a tomb for themselves as soon as the husband became *οἰκοδεσπότης*. So long as he was living with his father and was, therefore, under the authority of his father as head of the family, the family-tomb was open to him and

his wife (*νύμφη*), unless for some reason they were excluded formally: see note on page 186.

<sup>3</sup> The assumption of the reigning Emperor's name by a new *civis* was permitted (i) when a provincial took *praenomen* and *nomen* from the Emperor and *cognomen* from the governor of the province (probably a higher honour than, what was also a common practice, taking *praenomen* and *nomen* from the governor and retaining the original name as *cognomen*), and (ii) when the son of a *civis*, as here, takes at birth the Emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*. Collection and comparison of instances might show the cause in such cases.

<sup>4</sup> Pomponius Bassus governed Galatia A.D. 95-101.

deceased son, his wife (deceased mother of Timotheos), and Dido wife of Timotheos (still living). Any daughters who marry lose the right.<sup>1</sup> Dido is the feminine of the common Lycaonian name Didas or Deidas, and Dida also is used as the fem. form.

Sala(ram)a, Sala(mar)a, justifies its name, as brackish wells are frequently found in that district, whose water sheep drink, but not human beings: it is said locally that the saltish water improves the wool of sheep.

It may be regarded as certain that Roman citizenship was needed as a qualification for the duumvirate of a Roman *colonia*, even for such a *colonia* as Iconium, which was founded by Hadrian with no settlement of Roman *coloni*, but merely styled *colonia* as a mark of higher dignity among provincial cities. Aponius Crispus therefore inherited the *civitas*; and, as is evident, he belongs to a later generation of this Iconian family than Aponius Firmus.

The occasion when Iconium was raised in dignity is connected with the re-organisation of provincial administration. Hadrian created the triple eparchy Cilicia-Lycaonia-Isauria towards the end of his reign. This was not considered as a single province, but as an aggregation of three provinces under one governor; and the Koinon of the Lycaonians, which was now created, was confined to Lycaonia and not intended as a device to unify the triple eparchy (as the Koinon of Galatia had been created to unify that heterogeneous province). Iconium now became the metropolis of one-third of the triple eparchy, and its higher dignity was marked by the title and honour of a *colonia*.

The family of the Aponii is known also from an inscription found at Kara Eyuk, seven hours south of Iconium. The letters are good, but ornate and late: a date towards the end of the second century is suitable. It mentions another Iconian Aponius, who had served as *decurio* in the same *ala* on the outskirts of Iconian territory (as in Salamara above).

Γ. Ἀπωνι|ανὸς Σώ|πατρος | [Γ. ?] Ἀπώνι|ον Λόνγον τὸν πατέ|ρα  
στρατευ|σάμενον | δεκαδάρ|χην Εἰλης | Κολωνῶν | ἀνέστησεν | μνήμης | χάριν.

This inscription was omitted accidentally by Cronin (who copied it along with Wathen) in *J.H.S.* 1902-1903. It completes the evidence that the *ala* was closely connected with Iconium. The Aponii were evidently a family of soldiers, from generation to generation, and their graves are found on the outskirts of the large territory of Iconium. They were Greek-speaking, and never adopted Latin as their home-speech, even though they gave a magistrate to the Colonia Iconium.

<sup>1</sup> A married daughter passes to her husband's family as *νύμφη*, and shares the family rights as to burial: that is shown by many inscriptions, and is

in itself natural in the society of the country and period.



C. Aponius Longus was in the next generation after Crispus ; his son takes the *nomen* in the form of Aponianus (degenerating from strict Roman custom), and is wholly grecized as Sopatros.

Perhaps a detachment of this *ala* was stationed at Perga, where an *optio* is mentioned (C.I.G. 4342 b), L. Rutilius Varus. A *praefectus* at Perga is also mentioned ; but he was in *militia equestris*, and his occurrence forms no proof that the *ala* was stationed in Pamphylia.

The name Aponius remained long in use at Iconium, and is almost confined to that city (so far as our experience goes). It occurs also in Sterrett *E. J.* no. 198 (Konia), in the derived form as at Kara Eyuk. The name is clear in his copy, though he conjectures Ἀπωνιανός. Ἀπωνιανός Λονγείνο[υ γλυκυτ[ά]τη θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμης| χάριν.

Aponianus Sopatros, son of Aponius Longus, belongs to the same stage as Aponianos Longinus in respect of the grecization of a family which had assumed a Latin name, yet always used Greek as the domestic language.

Eburenus was another Iconian family (Cronin, *J.H.S.* xxii (1902), p. 123 sq.), known for several generations as important and as using Latin occasionally. The name never passed into Roman nomenclature, and is certainly of Lycaonian and Anatolian origin (cp. Boura, Anaboura, etc.). Ancharenus also is Lycaonian, and unknown to *P.I.R.*

### III. COHORS I RAET. (MILL.) EQ. (ANCYRA ?)

Among the Cappadocian troops Arrian (*Ect.* I) mentions Raetians of Cohorts I and IV. After the separation of Cappadocia from Galatia about A.D. 115, either Cohort I was moved to the eastern frontier or detachments from it were scattered over both provinces. Another *Coh. I Raetorum*, stationed in Raetia, was probably not *equitata* ; for horsemen were not so much needed in Raetia as on the wide plains of Galatia and Cappadocia (though the Euphrates line is in parts mountainous). *Cohors IV Raet. eq.* was stationed at Analiba in Armenia Minor (Prov. Cappadocia) about 400 (*Not. Dign. Or.*)<sup>1</sup> *Cohors I* was *milliaria*, for it was commanded by a tribune (see below).

It may be expected that traces of this Cohort may be found at Ancyra, as was the case with *Coh. I Aug. Cyren. eq.* The Cohort was closely connected with other parts of Asia Minor. A special recruiting ground for this cohort was Eumenetici Campi of Prov. Asia. It is not usual that Asia should serve as a recruiting ground, but there were special reasons in this case. The wide plain of the Maeander, about Seiblia (Soublaion),<sup>2</sup> Eumeneia and Peltae,

<sup>1</sup> Another *Cohors IV Raet.*, probably distinguished as not *eq.*, was stationed in Moesia Superior.

<sup>2</sup> Soublaion was an imperial estate at one time ;

but Seiblia struck coins. Many such *komai* were raised to be coin-striking *poleis* : see Rostovtzeff *Social and Economic History*, p. 171.

is extremely well suited for horse-breeding; and even as late as 1880 to 1907 the horses of this region were still noted.<sup>1</sup> Since wagons came into general use for transport, less attention is paid to horse-breeding, and the results are lamentable.

The following soldiers of the Eumenian district are mentioned in our records (*C.B.Phr.* Ch. X. nos. 209–217): C. Iuventus Rufus, soldier; Q. Vibius Rufus, veteran; M. Seius Demagoras, veteran; C. Julius Myrtilos, veteran, senator; [C. ?] Julius Papias, ἱππεύς, *armorum custos coh. I Raet.*; Ilus Gemelus *eques, armorum custos* (Latin); T. ? Flavius Diodorus, soldier; P. ? Aelius ? Faustianus, *trib. coh. I Raet.*; (T. ? Aelius ?) Antoninus, *coh. I Raet.* These recruits are in two cases<sup>2</sup> (mounted) soldiers of *coh. I Raet.* That was so, perhaps, in all cases. All but one are Greek speaking. The *nomina* of these soldiers, who had all evidently returned home after service and *honesta missio*, show their date. Two are Julius; three non-imperial;<sup>3</sup> one Latin-speaking, Ilus Gemel(l)us [where Ilus is perhaps the rare *praenomen* Iullus (Augustan)]; one Flavius; one [P.] Aelius (Hadrian); one Antoninus; six are probably of cent. I, three of cent. II. These soldiers were stationed in detachments (*numeri* or *vexilla*) over Asia Minor.

#### IV. A FAMILY OF ANATOLIAN SOLDIERS.

Before proceeding to describe the legionary centurions stationed at cities of Asia Minor, it will be right to mention a family of soldiers from Savatra, one of whom was a centurion not stationed in Asia Minor. He served his time in the West, and returned to his *domus*: this case illustrates by contrast the Savatran soldiers in Section I. His father, a *primipilaris*, T. Servaeus Sabinus, had died at Savatra. His monument, made by his son, has the epitaph between two tropaea of the usual type (see Cronin in *J.H.S.*, xxii, 1902, p. 372, no. 145: it was again copied by us in 1904).

Tito Servaeo Sabino  
p.p., donato omnibus  
donis, L. Servaeus

4 Sabinus <leg. VI Vict.  
patri suo fecit.

The *dona* of a centurion or *pr. pil.* were *torques, armillae, phalerae, corona* (*Berlin Sitzungsber.* 1903, p. 819. *C.I.L.* III 10224; VI 3580, 3584; X 3886; XI 390, 391, 5992; XIV 3612), and also *hasta pura* (see Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* no. 2638—gained by a *primus pilus*). The service and regiment are not mentioned by the son; but the date about A.D. 50–60 can be determined. The monument was erected

<sup>1</sup> We used horses bought there several times, last in 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Faustianus was tribune of a cohort, and his case would prove nothing, as he might be doing his *equestres militiae*.

<sup>3</sup> C. Iuventus Rufus probably took his *nomen* from P. Iuventus Celsus, who governed Galatia 161–4 or earlier: he was *cos. ord.* in 164. Rufus was his native name, probably the Latin rendering of a name meaning 'red.'



about 100, when the son, after a long course of good service, returned to Savatra and made the grave for his father (as follows from the next inscription). Perhaps the son found his father still living: perhaps he made the monument in his father's honour some time after his death, as he seems not to have known what his father's service was.

This same L. Servaeus Sabinus appears in another inscription, found close by the first, and copied by us at Savatra (Yali-Baiyat) in 1904, on the pedestal of a statue.

Lucio Servaeo [Sa-  
bino < Leg. VIII His-  
panae < Leg. III Au[g].  
< Leg. VI Victricis  
statuam ex testam]ento.

In l. 2 there is an error of the *lapidista* (which is always a rare occurrence), VIII HIS instead of VIII HIS: the letters were cut by a Greek-speaking workman, who did not know the meaning. Legio IX Hispana is meant, which was serving in Britain at that time.

L. Servaeus Sabinus returned to Savatra, a veteran in service, centurion in three different legions. There he died, and a statue was erected to him according to his will. Doubtless the expense was defrayed by money left in the will, and the statue was erected nominally by the city (a line is lost at the top).

It is contrary to the rule of the service that this native of Savatra should serve only in Western provinces. The explanation is that in his earlier service, before he became a centurion, he was acquainted with C. Caristanus Fronto, of Pisidian Antioch, who went about 75-79 to command Leg. IX Hisp. serving in Britain,<sup>1</sup> and that the noble C. Caristanus took with him a good soldier of his own province, who had already served with him. On the pedestal of Servaeus's statue no service below the centurionate is mentioned (*caligata militia* being omitted, as was usual); but obviously he had been a private soldier and fought his way up. Further, the conjecture is forced on us that Servaeus attracted Caristanus's notice as a good soldier or under-officer, when the latter was *praef. alae I Bosp.* (Syria or Egypt), or in one of his earlier *militiae equestres*, and that as *legatus* he took with him Servaeus, and appointed him centurion of his own Leg. IX Hisp. After that, Servaeus became centurion of Leg. III Aug. in Africa, and finally of Leg. VI Victrix in Germany. Each centurionate was a step higher, but he never became *primus pilus*, as his father had been.

The *nomen* Servaeus was perhaps taken from a *legatus* of Galatia, C. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus (*C.I.L.* VIII 11028), according to Mommsen *ad loc.*: for Gal(atiae) others prefer Gal[liae A]-

<sup>1</sup> The *cursus honorum* of C. Caristanus was published by Cheesman in *J.R.S.* III, p. 260 sqq.

q[u]lit[an]ic[ae], but the occurrence of the *nomen* at Savatra, and of Cornelia at Ancyra, and Corneliana at Amaseia, favour Mommsen's restoration.<sup>1</sup> Another Servaeus, *praetorius*, was *comes Germanici in Oriente* (Tacitus *Ann.* VI, 7): he conquered Commagene and was condemned as a friend of Seianus. The *cognomen* Sabinus was probably taken from Flavius Sabinus, a famous member of the imperial family, when the father received the *civitas*. Leg. VI Victr. was moved to Eboracum about 122–125. L. Servaeus had finished his service before that date.

<sup>1</sup> Other Servaei have such *cognomina* or additional *nomina* as Amicus, Potitianus, Firmus, Honoratus, Innocens, Flavia, Statiana, Valeriana, Novella,

Rufina. Of these Potitus, Rufinus, Firmus, Statiana, Valerius, Honoratus, occur as names in the Province Galatia.



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Roman Garrisons and Soldiers in Asia Minor. Part II

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 19 (1929), pp. 155-160

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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## ROMAN GARRISONS AND SOLDIERS IN ASIA MINOR.<sup>1</sup>

By W. M. RAMSAY.

### PART II.

#### III. *Cohors I Raetorum* (Cappadocia and Eumeneia).

The following corrections and additions are required in Section III of this article (*J.R.S.* xviii, p. 187, the last nine lines). Any reader is requested to delete the last nine lines, and to substitute the following.

The important inscription published by Buckler and Calder in *J.R.S.* xvi, p. 74 shows that *cohors I Sugambrorum*<sup>2</sup> came from Moesia to Eumeneia somewhere about A.D. 130: apparently Eumeneia was the goal of this march, and vows became payable on arrival. It has elicited valuable comments from Atkinson (*loc. cit.*) and Ritterling (*J.R.S.* xvii, p. 28), who have, however, not exhausted the evidence. This *coh. I Sug. quing.* was intended to replace another cohort, which was moved up to the East, probably *coh. I Raet.*

In the deleted article, as printed, the following points were stated.

1. *Coh. I Raet.* was stationed in Cappadocia about A.D. 131-6 (Arrian): this is the universally admitted basis of reasoning.

2. The Eumeneian plain was a natural recruiting-ground for cavalry (including mounted infantry and archers, ἵπποτοξόται).<sup>3</sup> I add that the horse-breeding character of the plain is depicted on the rocks opposite Eumeneia at Sondurlu, on the south bank of the Maeander, in a relief which may be interpreted as representing the god in his car, making a progress (ἔξοδος) through his lands, preceded and followed by horsemen: the relief is earlier than Alexander the Great. MM. Legrand and Chamonard say that I considered the relief to be much earlier. I do not think that I printed that

<sup>1</sup> In a subject like this, where investigation is beginning, and the evidence is widely scattered, one is liable to omit some references to soldiers. I find a soldier of *coh. I Aug. Cyren.* at Antiochia Colonia. Moreover, in a growing subject, hypotheses which cannot at present be proved may be offered to stimulate and guide further research.

<sup>2</sup> The photograph certifies *Sygambrum* (not *Sugambrum*, as the editors give): it is obviously the Greek Συγάμβρων ('y' being used in Latin to represent Greek upsilon).

<sup>3</sup> The Circassians in the wide Uzun Yailas were great horse-breeders about 1880-1910; they

brought the horses to Cilicia to winter. The horses were large, fine animals, suited for wealthy Pashas to drive for an hour or two every day, but not for hard work. Tchifteler at the springs of the Sangarios, an old Sultan's estate, was devoted to horse-breeding in 1883, when Sterrett and I visited the place. The great plain of Morimene about Kir-Sheher (Mokissos) was devoted specially to camel-breeding in 1882-1886, and the plains of Proseilëmmenë to sheep and goats (as in ancient days); but I think that horses were bred there also in old time, as in Tyanitis. Cavalry recruiting-grounds may be expected in these districts.

opinion, but I may have expressed it to them, when I advised them to go to see the relief. At that time I was looking for very early dates, and erred in several cases owing to that *idée fixe*.

This relief furnishes important evidence.<sup>1</sup> Already c. 400–350 B.C. the horses of Eumeneia were as excellent as about 1880–1907. MM. Legrand and Chamonard rightly recognise the Eumeneian horses as of Greek work; but the car and its six-spoked wheel are not Greek. The monument may perhaps be assigned to some wandering sculptor, who found that Athens after 400 B.C. could not pay its artists, and emigrated. The horses are full of life, and in type they are similar to the one good breed of horses that was still common in Anatolia about 1880 to 1910, when travellers rode: this breed was small, beautifully shaped, able to stand hard work and long days of marching, with a spring of the tail that was said to be due to a touch of the Arab; and they were often roan. On this Eumeneian relief the horses are of similar type.

3. Eumeneian recruits (*exauctorati*, ἀπὸ στρατείας,<sup>2</sup> ἀποστρατευόμενοι) came home, resumed municipal life (one being a member of the *Boule*), and were buried here.

4. To the list of nine soldiers I add two omitted there—

10. Αὐρ. Διονύσιος, στρατιώτης καὶ βετεράνος, and

11. Αὐρ. Μαννος, ἱππεὺς σαγιττάρης δρακωνάρις. Also

12. Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμίδωρος, published in *J.R.S.* xvi, p. 79, by Buckler and Calder. Of these twelve, five are described as veterans, and Aur. Mannos is described in a way implying that he also was retired.<sup>3</sup>

5. All the twelve are *cives*, and it was assumed by me wrongly that they must all be veterans who had returned home, acquiring *civitas* only on *missio honesta*; but this is true only before A.D. 212, whereas after 212 all Eumeneians had the *civitas*. Thus the question of date becomes important, which Ritterling evidently had in mind when he said (*loc. cit.* p. 31, n. 5) ‘the three Greek inscriptions mentioning the *I Raetorum* furnish no evidence sufficient to fix their date.’ Of the six non-veterans, four retired later than 212, three having the abbreviated *nomen* ‘Aur(elius)’ and one having the name ‘Antoninus,’ probably taken from Caracalla.

Antoninus and Julius Papias were soldiers of *cob. I Raet*: a third, officer of the same regiment, was —ΑΙΟΝΦΑ—NON, tribune of *cob. VI Hisp.* and *cob. I Raet.*, whom the Senate and people honoured, and who therefore must have been stationed at Eumeneia. Ritterling thought it probable that both *cob. VI Hisp.* and *cob. I Raet.* may have

<sup>1</sup> A photograph of the relief, made by my wife, was published by MM. Legrand and Chamonard in *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 39 ff., and a hand-drawing by her is in my *C.B.Phr.*, i. Part 2, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ στρατείας used after Severus.

<sup>3</sup> Aur. Mannos was a mounted archer; such soldiers were useful in battle, but not in a peaceful province like Asia. He was of *cob. III Ulp. Petraeor. sag.*

stationed in Cappadocia about 131–6 and in Armenia about 400. He returned home to Eumeneia, did not marry and make a grave for wife and self, but was given a place in a friend's grave. He was in the army about 300–350, and was attached to the *officium* of Castrius Constans (consular governor of Armenia). The governor of Phrygia Pacatiana was not a *consularis*, but a simple *praeses*.

been stationed there: I would conjecture that *cob. VI Hisp.* was stationed among the Tolistobogii at Sivri-Hissar. These two cohorts were probably both in Eastern service. There was a tendency to promote soldiers and officers in the equestrian *cursus* either in the East or in the West, and to avoid moving them to and fro between East and West.<sup>1</sup> Reasons for placing *cob. VI Hisp.* among the Tolistobogii will be stated in a later section.

Probably this officer was *trib. coh. I Raet.* at Eumeneia. Previously he had been *praef. coh. VI Hisp. quingenariae*: the title 'tribunus' was loosely used by the Greek-speaking Eumeneians. The officer served in two cohorts in *equestris militia*, and had not yet been promoted to be *tribunus leg.* or *praefectus alae*. There are many cases where there are *quattuor equest. militiae* instead of the usual three. But his double service in a cohort was a promotion, first in a *cob. quing.* as *praefectus*, then in a *cob. milliaria* as *tribunus*.

Veterans are often found in inscriptions of Anatolia—recruits who retired after twenty-five years' (auxiliary) service and settled down to life at home. The soldier who was elected into the *gerousia* at Sebaste about A.D. 98 was evidently a retired soldier, who joined in the municipal and social life at home in maturer years (so also the οὐτερανὸς βουλευτῆς C. Julius Myrtilos at Eumeneia—*C.B. Phr.*, no. 210): veterans were distinguished personalities at home, and could marry into leading families, as examples show—see Section VIII.

Additional evidence about the dates of some of the twelve soldiers can be gathered from the epitaphs.<sup>2</sup> Γ. Ἰουβέντιος Ῥοῦφος married Septimia Lucilla, whose name marks the third century. Very clear evidence results from *C.B. Phr.*, no. 218. The epitaph of Aur. Dionysios, veteran, reveals that he had been stationed, and was in 236 buried, at Eumeneia. He, while a soldier, joined with his brother Strato in making a grave for themselves; the inscriptions on the *heroon* fortunately can be restored; Dionysios was at that time not a *civis*, but he was at Eumeneia—i.e. his regiment was stationed there. Later, he received *missio honesta* and *civitas* and became first M. Aurelius, and later briefly Aur. Dionysios. Here it is evident that Aur(elius) was his *nomen*, not 'a sort of *praenomen*,' a phrase

<sup>1</sup> This was only a tendency, not a rule; the roads must not be crowded with soldiers on their way to new posts. In the senatorial *cursus*, on the other hand, the service was frequently changed from East to West, and from West to East. Statius gives an interesting account of the wide experience of his father's pupils at his school for sons of the nobility and gentry at Naples (*Silv.* V. 3).

<sup>2</sup> The use of β for Latin V favours, but does not prove, later date. οὐτερανὸς occurs three times, βετρανὸς once (in the case of Aur. Dionysios): but the evidence from spelling is dubious. Fines on tombs are small in early epitaphs, and grow larger later, owing probably to depreciation in the value

of the coinage. Iuventius Rufus names a fine of 2,500 payable to the *fiscus*: also C. Julius Myrtilus, Q. Vibius Rufus (*fiscus*) and Antoninus. Fl. Diodorus has 5,000 payable to the *tamieion*—the Roman *aerarium* (as in the province of Asia), or the Eumeneian treasury: the form of Φ in this case suggested to me a third-century date (see note in *C.B. Phr.*, no. 217). There is a certain probability, as Ritterling says, that of the twelve some of those whose corps is not mentioned belonged to *cob. I Raet.* Often the regiment to which soldiers in Asia Minor belonged is not mentioned: they are simply στρατιῶται or οὐτερανολ. Ritterling is certainly right in the case of Aur. Dionysios.

often used<sup>1</sup>: he probably finished his 25 years' service about 200–210, and was born about 166. Strato did not become a *civis*, but is in A.D. 236 mentioned as Strato simply: this implies that he died before 212. In 236 he is mentioned by Aur. Justa, wife of Aur. Dionysios, as dedicating the tomb to her husband, but only because he, Strato, according to the superscription, had shared in making it. Why, then, does his name not appear on this monument, as buried in his own tomb? Either M. Paris and myself both failed to observe that there was a fourth inscription on side D,<sup>2</sup> or, more probably, Strato married and made a special tomb for himself and his wife, as was the customary mark of respect and duty to a wife.<sup>3</sup> Strato still, however, retained legal ownership in this *heroon*; and this is acknowledged by his sister-in-law.

Again, it is evident that Justa married Dionysios while still a private soldier,<sup>4</sup> before he became a *civis*; and she probably received the *civitas* and *nomen* along with him at his *missio*. This, again, proves that he was living at Eumeneia as a soldier of a regiment stationed there; for Justa states her birth-citizenship. She was a citizen of Sebaste and Bria, neighbouring cities to Eumeneia, which have both retained their names till the present day as Sivasli (made to look Turkish by the Turkish ending -li) and Burgas.<sup>5</sup> She was a citizen of two πόλεις, a rare distinction for a woman: she mentions this in the epitaph, for the epitaph was a legal document, recording the ownership of property; and often it is stated that a copy was deposited in the archives. The legal precision and completeness of this document are remarkable; they justify the inferences we have drawn and form a safe basis for further reasoning. Justa inherited double citizenship from her father; and he doubtless received the honour as a victorious athlete. That was the common way: *politeia* might also be earned by making a gift to another city, *i.e.* by becoming a *ktistes*, but that would be in this case improbable—for people more often made gifts to their own city, not to other cities. Now Bria was a very small town, which struck few coins and is not likely to have celebrated games, whereas Sebaste was a richer place with more abundant coinage: it founded a *gerousia* about A.D. 98, and the list of entrants is preserved. The games at Sebaste are mentioned in another inscription of Eumeneia—*J.R.S.* xvi, p. 81 (the confirmation there desiderated is now supplied). The father of Justa was originally Βριανός: he won prizes at Sebaste and was admitted as Σεβαστηγός.

<sup>1</sup> There is much to say about the abbreviated *nomen* Aur., which became common and characteristic about 212 after Caracalla's action, and remained in use for several generations. There is high probability that the name in the form 'Aur.' with a *cognomen* dates A.D. 212–300. Here is not the place to discuss this matter, which has occupied my attention since *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> I examined the stone with the utmost care.

<sup>3</sup> Strato became *οικοδεσπότης* which involved the construction of a *heroon*.

<sup>4</sup> *γυνή Διονυσίου, Αὐρ. Διονυσίου τῷ ἀνδρὶ.*

<sup>5</sup> Berga (Burgas), the original form, giving origin to Perga, (adj. Πέρεια, as at Perga Pamph. on coins, *i.e.* Πρείγια Φάνασσα, where γ was softened to English γ): with ethnic Πρειγηνή, Πρειζηνή (*i.e.* Πρειδυηνή).



It is, therefore, certain that, as Ritterling says, *coh. I Raet.* was stationed in the Eumeneian region during the third century, and probably earlier. A garrison may be expected there, both to regulate the recruiting (an evident necessity) and to be at hand to maintain the imperial hold on (1) the large estates of Seiblia (τὸ Σουβλαῖον) the Hyrgaletic plain and Motella, (2) the Lykos valley with its many cities, and (3) Apameia; perhaps also (4) Bria, (5) Sebaste and (6) Akmonia. We find evidence of soldiers at Hyrgaleia, Akmonia, Apameia, Sebaste, which all lie in easy communication with the Eumeneian plain: one may fairly add the Pentapolis of Phrygia, though no military evidence has yet been found there.

One of the three Asian *legati* resided both at Prymnessos and at Eumeneia (Waddington, no. 1707; Buckler and Calder in *J.R.S.* xiv, p. 73): Akmonia was probably another seat of the same *legatus* (*J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 416), and the three cities indicate the probable extent of his authority. Another *legatus* had his principal seat at Ephesus, with troops under his command (Ritterling, *loc. cit.*, after Keil in *Jahreshefte*, xvii, 194 ff.): under his charge were at least the Hermus and Cayster valleys. The seat of the third Asian *legatus* may have been either at Stratonicea Cariae, with charge of the whole southward part of the province, or at Cyzicus with authority over the Hellespontus, the Troad, and the Kaikos and Rhyndakos valleys.<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis regarding the seat and limits of troops under Asian *legati* is merely suggested to aid further investigation. The range of authority of the *legatus* at Ephesus depends on that of the third *legatus*.

Ritterling shows that *coh. I Raet.* was not in Armenia towards A.D. 400 (*Not. Dign. Or.* xxxviii); but it may have been in Cappadocia, and the page relating to Cappadocia is lost. Diocletian made Armenia (formerly part of Cappadocia) a separate province. The cohort was kept permanently in the East. In A.D. 70 *cohors I Raetorum* may possibly have been included in the Ἰουδαϊκὸς στρατός under the command of Ti. Julius Alexander: Tacitus (*Ann.* xv, 28) mentions that he was ordered to be 'minister bello' to Corbulo in A.D. 63, which, as Mommsen (*C.I.L.* iii, 6809, p. 1241) interprets, means that he was *praefectus exercitus Cappadocici* and *adiutor* to Corbulo.<sup>2</sup> From A.D. 17 to 70 Cappadocia was governed by a *procurator Augusti* (equestrian); and, as a *procurator* could hardly command the soldiers needed in Cappadocia (a frontier-province), it is to be presumed that alongside of him there was an officer charged with the general command of the various troops in the province (*praefectus exercitus qui est in Cappadocia*; cp. *C.I.L.* iii, 6809—*praef. ex. qui est in Aegypto*).

<sup>1</sup> The latter is much the more probable. His seat may have been more central; or it may have been even at Pergamos. Caria would naturally belong to the Ephesian district.

<sup>2</sup> Corbulo was not, strictly speaking, *legatus* of Cappadocia (as he is called sometimes): he was

sent to the East to command in the widespread war, and orders were sent to governors and *praefecti* and *procuratores* (mentioned last) of the provinces there to obey his orders: he was the *maior potestas* in the East generally. He was doubtless *leg. Aug.*; but his province was the East, not Cappadocia alone.



Probably *cob. I Raet.* was included in the *exercitus Cappadocicus* and went with Ti. Alexander when he was sent to the *exercitus Judaicus*; this is a reasonable conjecture to guide investigation. Then it would naturally return; but, as two legions were now sent to Cappadocia, it may have gone to Eumeneia, where it probably was till about 130. Then it was moved to Cappadocia about 130 and replaced by *cob. I Sugambrorum* at Eumeneia. It came back to Eumeneia before 200, and was there during the third century at least.

The period 70–74 was marked by many changes. Cappadocia became a centre of frontier power (including Armenia). The hold of the Emperors on senatorial Asia also needed to be strengthened: two legions in Cappadocia made it safe to send one cohort back into Asia. Again under Hadrian movements of troops in the East are marked. Mr. Atkinson rightly emphasises this. The Jewish War towards the end of Hadrian's reign was a symptom. To this period I would refer (1) the movement of *cob. VI praet.* which was at Nysa *in transitu* (eastwards) under an officer bearing Trajan's name, who gave him *civitas*; (2) the movement of *cob. I Sugambrorum* from Moesia to Eumeneia; (3) the movement of *cob. I Raet.* to Cappadocia. In Asia Prov. many facts point to an increase of soldiers during the second century as compared with the first.

#### Conjectural History of *Cohors I Raetorum*:

- (1) In Cappadocia, A.D. 17–70;
- (2) at Eumeneia, A.D. 70–130;
- (3) in Cappadocia about A.D. 130–136 (Arrian);
- (4) in Eumeneia from about 200 onwards.